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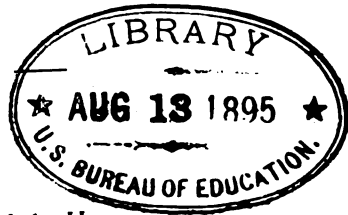
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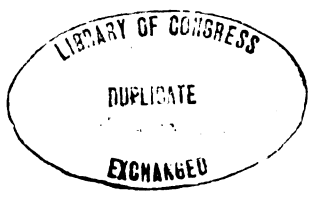
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THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

JANUARY, 1893.

IMPERIAL GERMANY.

EMPEROR WILLIAM II. AND GERMAN POLITICS.

BY FREDERIC C. HOWE, PH.D.

“TO THE philosophic observer, the most telling evidence of the advance of Europe in the past fifty years, is given in the disappearance of absolutism and the rise of constitutional government. Absolutism has vanished from the map of Europe, with the exception of Russia which remains more Asiatic than European.”

Such is the judgment of an observant American critic, ventured in the light of events then occurring, on the situation of Europe and especially Germany upwards of two decades ago.

That the past half century of European history has as its distinguishing feature constitutional development, cannot be gainsaid, but that absolutism is a matter of history meets some striking contradictions in present day events.

Liberty, culture, and constitutional development advance by slow and circuitous pathways and any attempt to artificially hasten or retard their growth is necessarily abortive and destined to failure. Likewise has history ceased to be the mere record of kings, ministers, or events and has become that of public sentiment, whose voice is now more imperative than the former infallible manifesto of a pope or the decree of an imperial council. Hence are we to look for progress in liberty not alone in kingly utterances nor even in popular constitutions which are often as illusory as the former, but rather in the political conditions of the people and in their actual relations

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Such is the judgment of an observant American, ventured in the light of events then occurring, of the future of Europe and especially Germany upwards of twenty years.

That the past half century of European history has been distinguished by the feature constitutional development, is not said, but that absolutism is a matter of history, and that striking contradictions in present day events.

Liberty, culture, and constitutional development have followed slow and circuitous pathways and any attempt to hasten or retard their growth is necessarily abortive and destined to failure. Likewise has history ceased to be the record of kings, ministers, or events and has become the voice of public sentiment, whose voice is now more important than the former infallible manifesto of a pope or the decrees of an imperial council. Hence are we to look for progress not alone in kingly utterances nor even in popular resolutions which are often as illusory as the former, but in the political conditions of the people and in their

with the government. For this reason may we hope, that the wave of reaction which has of late years drawn the condemnation of all friends of humanity on the Czar of all the Russias, and which in other countries has caused the friends of constitutionalism to fear for their hard-earned institutions, is but a passing cloud, which the spirit of freedom will quickly dispel and after whose passage the sun of liberal institutions will shine with even greater radiance. The celebrated utterance of Louis XIV. of France, "*L' état c'est moi*" may be obsolete, but the recent public utterances of Emperor William II. seem to indicate that the spirit which actuated it is a living force in European politics to-day. Autocracy in its worst forms has doubtless vanished from the face of Europe, but the skeleton remains, illy concealed by the cloak of constitutionalism, and jealously checks any encroachment by the masses of the "divine right"—to rule and be obeyed. The medieval idea of the "divinity that doth hedge a king," is deep-rooted in the mind of Germany's young sovereign, who in many respects is a worthy successor of Frederick William III., one of the creators of the Holy Alliance.

Educated as he was under the eye of Bismarck and alienated from the liberal influences of his father, Frederick III., who was an ardent admirer of the British constitution, and who would have done much to liberalize Germany had he but lived longer, he has grown up somewhat injudicious and headstrong, and has thus far been as a firebrand in Germany's powder magazine and a thorn in the already sorely irritated side of Europe. Posing as a "Napoleon of Peace" he succeeds in keeping the Old World in a state of constant perturbation by his restlessness; as a purifier of court morals he reads his uncle, the Prince of Wales, a lecture on the evil effects of gambling and in the same breath proposes plans for a new lottery for the amelioration of the slaves of Central Africa.

But not alone in matters of personal authority is conservatism "writ large" in Germany, for, in many other respects, is her Magna Charta yet to be written; although the points at issue have vastly changed during the past seven hundred years that

have intervened and the places of the barons will be filled from the ranks of the Social Democratic party on the banks of the new Runnymede. Freedom of speech is still largely a chimera in Germany and the press is so closely throttled by governmental interference, that independence of expression can hardly be said to exist. The closest espionage is exercised over the populace, both by the police and by secret spies, and any individual expression of ill-will toward the emperor or criticism of his policy, is made a penal offense and the offender under the charge of libel, as a show of justice, is heavily fined or imprisoned.

It is quite possible that with us liberty of press has in many instances become a license, but its influence has ever been steadily for the enlightenment of the people and their education in lines of self-government. The German ostensibly possesses liberty, but so restricted and hedged in that any adverse criticism of the government is construed as libelous and is followed by a heavy fine. It is a well-known fact that there is scarcely a prominent paper of the opposition but is at present represented by some member of its staff in prison, serving his sentence for some obnoxious article infringing the dignity of the government.

The persecution of Dr. Geffcken, which was one of the last acts of the Bismarck administration, reminds one of the unlawful proceedings of the Court of Star Chamber under England Stuarts or of the acts of the later Roman emperors and indicates the rigorous espionage which is exercised over the press. The sole crime of the offender was that he published in the columns of the *Deutsches Rundschau* certain personal correspondence of the Emperor Frederick III., which reflected slightly on the policy of the ministry and especially on Bismarck. Taken without opportunity of bail, thrown into prison, denied conference with his counsel, and maltreated to such an extent that his life was endangered, he was only released after several months' imprisonment by the higher courts declaring there was no evidence against him. The *Deutsches Rundschau* was suppressed and by a standing statute of the realm the house of Dr. Geffcken

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was searched and all his correspondence and papers seized in the hope of trumping up a charge against him.

Is the iron heel of Metternich still resting on the neck of Europe or is this but a passing return of medievalism, soon to disappear before the advance of a higher public sentiment? Let us hope for the latter, but at the same time it is necessary to recognize that the spirit of the Hohenzollern house has ever been at variance with constitutional forms and that many years will probably elapse before Germany possesses the same degree of constitutional liberty as does England.

The liberal party had great hopes in the late Emperor Frederick III., who in many respects was in striking opposition to the tendencies of previous Hohenzollerns, as well as those evinced by his son, the present emperor. Admiring the English Constitution profoundly, he contemplated many liberal measures and already insured freedom of elections, which before did not exist, and inaugurated even greater reforms in the ministry and department of justice. His short reign of ninety-nine days did much for the spirit of freedom and his moral influence greatly strengthened the Liberal party as was seen at the succeeding elections in which the Social Democrats largely increased their representation in the Reichstag.

For this reason he was feared and disliked by Bismarck and the Conservative faction, who looked to the present emperor as a pliant tool in their hands. In this latter respect at least has he disappointed them, and with his early feeling of independence, along with the magnificent political creation of which he is the head, turned his back, republiclike in his ungratefulness at least, on united Germany's creator. Bismarck, the founder of imperial Germany, now lives in political retirement near Hamburg, and cogitates on the fickleness of fortune and of politics. Every German at heart appreciates the work of the "man of iron and blood" and acknowledges his greatness, but expressions of such regard are seldom heard; his pictures are seldom seen in the shop windows, and while statues of almost every other important German abound in Berlin, he alone seems neglected. His career demonstrates the changeableness of

human life more fully than any other man of the century. Called to public life by Emperor William I., in 1862, he was at that time almost universally hated by the populace and distrusted by his colleagues. His views seemed in direct antagonism to prudence and Prussian tradition. "Stared at as a Japanese or a hippopotamus," as he says in his memoirs, whenever he entered public life, yet he persevered in his course. He was an opportunist and the opportunity both made the man and united Germany. From the outbreak of the Schleswig-Holstein War in 1864 to the death of old Emperor William, he was the virtual master of Germany and created for himself a niche in history and in the hearts of his countrymen which the stern manifesto of an autocratic emperor cannot alter. His work stands as a living monument to the political sagacity and wisdom of the greatest diplomatic figure of the century, Cavour possibly excepted. His policy from first to last was wholly despotic. He possessed no sympathy for liberal principles in politics and calmly overrode the voice of the people in the accomplishment of his ends. For this reason and in the hope of more liberal and progressive ideas, his retirement was viewed with less regret than would otherwise have been the case.

In other respects than politics, has the pernicious paternalism of Prussia riveted her to the past and checked her career. Assiduously for the past twenty years has the government endeavored to inculcate the old Grecian idea that the citizen exists wholly for the state and that the state should be looked to as the center of all economic activity and incentive. The wonderful prosperity immediately following the Franco-German War, due to the golden flood of French milliards which entered the country and to the numerous public works undertaken at the time in the form of railroads and public buildings, tended to foster this idea and to fasten it upon the people. A period of depression of trade with hard times followed close upon its heels, due to speculation and high prices, and the people, true to their teaching, looked to the state as the cause of their distress and for the relief of their suffering. But the panacea was not forthcoming and about this time the Social Democratic party

was formed, from these dissatisfied elements, representing in its constituency every shade of belief from the socialism of the chair, represented by many university professors and advocating the state ownership of railroads, canals, telegraphs, etc., to the extreme individualist of the Herr Most type. The government has created its Frankenstein and the future social history of Germany will revolve about the contest of this party for supremacy. Bismarck, who on this account has been called the Diocletian of the nineteenth century, as well as the government, opposed the new party by every means in his power, but it grew by oppression, as does every movement, and the party now counts among its membership not only many university professors but the vast majority of the German laboring population and increases its strength at every election to the Reichstag.

It is the conservative element in this party which represents true republican principles most closely and from it is to be hoped all advance in constitutionalism in Germany. The more radical Socialists look for the eradication of all economic and social evils in communistic measures, while the attitude of the Nihilistic or Anarchistic element, which does not possess great strength, is purely destructive. The political philosophy of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," seems to satisfy the demand of this party, and is to be found in the hands of almost every German workingman. Many of the most eminent professors are tainted with socialism and openly teach it from the chair, viewing it as the only relief for the present industrial depression in Germany.

It is this magnifying of the state at the expense of the individual, as well as the lack of encouragement to individual self-help, which must account for Germany's retardation in the arts and industries. By means of her civil service which is justly famed as the most perfectly organized in the world and which offers permanent employment and promotion according to merit, the state entices the best talent of the land into her service, inasmuch as the feeling of caste renders it almost impossible for ability to meet with much appreciation in the other professions. The army recruits its officers almost wholly from the fast dimin-

ishing aristocracy, which thus deprives the country of much of its best blood and ability, which would otherwise engage in active pursuits. In arts and inventions Germany is clearly twenty-five years behind her more progressive cousins in England and America.

But despite this industrial lassitude, Germany has set the example of the world in administration and in the perfection of her civil service. Her cities are unquestionably the best-governed in the world and the most free from any taint of corruption, and her armament the most thorough in Europe. But this perfection of governmental machinery has been achieved only at considerable expense of individual liberty and freedom of economic activity and the industrial progress of the country has undoubtedly been greatly retarded thereby.

Her armament comprises over half a million fighting men constantly in service and two reserve corps, bringing the grand total up to nearly two million of men capable of taking the field in case of necessity.

This vast bodyguard Germany pleads as necessary on account of the exposed situation of the country, and the people, proud of their past successes in the Austrian and Franco-Prussian war, bear the enormous burdens thus imposed on them without much murmuring. The vast drain upon her resources is in itself but little if any more than the annual outlay of our pension list, but the disturbance to industrial life due to the demand of the state for the three best years of a young man's life and to the removal of them from productive pursuits, is the millstone about Germany's neck which is dragging her down.

It is not to be supposed that the military system of Germany has no redeeming features, for the educational influence on the mass of the people is in fact a partial compensation for the outlay. It takes the rude peasant from the field and teaches him not only the rudimentary branches of knowledge, but obedience and discipline as well, and by giving him a wider experience it increases his productive powers on his return to his occupation. This at least is the common defense of the system when any is

offered and it helps to allay the popular demand for a reduction of the armament.

To the American mind much of necessity savors of the discarded past, but that liberal principles will in the end dominate over absolutism and paternalism is the only view consonant with present day events.

The past quarter of a century has done wonders for Germany, but the next decade is bound to witness even greater development. Her trade has been slowly growing and her laws have undoubtedly tended to become more liberal. Her educational system is reputed the best in the world, and with an enlightened population, freedom of person and speech, true constitutional government will quickly follow. Progress may advance like a spiral, but its upward course is none the less sure because it goes not directly to its mark.

FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ph.D.

NATIONAL PERILS.

BY REV. J. F. BARTLETT, D.D.

THE third week of October, 1892, will ever be a memorable one in the history of Chicago, and of the nation. A stupendous multitude of people, an imposing civic and military parade, an unparalleled display of flags and bunting, oratory, which, both as to matter and manner, reminds one of the days of Demosthenes and Cicero—these have filled the air and inspired the hearts of thousands upon thousands who have seen and heard. And all these have been to glorify one single fact, the marvelous development of this, the grandest nation upon which the sun ever shone. It was a jubilee week, in which one long inspiring song of grateful praise has ascended into the ear of the God of nations. And all this is consistent and right; the jubilation was not greater than the great occasion demanded.

But now that the dedication ceremonies are over, and the currents of the nation's life have returned to their accustomed channels, I venture to suggest that before this great event becomes a memory, before the influence of all this panorama of sight and sound shall pass away, it may not be an unprofitable thing to give at least a passing thought to some facts that were not introduced into the notable speeches delivered at the great dedication.

I am not a dyspeptic croaker, and I am not out of joint with this beautiful world; I do not believe that everything is going to the bad, that all men are as wicked as they can be, and that sin is gaining the ascendancy. I am an optimist, and I am hopeful; I see the never-ceasing chariot wheels of God's providence moving up the steep slopes of time freighted with righteousness, holiness, justice, and spiritual emancipation for men and nations; I believe this Bible will triumph, yea, *is* triumphing

gloriously, and that the day is hastening on when the Christ shall see of the travail of His soul, and be satisfied; when from the rising to the setting of the sun, from the rivers to the ends of the earth God's Son will be the King of Kings and the Lord of Lords.

But shall the sailor ignore the storm because he knows his vessel is staunch and strong? Shall the besieged army in the garrison stack their arms and cease to watch the tactics of the enemy because the walls of the fort are thick and strong, and hard to be broken through? And ought we to be so unthinking, unpractical, presumptuous in our faith in the omnipotency of this republic, so sentimental in our patriotism, as to give no serious thought, even to make light of the possible dangers that perchance may threaten our country's peace and prosperity? Strong indeed the vessel may be, and able to outride the tempest, but should she strike yonder sunken rock between the teeth of the whirlwind and the merciless reef she will be broken, dismantled, and made a total wreck. A watchful eye must be upon the compass and the chart, and a steady, faithful hand at the helm, else she will never reach the port in safety. And yonder garrison may have strong and massive walls, able without a tremor to resist the battering ram and the cannon ball; but strong and agile hands could easily scale those walls if none were watching, or the sappers and miners could dig a mine beneath that huge pile and, laying a train of powder, could in an instant blow its sleeping inmates into eternity. The wise sailor will never relax his vigilance till the harbor is reached and the vessel has cast her anchor; the loyal soldier will not lay down his musket or cease to watch until the siege is broken, the enemy scattered, and the danger past. And the truly patriotic American citizen must not have such an unreasoning confidence in the popular belief that God has pledged Himself unconditionally to our prosperity, that he neglects to concern himself about the hard problems of the critical present and the portentous future.

Fair and beautiful as are the skies that overarch this goodly land, the watchful eye cannot fail to see here and there patches

of dark cloud, much bigger than a human hand ; through the sweet music of the songs we sing to Columbia, and the red, white, and blue, there is an obligato accompaniment in the minor key, unheard by the thoughtless, but distinctly reaching the ears of those who, impelled by love to God and country, are anxiously watching the signs of the times. I do not sigh for the old times ; neither do I think the Puritanic and colonial days were better than these ; no, this is the best country and these are the best days the world has ever seen, taking this statement in the large sense. But I do contend that the century has witnessed the decadence of some things that are necessary to a nation's best and truest prosperity, and the predominance of some things that have already dimmed the luster of our country's flag, and that menace the purity of our government and the perpetuity of our institutions.

I have often walked through the quiet streets of Lexington and Concord, and with swelling heart have gazed upon those old wooden houses, still standing, fragrant with the memory of that day when the motley crowd of villagers and farmers, with flint-lock and pitchfork, some bare-headed, many minus coat and waistcoat, rose like spirits out of the ground at the first sound of drum and fife ; and I have remembered with pride how that undisciplined, strangely armed handful of colonists, on that day at Concord Bridge, put to shame and to flight the flower of the British soldiery. While musing upon that scene I have said, "What made them so phenomenally brave and strong ; so strong that each man seemed to possess the power and effectiveness of a regiment?" And this is the answer : They were summoned at the call of no demagogue ; they were not mercenaries, fighting for a stipend ; they were not contending because it was their trade ; they were not battling for the extension of material dominion. Each man had written on his heart this legend : "All men are created free and equal" ; "Taxation without representation is unjust." And by that sign they conquered. By the blessings of Almighty God, who sent His son that all men might be free, physically, intellectually, and spiritually, our New England sires successfully repelled the invader, and estab-

lished upon the fairest land upon this earth a government of the people, for the people, and by the people. These heroic men have long since passed away, but their deeds have borne a precious fruitage; "the little one has become a thousand, and the weak one a great nation," surpassed by none upon this planet in moral, intellectual, and material equipment, and prospectively the greatest nation the morning sun ever shone upon.

I am proud that I am an American citizen; next to my God I love my country, which is the gift of God; a Christian nation, whose foundation stones were quarried out of the Holy Bible, and whose superstructure, for many years, has embodied the precepts of that wonderful Book; a country, that after more than a century of life upon the basis of self-government and liberty of conscience, invites the whole world to look, admire, wonder, and emulate, as indeed she now is doing. But now, we need to raise this question: Is America still putting the same materials into her now colossal superstructure as formerly? Is it certain that the symmetry of the building is being preserved, that the top stone will be a fitting finish, a harmonious ultimate of the whole grand building? Does the logic of events, as at present transpiring, furnish any reason to fear that the flag of freedom will ever float less proudly than to-day or wave above a people less happy, because less free?

No man who honestly loves his country, and has an open eye to the signs of the times, can fail to answer in the affirmative. Truly we have a different foe to fight from that our fathers fought; a foe encamped not outside our walls, but intrenching himself within the citadel itself. And he cannot be met with powder, lead, and steel, but with weapons moral and intellectual; it must be a contest of ideas, opinions, principles. But the things at issue are the same as then. The dangers that threaten aim to destroy our liberties, personal, municipal, and national. The flag is not secure to-day; it trembles on its standard; our public school is not secure, for its foundations are being undermined; our homes are not secure, a poison-tainted atmosphere is vitiating the sweetness and purity of our domestic life; the church of God is not secure, for she has in many quarters lost

the inspiring sense of the personality and power of Him who once hung upon a tree, and whom the common people heard so gladly. We are rapidly losing the quality of blood that filled the veins of those who made the history of Plymouth Rock and Lexington. America is not what she was fifty years ago, and there are not many of the native stock who do not feel that there are some elements present in the body politic which are a menace to prosperity and peace, and not ministers of blessing and prophets of hope.

I. IMMIGRATION.

The greatest danger besetting the liberties of America to-day is indiscriminate and unrestricted immigration. It is a upas tree of deadliest growth ; it is the father of nearly every other national peril ; it is like a virulent cancer, sending its poisonous branches out into every section of our country's throbbing life ; and it has become such a mighty stream that it is rapidly transforming that which was once the abode of virtue, peace, and reciprocal confidence, into the dwelling place of discord and mutual distrust. Lately we have been warned against drinking the water that comes from our great lake, for it is filled with incipient fever and death. What has made it so? The ever-increasing volume of sewerage poured into its pure bosom has robbed it of its health-giving properties, has taken away its power to bless and invigorate, and it must be filtered before we may with safety put it to our lips. The illustration is an apt one—let this American republic represent Lake Michigan, and let the ceaseless tide of immigrants be likened unto Chicago's sewerage, and you can faintly realize what is actually taking place.

The fact is that America is no longer Americanizing Europe, but *Europe is DE-Americanizing America*. True prosperity in the life of a nation is not to be measured by the size of its cities, the number and magnificence of its buildings, the traffic of its railroads ; material wealth and power, standing alone, do not exhibit riches of the durable kind ; else where were Babylon, and Nineveh, and Rome ? It is the morals that makes the man, and the nation also. The phenomenon of America's growth,

until she has become the standing miracle of the ages, is not explained by the fact that she is beautiful for situation, or because her swelling bosom holds treasures that are inexhaustible; but chiefly because freedom, in the largest, truest, divinest sense, has been her watchword, because justice, equality, liberty of individual conscience are the golden framework of her constitution. The fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man, recognition of these fundamental moral truths, written with the finger of Jehovah upon the hearts of men; these for the first time were avowed in the constitution of the United States; and these, worked out in America's public and private life, have made her what she is. But now we are in danger of losing the fine fiber of these things. The great swarm of moral bacteria, brought in every emigrant ship, and poured into the air that we are forced to breathe, can find no adequate antidote in all the moral antiseptics with which we may dose ourselves. The morals of the nation are being debauched. Immigration is a disease, and it is disease that is contagious, and not health.

It is indeed a beautiful sentiment, to which we have all subscribed, that picture of the Goddess of Liberty, with wide extended arms, welcoming the downtrodden of every name and condition to our hospitable shores. The sentiment is a noble one, and in full accord with the genius of our national constitution, and of the unique institutions of our land. The sentiment is Biblical, humanitarian, and the only one that is worthy of a free people. To all who feel the need of a larger freedom, we say, even as did our Savior to sin-sick souls for all time, "Come; and let him that heareth say come; and let him that is athirst come; and whosoever will let him partake of the benefits of this dwelling place of liberty, without money and without price." But, it is a perilous thing, and it is a *crime*, to welcome vice to the same privileges as virtue; it is a crime deliberately to infuse poison into healthy blood; it is the death knell to truest liberty for freemen to strike hands and hearts with men who come to these shores by the legion, and who are helplessly bound in chains of physical, moral, and political servitude. There is no real philanthropy in this kind of thing. By it this land of

liberty is becoming a land of license, and out of it is coming to maturity a bitter fruitage.

The conditions of the Old World are actually obtaining here; the social, ecclesiastical, and political tyrannies of Europe are simply being transplanted from foreign soil to our own. What is monopoly but another name for monarchy, and under it thousands of the deserving poor are being crushed to the earth and ground to powder. What is political freedom but a huge farce, when the government of all our great cities (and that means the government of the nation), is actually in the hands of the debauched denizens of the whisky hells and brothels? What a shameful thing, that in this land of individual liberty, a land where every man, in theory, is a prince, we are forced to speak of the German vote, the Irish vote, and even the Roman Catholic vote. *What has become of the American vote?* Shall we never see it again? God only knows. Christian voters, dare you look upon the flag of Washington and Lincoln, and then go out and give your suffrages to exalt men who are pledged to falsify the principles for which those two gave their lives, and for which we honor them to-day? The immigrants now landing on our shores are for the most part ignorant and besotted; many of them, indeed, released from European prisons on the sole stipulation that they will emigrate to America. Europe is quite willing to make America a sewer, and this is what she is literally doing, and the refuse and scum of all creation is being continually dumped upon our shores; and we meekly take it up, fertilize our land with it, and then wonder why it brings forth so rank a growth. Some lecturer has said of these immigrants, "They land in Castle Garden on Monday, wash their faces on Tuesday, open a gin mill on Wednesday, and vote on Thursday." He might have added that they learn the ropes on Friday, become full-fledged ward politicians on Saturday, and, before they can speak the English language without an interpreter, are sent to the legislature to make laws for Americans.

I am not the enemy of the immigrant; and I would strenuously oppose any law that would arbitrarily refuse entrance to men of any nationality or creed. Into this free land, with its

broad and fertile acres, with its untold resources of mineral and agricultural wealth waiting to be utilized; with its unrivaled educational and social equipment; possessed of every blessing to make glad the heart of man, and cause life to be worth living; into this Heaven-favored land I would heartily welcome the poor, the suffering, the oppressed of every nation, not excepting the much abused Chinaman. I would not inquire his pedigree; I would not ask him his religion; I would not bind him by any restraint by which I myself am not bound; I would say to him as Abram said to Lot, "Is not the whole land before thee? Make thee a home wherever to thee seemeth best, and in all honest efforts to secure a livelihood thou shalt have as adequate protection as any who were born upon these shores." But, I would welcome him only upon these *two* conditions:

1. He shall not be allowed to land until he shall promise to forswear allegiance to his former masters, and to the laws of other lands; and promise, also, without mental reservation, to support under all circumstances, and defend against all enemies, the constitution and laws of the only land where men are absolutely free to work out their own destinies with none to molest or make them afraid. And to the Roman Catholic immigrant especially, I would say, "You cannot set foot upon this land of liberty until you are willing, from the heart, to renounce utterly and forever, *political* allegiance to that Italian sovereign, the Pope of Rome."

2. I would insist that no man shall be allowed to cast a ballot, for any office whatsoever, who cannot make himself understood in the English language.

Upon these conditions I would welcome everybody to these shores; for then the quality of the living freight would be such as would add to, and not detract from, the true prosperity of the republic.

Another great evil threatening the permanent prosperity of this nation is

LORD'S DAY LAWLESSNESS.

I am not a Puritan upon this Sunday question. I believe, as my Lord declared, that the Sabbath was made for man, and not

man for the Sabbath ; made for man's best good, physical and mental, as well as moral. I would not, if I could, make every man on that day attend divine service three times, or twice, or even once, unless he chose ; or counsel him to sit with folded hands and sanctimonious face, speaking only in a nasal and sepulchral tone of voice. And I repudiate the flippant assertion that the only argument or the strongest argument in behalf of a decent respect for the American Sunday is found in the traditions of a branch of the church that is far behind the times, and only worthy to be sneered at, or ignored. Leaving the purely Christian sentiment upon this subject entirely out of the case, there are cogent reasons, appealing to the good sense, pride, and self-respect of all who will hear them, why one day in seven should be observed by the whole nation as a season of rest and worship ; and why, to be more specific, the forthcoming Exposition should close its gates on Sunday.

All who read this article will agree, I think, to the proposition recently expressed, that "America, and not Europe, ought to set precedents on the Sabbath question. The American age has been the age of the open Bible. Since the Scriptures were unchained, and printing has multiplied its copies, so that the plowboy can read it, the open Word of God has made more clear, distinct, and emphatic the Word and the Will of God. It is the lands of the open Bible, England, Scotland, and America, which have the clearest sense of the Lord's Day as a holy day, and not as a holiday. . . . America is no more to look to Austria, or France (or any nation of like ideas) to find her precedents for Sabbath keeping, than the enfranchised rose, blooming in the full sunshine of June, is to pattern after the rose which, during the long winter, has grown sickly in the cellar's dark and damp." National righteousness has set for us its creditable and victorious precedent in the incidents surrounding this same question at the American Centennial in 1876. On that occasion the different states of the Union, by a vote of more than three to one, declared that "it is American to keep the Sabbath" ; and two of the most influen-

tial men of that day made themselves a record upon this matter, of which they have not since been ashamed. The words of General Joseph R. Hawley, president of the commission, will never be forgotten by those who believe that the substance of the fourth commandment still is binding: "*Before God I am afraid to open the exposition gates on the Sabbath.*" And the noble, faithful, courteous words of Corliss will long outlast the memory of his wonderful engine: "My opinion on that point is very decided, and I am very free to express it. All the good that may be accomplished by this grand exhibition will be neutralized if it is opened on Sunday, and it would better never have been. I am ready to run at night, or at any hour, for the benefit of those who do not find it convenient to attend during the day, and I would favor a reduction in the rates of admission to such; but under no circumstances would I consent to have it run on Sunday."

A prominent Philadelphian declares his satisfaction and ours, in that significant Sabbath keeping: "Its object was, upon a gigantic scale, to teach American history, American manners, American customs, American progress, American religion; and the result of the exposition has been the elevation of America in the eyes of the civilized world. It was closed on Sunday; and there is not a true man or woman who does not thank God that it was. The influence that went out from the fact of its being closed on the Lord's Day is an influence of which we, as Americans, may well feel proud. We all, with love for America, learned to sing that grand old song, 'My Country, 'tis of Thee,' closing with the prayer, 'God bless our native land.' And we feel that prayer was answered through the Sabbath closing of our Centennial Exhibition in 1876. We look back upon it with pride and gratification; and if a vote were now to be taken in the city of Philadelphia, whether another exhibition in that city should be open on the Lord's Day, I believe that only a very small number would have the temerity to vote in favor of its being open."

Look at the question a moment, simply as a municipal safeguard. One of America's wisest and broadest-minded men has

put the matter in this most interesting fashion : " Chicago lies in a very strategic position. At the time when we have 200,000,000 of people in this republic, 100,000,000 of them will be found between the Alleghenies and the Rocky Mountains. That central mass of voters will govern the land. You will have 50,000,000 perhaps, on your Atlantic slope, and 50,000,000 on your Pacific slope ; but your 100,000,000 in the Mississippi valley, if they can be unified, will rule the republic. Chicago is likely to become the brain of the 100,000,000 people who will live between the mountains of the rising and those of the setting sun. Chicago is coming of age ; shall we allow her, just at this critical time, when she is crystallizing, to set a fashion of Lord's Day lawlessness that will poison the whole body, of which she is to be the brain ? Chicago is lawless enough, New York is lawless enough, any one of our great cities is lawless enough ; but to open the World's Fair on Sundays, to give traffic to all the great railways that center in Chicago, now the most important railway center in the world, to give business to all the dramshops, business to all the gambling hells, business to all the brothels—what will this be but to poison Chicago, now just entering upon her career of intellectual, social, and political leadership of the central portion of the republic ? "

George Washington insisted upon Sunday observance by the Continental army ; our army and navy have kept the Lord's Day for more than a hundred years ; the Congress of the United States, by a large majority, protests against the opening of the Fair on Sunday ; even European precedent is against it ; and the workingmen (whatever may be said to the contrary) by a vast majority demand Sunday closing. Now shall we, in the face of all these undeniable facts, be ridiculed into the belief that the protest against trampling Sunday under foot is only a vapid sentiment, indulged in by a multitude of religious cranks ? It is the sober judgment of the best moral constituency of this great republic ; the opposition to it is largely in the interests of financial greed, and if that opposition should succeed in its attempt to rob the nation of one of its most cherished institutions, we shall deserve, and we shall have, the contempt of those

eastern peoples, who, at this moment, from the example which we have heretofore set them, are just emerging into the light of a better day. Says Joseph Cook, in his unique way: "Sunday, the tallest white angel now on earth, is knocking for admission at the great gates of Asia and of Africa and of the isles of the sea. Shall we allow the black angels of the dregs of the occident to stab her in the back, now that she seems ready, for the first time since the world began to roll, to make the circuit of the earth?" Shall we, who have set the fashion in Sabbath keeping to the heathen, astonish and disgust them when they come to our shores, by ourselves repudiating it? Let every man who has the wholesome fear of Almighty God before his eyes, confess, *Before God I am afraid to vote for the opening of the World's Fair on Sunday.*

THE DRINK TRAFFIC.

It will be denied by no one, I think, that the drink question is the most solemn and far-reaching problem of this century. It is closely allied to this matter of indiscriminate immigration, and to the problem of Sabbath desecration. Indeed, we shall find that all these questions interlock, and in the last analysis are to be explained by the quality and quantity of those who have settled down upon this soil, here to dwell for good or ill. If this Tophet cloud were becoming less black and dense, we would not need to fear so much; but it is not; the danger is ever on the increase, the devastation more widespread, and the wail of anguish from shipwrecked men and women grows louder and more appalling. According to official reports, the people of the United States used four gallons of intoxicating drinks per head in 1840, and twelve gallons per head in 1883, and the percentage is much larger to-day. At this moment more than one billion dollars are invested in the liquor traffic, and the annual drink bill of the nation will foot up about the same figure. Look at some of the monuments of this country's greatness at which we point with pride, and to which we direct the attention of visitors. Many of the state institutions of this fair land are very pleasing to the eye, and prove how large our hearts are, and how we glory in providing for the poor, the unfortunate, and even the

vicious. Yonder is the asylum for the insane ; there is the almshouse, where a comfortable home is furnished for those who have no friends or means of support. And that imposing structure over there is the state orphan asylum, where the kind people of the commonwealth bestow parental care upon these poor unfortunate boys and girls. Is not this a great country, where in one short century there are such tangible evidences of progress, and such a marvelous exhibition of the benevolent and philanthropic spirit? But, my friends, who built those asylums, those orphanages, and those refuges for the homeless poor? "Who built them, did you ask? Why, *we*, the people." *Your answer is wrong*; I deny the assertion; you did *not* build them; *rum, whisky, brandy* built them; for if Alcohol had not been crowned king, none of these things would have been needed. Let us be honest enough to put both the credit and the blame where they belong. The case stands thus: You and I, by our sufferance, and by our votes, have made the sale of liquor a respectable business; these orphans and paupers and madmen are the legitimate and inevitable fruitage of the traffic, so that every year, when we bury 60,000 drunkards, whose souls are in perdition, and then provide for their pauperized widows and children, we are simply taking care of our own work; the bread that we cast upon the waters has returned, and that Scripture is fulfilled which says, "Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap."

The fact is that we are *forced* to provide for this offspring of Alcohol, whether we will or no, and we ought to be willing to do so, for they are our own, and the Bible declares that he who will not provide for his own is worse than an infidel. May God hasten the day when Christian voters will at least be courageous enough to face the consequences of their own acts. As long as we continue to compromise with the devil upon this liquor question, let us be brave enough to face the results of such a compromise. The Christian who votes to legalize rumselling ought not to despise the drunkard, for, argue as he will, he has helped to establish, and to protect the sale of that which has made him what he is. Let us at all events call things by their right names. If we will vote for a license law, let us not fool ourselves, and

make our enemies smile, by calling it a temperance measure ; license is license, and it does not mean restriction, but *permission*. What a commentary is it upon the position of many good people with reference to this matter, when the great brewers' organization have had printed, and have circulated as a campaign document, an address in favor of high license delivered some time ago by the pastor of one of the leading evangelical churches of this city. I vilify no man, I impugn the motives of no man, but I will insist that chalk is not cheese, and that the licensing of the dramshop is not a temperance measure, but that it is giving to a few favored persons a monopoly in the hellish business of killing men's bodies, and damning their souls ; and I humbly pray that the time may come when no Christian voter can be deceived into the belief that when he votes for license he is hastening the abolishment of the saloon, the blackest curse of city, state, and nation.

We should glory in magnificent America, God's country, the land of the world's destiny. Though our jubilations must not be senseless, childish, and unthinking, but tempered by such contemplation of public dangers and public sins as will cause us to protect ourselves from the former, and to repent sincerely of the latter ; for what Jehovah said to the Hebrew nation, He speaks to us to-day ; "Beware that thou forget not the Lord, thy God, in not keeping His commandments, and His judgments, and His statutes ; lest, when thou hast eaten, and art full, and hast built goodly houses, and dwelt therein, and when thy herds and thy flocks multiply, and thy gold and thy silver is multiplied, and all that thou hast is multiplied, then thine heart be lifted up, and thou forget the Lord thy God, which brought thee forth out of the land of Egypt, from the house of bondage . . . and thou say in thine heart, My power, and the might of mine hand hath gotten me this wealth. But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God ; for it is He that giveth thee power to get wealth . . . and it shall be that if thou do at all forget the Lord thy God, and walk after other gods, and serve them, and worship them, I testify against you this day that ye shall surely perish ; as the nations which the Lord destroyeth before your face, so

shall ye perish, because ye would not be obedient unto the voice of the Lord your God."

The sum of this whole matter, as it touches him who reads, is this, that duty to one's country is involved in duty to one's God; the religion of Jesus Christ, unless it be a failure, must not only redeem the single soul, but redeem the city, the state, the nation, the world; must purify politics, calm the waters of sectional strife among brethren, elevate the moral tone of society, and break the power of those who seek to establish the anti-Christian and un-American doctrine that might makes right, that money is more than morals, and that knowledge is more to be desired than love. I solemnly believe that God Almighty has decided to make America the reservoir, out from which shall flow the streams of saving grace that are to evangelize the whole world; that here, upon this western continent, is to be fought the final battle between righteousness and sin, which shall result in Satan's eternal downfall, and the establishment of the Redeemer's kingdom, which henceforth will have no rival, but will fill the whole earth as the waters cover the sea.

J. F. BARTLETT.

WILL DEMOCRATS RECOGNIZE PROTECTION AS A NATIONAL POLICY?

BY THEODORE COX.

BEFORE the recent election, the Democratic party was unanimous in support of the following extract from the Chicago platform :

We denounce Republican protection as a fraud—a robbery of a great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the Democratic party that the government has no constitutional power to collect a dollar of tax (tariff duty) except for the purpose of revenue only. We denounce the McKinley tariff law as the *culminating atrocity* of class legislation.

But now, when they find themselves in a position to carry out these ideas, we notice a surprising change. Even before the election returns were all in, they began to dispute among themselves as to *how much* truth the above plank contained. They are already trying to discover a loophole in their platform through which to crawl. The following is an extract from a well-known Democratic journal in New York City :

The people don't want the McKinley law repealed. . . . To repeal the law or to chase Congress on to tamper hastily with its provisions would disturb business, depress stocks, unsettle values, upset industries, and throw the country into such a panic as it has not experienced since 1857 !

A little further along it adds that if Mr. Cleveland listens to the "free trade hordes" and politicians "ravenous for spoils," who will demand the immediate repeal of the tariff of 1890, "there will not be a corporal's guard of the Democratic party left in 1896. The Republicans will be returned to power by a tidal wave that will dwarf the Democratic landslide of 1892 into insignificance."

Yet is it possible that this Democratic party—this “poor man’s party”—is about to sanction a “robbery of a great majority of the American people”? Is it possible that, when they have full authority to turn the thief out, they will calmly remain inactive and see him “steal the laborer’s bread for the benefit of the plutocrats”? Is it possible that these sticklers for constitutional law will allow the Constitution to be wantonly violated when a word from them would prevent it? Is it possible that they—“the party of the plain people—the sworn foe of monopoly”—will allow this “culminating atrocity of class legislation” to remain upon the statute books a moment after they have the power to erase it? If they do, how will they account for their actions to the people, to whom they have rendered solemn pledges to the effect that, if intrusted with power, their first care would be to relieve the country from “the most crushing system of taxation ever devised by man”?

The spectacle of the victorious democracy hesitating in the path of duty is, at this early moment, at least surprising. Does this not point to the conclusion that its more intelligent members are doubtful as to the entire truth of their claims? What are the objections raised against the policy of protection?

First, that such a policy is unconstitutional. When we remember that a protective tariff was enacted by the First Congress, in which sat ten members of the convention that framed the Constitution; when we recollect that Madison himself engineered the bill through the House, and when, above all, we bear in mind the fact that it was signed by President Washington and approved by Jefferson, then, for the Democratic Convention of 1892 suddenly to discover that such a bill was unconstitutional is nothing short of absurdity.

Second, that protection is bad national policy. When the Democrats assume this ground they simply proclaim to the world that they know more about national policy than all the peoples of the earth; for there exists to-day no country of importance that is not a living illustration of the beneficence and soundness of protection. All through the late campaign we heard Democratic speakers and Mugwump editors proclaiming that free

trade* must be right, since England, the greatest manufacturing nation on earth, is a free trade country. Yet the facts of the case point in a totally different direction. Lord Stanhope, writing upon the subject in his time, said that there were then 3,124 acts of Parliament protecting labor and capital in the United Kingdom, of which 194 were absolutely prohibitory.

Under such fostering care the industries of Great Britain grew to such an enormous extent that they at length reached a point where they could bid defiance to the world. Then, but not till then, did the British government adopt the free trade policy, hoping to entice other countries to follow suit, and thus lay themselves open to commercial invasion and conquest. But, although her merchant marine can hardly be termed an infant industry, we note that she still extends to it her protective policy to its utmost limit. Such is England, the sole champion of free trade among the nations of the earth.

Upon glancing over the rest of the map, our attention is attracted by another striking example of the effects produced by the great policy of protection, in a far-distant corner—Australia. The colony of Victoria has little more than one fourth the area and one half the years of existence as compared with her sister, New South Wales; but, to offset these disadvantages, she has always had protection, while the latter has been hampered from the start by a free trade tariff. It is almost needless to add that Victoria far surpasses her handicapped rival in material and developed wealth, and equals her in population; and, moreover, during the year 1889–1890 Victoria increased the number of her manufactories 154, the number of hands employed therein 2,910, and the value of plants, about \$1,800,000. During the same period New South Wales decreased the number of her works 171, the number of hands working in same 808, and the value of her manufacturing establishments about \$1,700,000. Again, it is but the natural consequence, that since then New South Wales has become awakened to the iniquity of her former policy, and has hastened to enroll herself beneath the ample banner of protection.

* Tariff for revenue only.

Let us now look at our own country. Taken in connection with the fact that England, and all those who have the welfare of England at heart, are doing, and always have been doing their utmost to force free trade upon this country, it is of the deepest significance that of all our commercial rivals England has always been our most bitter and tireless enemy. And it is generally considered good policy, if an enemy is moving heaven and earth to force one to follow a certain path, to give that particular road the widest possible berth. Even when we were colonies the determination on the part of the British government to make us utterly dependent upon Great Britain, was clearly manifest; for in 1732 Parliament absolutely prohibited the exportation of hats from one province to another, while in 1750 the erection of an iron mill in the colonies was forbidden under the penalty of a fine of \$1,000; but, mark you, pig iron could be sent to England free of duty, in order that it might be manufactured there and returned to America. Later on, Lord Chatham declared that the colonies should not be allowed to make a hobnail for themselves.

Since our independence England has not been able to *command*, so she seeks to gain her ends through persuasion, and the aid of the Democratic party. What her ideas are in regard to this subject, and she expects them to work if carried out, was distinctly and forcibly stated by that illustrious Englishman, Fox, in a speech in Covent Garden, April 9, 1844. He was speaking about the dispute concerning the boundary between Oregon and British America, which then threatened to lead to war. He said of the disputed territory:

“When man has occupied it . . . when rail and canal have united the Atlantic and the Pacific . . . why, then will be the time to talk about the Oregon territory; then, without a regiment or line-of-battle ship, without bombarding any town whatever, free trade will conquer the Oregon territory for us, and will conquer the United States for us also. . . . Free trade will establish there all the insignia of conquest. When their products come here and those of our industry return, there will scarcely be a laborer upon the pine forest that he is clearing but

will wear upon his back, to his very shirt, the livery of Manchester. The knife with which he carves his game will bear the mark of Sheffield upon its blade as a testimony of our supremacy. Every handkerchief waved from the banks of the Missouri will be the waving of an English banner from Spitalfields. . . . Why, they will be conquered, for they will work for us, and what can the conquered do more for their masters? . . . They will send us whatever they can procure that we want, and without asking us to put our hand in our pocket in order, by taxation, to pay a governor there for quarreling with their representatives, or soldiery to bayonet their multitudes."

This speech was greeted with prolonged British cheers. But, if the question of protection or free trade was simply a matter of theory, then we would not be surprised at the existence of free traders in this country. In this issue, however, conjecture can play but little part; for, while we admit that protection has been the settled policy of this country from the time of Washington, nevertheless the advocates of a low tariff have been given three distinct opportunities for testing the fallacy of their scheme, and each time has the trial ended in disaster. The first of these trials was from 1816 to 1824. It included the great financial crisis of which Colonel Burton wrote :

No price for property ; no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshall ; no purchasers at execution sales except the creditor or some hoarder of money ; no employment for industry ; no demand for labor ; no sale for the products of the farm ; no sound of the hammer except that of the auctioneer knocking down property. Distress was the universal cry of the people ; relief the universal demand.

Such was the first era of "free trade prosperity," relieved only by the enactment of the high tariff of 1824. The second period was from 1833 to 1842. What the people thought about it is shown by the thrashing the Democrats received in the election of 1840. But the election of Polk brought with it the low tariff of 1846. For a time the immense floods of newly discovered gold flowing in from California, the Irish famine, and the placing in circulation of \$100,000,000, consequent upon the Mexican War, warded off the ruin which has always been the very shadow of free trade ; but by 1855 the "hard times" era

had fully set in. It was then that the governor of South Carolina, the leader of the free trade states, issued an appeal to charitable people all over the world to aid the starving thousands in the South, and it was then that charity soup-houses were opened in New York City for the relief of the destitute poor, where every day was witnessed the spectacle of hundreds of men, women, and children, of all colors and every nationality, fighting like dogs for first chance to get a plate of soup and a bite of bread. On January 13, 1855, over 6,000 persons were fed in this manner in the sixth ward alone. The cry of "hard times" arose from every hamlet and town; work was at a standstill; unfinished houses and ships rotted where they stood; it was but a repetition of that era described by Colonel Burton. That the cause of this desolation was recognized by a few at least, is demonstrated by the fact that the *New York Tribune*, in its issue of January 15, 1855, plainly stated that it was to be found "in the steady outflow of gold to pay foreign laborers for the cloth, the shoes, the iron, and other things that could be produced by American labor but which cannot be produced under our present revenue system." Surely it must be the recollection of such widespread desolation that rises as a solemn warning to the present leaders of the Democratic party, and causes their hesitation. It stands to reason that if two men are engaged in the manufacture of a certain article, and the first can employ his labor at 77 per cent less than the second, the latter will either have to get out of the business entirely or reduce the wages of his men. It would have been well for this country if those Democrats who are coming to recognize this fact at so late a moment, had only become enlightened a few days earlier in the season.

THEODORE COX.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CONTEST.

A BRITISH VIEW.

BY CECIL LOGSDAEL, OF LINCOLN, ENGLAND.

WITH the very considerable advantages a party always has when in power, with the entire G. A. R. voting in a body, almost as one man, and with a party machinery described as perfect, the voice of the United States has pronounced unmistakably against the McKinley bill and the Republican party. The reason of this is not far to seek. It is a vote of the people,—of the masses against the classes,—we hope, also, of the intelligence of the country, sounding the note of doom over a tariff system which has signally failed in what it was intended to accomplish, and which has made more millionaires and more paupers than any measure of tariff reform ever framed by any civilized government. It is the voice of a nation beset with the curse of favored classes, protesting in no mistakable sound against a system of government by which “thirty thousand men have been enabled to absorb more than one half of all the wealth of the people, while a million American citizens, able and willing to toil, are homeless tramps begging for bread, and innocent women are forced to prostitution or suicide to prevent beggary,”—a system of taxation that invites poverty to claim the laborer as its prey and creates a plutocracy only a little less than kingly in its power. No eloquent appeals to national prejudices and antipathies—no amount of truckling for the Irish vote in the large cities—no gloomy pictures of foreign countries suffering from the effects of the high tariff system,—no high-sounding laudations of a vigorous and successful foreign policy pursued—no expenditure of money, however enormous, freely subscribed by anxious partisans wishing to retain office,—could save the

Republican party, once great in the eyes of all honest men, but now unhappily degenerating, it is to be feared, into a selfish, unscrupulous, seminational corporation, from a crushing and overwhelming defeat.

The baneful effects of protective tariffs were conclusively proved in a paper by Mr. Lawrence Irwell in the October (1892) number of this periodical; the figures therein quoted, taken from the government returns, demonstrate most clearly that the protectionist policy has proved a failure in every country where it has been adopted. The wonderful natural resources of the United States, with a population nearly double that of Great Britain, instead of outstripping all other nations in manufactured goods, have not produced more than one sixth of the exports accounted for by Great Britain. Indeed, the United States trade returns show a gradual increase in the imports with a corresponding decrease in its exports, ever since the McKinley bill became law, or the exact reverse of what was anticipated by the Republican party. Again the higher scale of wages promised to the laborer under this act has proved a delusion, and has been refuted by almost every prominent trades union in the land, the Homestead riots being a practical answer to those who held out this sop. Instead of an improved condition, the laborer and the mechanic has each found himself competing with a sudden influx of foreign labor, thrown off from other countries suffering from the burden of this newly imposed protective system, the real effect of which has been to enable the home manufacturer to obtain, with a certain limit fixed by the amount of the duty, his own price for goods which would cost the purchaser less provided foreign competition existed. The claim of high tariff advocates that by extravagant imposts the riches of the country will be increased over the riches of other countries, is just as absurd as the fallacy so freely advanced, that to effect the ruin of a country with which another has been in friendly and lucrative commercial intercourse, means increased prosperity to the latter. It is the same with the division of property as it is with the division of labor. In effecting a more general division of property, an equalization that cuts down, or rather

wise measures in the interests of the people, are only combinations of politicians, largely composed of brewers and saloon keepers, to carry elections in their own interest. Neither party, perhaps, is to blame for this, but the rottenness of a governmental system which forces them to carry elections or lose their places. There is no country in the world which is so completely revolutionized by a presidential election as the United States, which, with all its boasted freedom, places the selection of its public servants under the control of party, dislodging useful men in certain branches of the service, who have shown themselves thoroughly competent and trustworthy, to make way for untried political opponents. In this respect, too, Mr. Cleveland, to his credit, has evinced a noble disposition to find a remedy, and to establish precedents which will smooth the way for other precedents to follow. Reform in the civil service is one of his battle cries. That his last administration was marked by much independent thought and action, a disposition not to be hampered by wire-pulling, ~~and~~ ^{and} ~~made him~~ ^{made him} the most popular politician in the country to-day, and to this alone is due beyond doubt the unprecedented fact ~~that~~ ^{that} during three successive campaigns he has been his party's choice, and twice elected to occupy the presidential chair. His policy, so far as can be judged, is no sentimental policy, such as elected President Harrison four years ago, who was then assisted largely by the various religious denominations and the Prohibitionists in a body, but who, well-meaning enough though he may have been, has, owing to the exigencies of party, been quite unable to satisfy the demands of the temperance reformers, and openly accused of truckling to the brewers and saloon keepers to secure a second term of office. When the excitement incident to the last political campaign has died out, let us hope that more independent thought will be brought to bear on the tremendous issues to be fought out; that more liberal and friendly relations will be sought after with foreign powers, and "the greatest benefit to the greatest number" prove the grand desideratum in economic science and statesmanship pursued by the new administration. The present condition of the working-classes will

still have largely to be fought out by themselves in more thorough organization among themselves, but they have certainly more to hope from a Democratic party, not entirely composed of monopolists, and from a president, who has on more than one occasion risen superior to supposed party exigencies and party dictation, than from a continuance in office of so-called reformers, who have persistently defended a system calculated to degrade both rich and poor alike, and who have so wisely but sternly been ordered to face about.

CECIL LOGSDAEL.

AN EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR'S VIEW.

BY HON. JOHN J. INGALLS.

I KNOW nothing of the causes that operated in states east of the Mississippi River, my observation and efforts having been confined exclusively to the West in the campaign. Here the result was brought about by the coalition of the Democracy with the agrarian and communistic elements, whose panacea for existing evils is the repudiation of all debts, public and private, the abolition of taxation, the forcible redistribution of property, and the reorganization of society by the degradation of the prosperous and educated to the level of the unsuccessful and the ignorant.

Those unfamiliar with the situation in this region can have no idea of the bitter intensity of the hatred of the poor for the rich, and in a general way of those who dwell in the country for those who live in towns. The rancorous malignity against banks, railroads, merchants, lawyers, and capitalists, found expression in frenzied invective which was not surpassed by the *petroleurs* in the commune of Paris. The assassination of bankers was advocated by populist orators and applauded by their auditors. The most destructive and pernicious theories of finance and government were the staples of every appeal to the victims of debt and misfortune, and the result is regarded as a distinct triumph by the apostles of state socialism.

The argument against the tariff was addressed to the passions

and not to the reason of the people. It is a mistake to suppose that in the agricultural states of the northwest there was any discontent at the burden of taxation under the McKinley bill. Evidence that wages were higher, prices of the necessities of life lower, and the market for farm products widened, was wasted. The verdict against the tariff was not because it had unjustly increased the burdens of the poor, but because it had made some men rich. So with railroads; they are stigmatized as public enemies, though all know that there has never been an hour when a man could travel so far or send a barrel of flour so many miles for a dollar as now. The railroads are hated not because they have imposed unjust burdens on the people, but because they have made Jay Gould and Dillon and Vanderbilt rich. And the same way with corporations. There has been no other time since God called the darkness night, when the poorest man could light his cabin so cheaply as he can now with kerosene. The Standard Oil Company is the object of public execration, not for the reason that it has increased the burdens of the poor, since on the contrary it has lightened (!) them, but because it has made Rockefeller and his associates millionaires, clad in purple and fine linen and faring sumptuously every day.

Universal education and increased opportunity for travel and observation have multiplied desires and ambitions much more rapidly than they have multiplied the means of their gratification. To this is very largely due the existing discontent with our social conditions. The vulgar and insolent ostentation of the millionaires has also contributed much to the development of the communistic spirit which in this campaign has pronounced its most ferocious formula.

It seems probable that this element in our civilization will become intensified, rather than appeased, in the future. It is reinforced by constant accessions from foreign countries which contaminate our national life at its sources. The exhaustion of the public domain no longer permits the diffusion of these undesirable guests over the vast area of the West, and they are crowding the cities, creating pestilential centers and disseminating their contagion. The struggle for life will become

harder, competition more relentless, and the weaker will go down. Taught by demagogues that all men are equal and entitled therefore to an equal share of the assets of society, they are instructed that all capitalists are thieves who have robbed the poor by unjust laws, and thus they repair to the ballot box for restitution and revenge.

The alliance between the Democratic party and these menacing elements is casual and temporary. The leaders of the democracy have no sympathy with the axioms of anarchy. They have as much at stake as the Republicans. The Democratic masses north of the Ohio and the Potomac are intelligent and patriotic, and in the final contest between the conservative and the destructive forces of the republic, which is inevitable in the near future, the coalition will obliterate partisanship.

Mr. Cleveland is not an ideal statesman. He will be like that governor of Indiana who went into office with little opposition and went out with none. But he is an Anglo-Saxon in fiber and instinct, and neither a timeserver, nor a trimmer, nor a poltroon. The vagaries of fiat money, state ownership of railroads, and government loans to those who can borrow from nobody else, will be treated with the contempt they deserve. His terse and sententious apothegm that "paternalism has no place in the creed of democracy," is an epitome and an epitaph.

JOHN J. INGALLS.

A WOMAN'S VIEW.

BY BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

THE equilibrium of every republic is usually maintained by two opposing political parties; and it is best for the commonwealth that those parties should be about evenly balanced both as to principles and to numbers. In fact that no great ascendancy should be gained by either party, so that it may feel itself permanently in power, for thus would the liberties of the people be imperiled, and a possible aristocracy or plutocracy be engendered.

The good to be obtained by parties is that each party shall act

as a check on the improvidence or extravagance of the other; and it will never be for the good of the American people that all of her voting population should belong to one political party. It is this difference of thought,—this agitation of great political questions by the masses of the people of this country, that has in the past, and must forever in the future, keep our political pools pure, and preserve intact the liberties of the republic.

In 1884 the Republican and Democratic parties were so evenly balanced as to numbers that it took three days to determine the result of the count; when it was found that Cleveland was elected by a bare majority. In 1888 Benjamin Harrison had a majority of the electors, and Grover Cleveland had a majority of the popular vote. How is it then that in 1892, without any special enthusiasm for the personelle of either candidate, both having been previously tried and the country left intact, both having served a term without displaying any marked magnetic qualities, or having made a specially brilliant career, that in 1892 we find Grover Cleveland elected president by a majority so overwhelming that it astonishes even his friends? The Democratic party has never been given to torchlight processions or parades. It had no postmasters to distribute literature in 65,000 townships, nor government officers to make to the simple country folks speeches that should seem to come with the authority of oracles.

The election of 1888 was carried by that tariff bugbear, that "protection protects the laboring man." Even James G. Blaine when he returned from his two years' trip across the Atlantic, rolled up his sleeves, went into the contest for the election of Harrison, and, although he knew its fallacy, repeated the cry, "Protection protects the laborer." Senator Allison said in an unguarded moment, that neither he nor his constituency were in favor of high protection, but that it was necessary for him to keep in line with his party. "Do you wish to reduce your wages to the level of the pauper labor of Europe," was the party cry, and it carried the election in favor of Harrison in 1888.

Had the president then been an astute politician, he would

have learned that his success was the result of a ruse which had deceived the laboring men, and which sooner or later must be exposed. But emboldened by his success, President Harrison made high protection, as embodied in the McKinley bill, one of his pet measures, and went so far as to intimate to Congress, that its defeat would meet with his severe disapproval. On its promulgation, all Europe, and Central and South America were in arms, so to speak, calling the measure our "tariff war."

Just at this time the Pan-American Congress, for the calling of which a law had been passed during the Cleveland administration, and the invitations sent out during the Harrison administration, was in session in Washington. Naturally and properly enough Mr. Blaine, as secretary of state, was made the president of that congress of American nations; containing as it did, the grandest body of men ever convened for purely peaceful and commercial purposes. Mr. Blaine learned in these discussions that it was impossible for us to treat successfully with the Central and South American states, and secure their valuable commerce, then nearly all being diverted to England and France, and keep up our high protection legislation.

The Democratic administration while in power, had committed the blunder of refusing to subsidize steamships for the purpose of carrying American mails to South American ports, or to make any concessions that would induce American shipbuilders to construct well-equipped vessels for the commerce of South American ports.

It was in vain that Mr. Blaine sought to convert Mr. Harrison to some rational ideas of tariff reduction, or at least to an equalization of tariff rates. The president was obstinate, and opinionated. As a last resort Mr. Blaine appeared before the joint committee of the two Houses, then discussing the various clauses of the McKinley bill, and by a coalition with a Democratic senator secured the "*reciprocity*" clause. It was the only saving feature of the McKinley bill; and under it, with masterly tact, Mr. Blaine secured for our government, several eligible commercial treaties, not only with the Central and South American states, but with European states as well. At once

Mr. Blaine's political reputation loomed upon the political horizon, and almost simultaneously a jealousy, and a coolness arose between the president and his secretary of state, which culminated just before the meeting of the nominating convention at Minneapolis with a curt note of resignation from the secretary, and an equally curt acceptance by the president. The gauntlet was thrown down.

The interference of administration officials in the nominating convention at Minneapolis and the effort to manipulate the colored delegates from the South in the interest of Harrison, coupled with the defeat of the nomination of Mr. Blaine, not so much by the will of the people as by the will of politicians who had axes to grind, if it did not alienate Mr. Blaine and his friends from the president, certainly reduced them to a chilly coolness toward him, and the ultimate result of the election.

In the meantime the Homestead trouble was brewing until the whole press of the country had aired the difficulty; and it had appeared very plain to every laboring man in the country, that protection did not protect either organized or unorganized labor, and the Pinkertons were called in to protect the Carnegie works, and the militia of Pennsylvania were called out to protect the Pinkertons. It looked as though a war on organized labor had actually begun. All of the trades unions of the country took alarm. Mr. Powderly gave the strength of his influence to the Peoples' party.

The tin plate industry was too transparent to deceive anybody who had anything to do with the mining or manufacture of tin. Pension legislation had reached its utmost limit,—had exhausted the surplus,—not so much from love of the soldier, as from the intense desire of the Republicans to control the "soldier vote," and the fear of many Democrats of imperiling their own reelection.

The depression in agricultural products over the whole country, and the financial difficulties of the farming class, had long before this engendered the People's party, which carried with it the electoral vote of Kansas, Idaho, Nevada, North Dakota, Colorado, and Wyoming, thus casting twenty-six elec-

toral votes for Weaver ; most of which under ordinary circumstances would have been counted for the Republican party.

The defeated silver bill played its part in the election of the western and Pacific slope states where silver enters so largely into the product and industries of the country. Silver enters also very largely into the production of the South American states, and if we are to deal with them commercially, it must be on a silver basis, and with at least an approximate silver standard.

The Italian affair, and the Chilian imbroglio will seem after a time as but incidents in our national life, but the readiness with which the president and the secretaries of war and navy accepted the possibility and encouraged the probability of a foreign war, with every facility for the settlement of those difficulties by arbitration, in their own hands ; the eagerness with which certain members of Congress, and the secretary of the navy seized upon the idea as a pretext for securing appropriations for the building of war ships, and the strengthening of the navy, ostensibly in a spirit of patriotism for offensive and defensive warfare, but really for self-glorification, to create a sentiment for the next election, and to make places in the navy for the graduates at Annapolis, and in the army for the graduates at West Point : all these neither pleased nor gratified the rural or farming population, who prefer their peaceful firesides to the clangor of arms abroad ; and especially so when our country at home is in no possible danger, and there is nothing to be gained by the conflict but the slaughter of innocent lives on both sides, leaving the gist of the difficulty still to be arbitrated.

But the crowning climax of the whole, and that which precipitated the defeat, was the resurrection of the sleeping, if not defunct, force bill—which had not been, and probably never would have been enacted into law—by the attorney general, in lieu of the passage of the act itself, and in order to show the devotion of the party to it, giving federal authority to the control of the election, by ordering out to defend and inspect the polls, the United States marshals over the country, thus giving credence to the belief that if Harrison was elected, the force bill would be enacted. It seemed to be such an infringement upon

liberty, that it scared even the negroes themselves, whom it was designed to protect.

Great projects are often lost by the overzeal of those who advocate them.

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

A PEACEMAKER'S VIEW.

BY ALFRED H. LOVE.

THE Universal Peace Union is not partisan, it is patriotic, it is cosmopolitan. It loves the whole country, it loves all mankind. With the success of either or any party in the United States it feels it has friends and support, with the defeat of either or any, it is not discouraged. A principle as worthy as that of peace, will always claim the attention of our government.

We can see, however, causes why the Republican party was defeated, and why Cleveland was elected. As we are for the freedom of trade as a peacemaker, we can understand why ultra free trade needs some amendments and high protection is repulsive to the people. Our freedom of trade is to take off all heavy burdens and all obstacles that stand in the way of success. It may mean some protection to some extent, in some cases, and it may mean free trade in others. Reciprocity in a measure represents it, and yet not as fully as such legislation and such opening of all facilities, as is easily understood, by giving every encouragement to the dignity of labor and the wholesome influences of unobstructed agriculture, manufactures, and commerce the wide world over; feeling that what benefits one will benefit another. "If one member be honored all the members rejoice with it." The Republican party had forced protection beyond the limits of necessity or prudence. It was unequal, and the people felt it oppressive.

It did this also in the granting of pensions. The cry was, "Harrison never vetoed a pension bill, while Cleveland had vetoed hundreds." It was a bid to secure the military vote. For the most trivial reasons pensions were granted to soldiers and their relatives, and increased every year, becoming larger

as the time lengthened since the war, almost a generation ago, until the drain upon the treasury reached nearly \$200,000,000, or three dollars for each inhabitant of the United States.

Now, there is a proposition, which is a wise one, that the Democratic party, when it comes into power, will amend the pension laws, so that only those disabled soldiers shall be pensioned who cannot on account of their wounds or service in the army earn their own living. Extravagant statements during the campaign, lavish expenditures during former administrations, and pandering to excesses, have received a protest from the people, and it is this more than any special or superior virtue in the party now victorious, and the hope that some change may be salutary, that is the sequel to the change, and we trust that in all this the peace principle, which we may say has been well upheld during President Harrison's administration, will receive no setback.

We do not overlook the fact, however, that the military system has been wonderfully pampered during the past four years, by the organization of the state militia, the building of war vessels, and the inauguration of naval reserves. Hence we must labor on, educate the people, impress the leaders with our great truths, and have faith in the ultimate success of the peace policy. It seems that the People's party may hold the balance of power in Congress. This party is the only one at this campaign that declared for women's suffrage and arbitration in place of the military system.

ALFRED H. LOVE.

AN AMERICAN BIRTHRIGHT.

BY J. G. HERTWIG.

HAVING so recently elected a president and vice president of the United States it may not be improper to examine and discuss one of the qualifications required by the American Constitution of the candidates for the two highest offices in the gift of the American nation.

The United States presents the encouraging and satisfactory example to the world of a free country,—with a government of the people, by the people, and for the people,—where all citizens are sovereign, not ruled by one, but served by all the public officers of the land, from the highest to the lowest. The government of this country, where only the law and his self-respect rule the subject, is based upon the principle of equal rights to all, in all matters of public concern, that is, in all matters affected or to be affected by law. This principle, laid down in the Declaration of Independence, upon which the Constitution of the United States rests, precludes birthrights of a public character from having effect in this country: Yet, there exists such a birthright under the Constitution. This fundamental law says: “The executive power shall be vested in a president of the United States of America,” and “No person except a natural born citizen or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of president.” In addition, in one of its amendments, it says: “But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of president, shall be eligible to that of vice president of the United States.”

By a natural born American citizen both a native citizen of this country is meant, and a citizen who was born in a foreign country, while his American parents lived there, his father, for

instance, holding the position of American minister or consul in that country.

The last two constitutional clauses quoted entitle only native or natural born American citizens to be elected to the offices of president or vice president of the United States, while they distinctly exclude adopted or naturalized American citizens of the present time, from the right of holding the two offices named, thus rendering this right a birthright. There is no apparent reason for the constitutional distinction between American citizens of foreign birth at the time of the adoption of the Constitution and such American citizens, having been naturalized after that time. Adopted citizens of this country are, of course, as good men now as American citizens of foreign birth ever were before.

Naturalization, as it is provided for by the Constitution of the United States, means the investment of an alien with the public rights and privileges enjoyed by a native or natural born American citizen. The very word naturalization proves this. The alien, by this act, becomes an American citizen, as if he were one by birth. Besides, the principle of equal rights to all before the law, being the basis or corner stone of American freedom, admits no other interpretation, than that, as to all public rights and immunities, there shall be only one class, and not two classes, of citizens of this country, irrespective of their nativity.

By naturalization an alien, who has emigrated from a foreign country, generally his native land, to the United States, becomes an American citizen and entirely ceases to have anything to do politically as a citizen of his former country. When, by his own choice, he is being naturalized, he must declare on oath that he will support the Constitution of the United States and that he absolutely renounces and abjures forever all allegiance and fidelity to every foreign power, prince, state, and sovereignty whatever. He thus by oath, or the most solemn obligation, ceases to be a foreigner and becomes an American, a member of the American people or nation, a citizen of the United States. But, as such citizen, he is entitled under the principle of equal rights to all immunities and privileges before

the law, exactly as his native or natural born American fellow-citizens, among them the right to vote for public officers and to hold public offices of every kind.

The American people are an English-speaking nation. This, as an outgrowth of the history of this country, is a firmly and permanently established fact. In English the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, the two charters of American freedom, and the constitutions of the several states of the Union have been written. In English the other laws of this country have been given and are given by the Congress of the United States, and the local laws by the legislatures of the several states of the Union—both kinds of laws in accordance with the two charters named. In English the business of the American courts of justice and of the other public offices of this country is transacted. In English the instruction of the common public schools and of the higher public institutions of learning of this country is given. English, therefore, is and for all time to come will be the legal language of this country, both to native or natural born and to naturalized American citizens. For this reason every candidate for public office in this country, if English is not his mother tongue, must have fully mastered it, speaking, reading, and writing it readily, fluently, and correctly.

The naturalized American citizen has to pay taxes and to bear all other public burdens at exactly the same rate as his native or natural born fellow-citizen, and he, therefore, ought to enjoy all the public rights and privileges enjoyed by any other citizen, eligibility to the offices of president and vice president of the United States included.

The last two constitutional provisions quoted excluding naturalized American citizens from the two highest elective offices of this country are wrong. The discrimination against the present naturalized citizens of this country is as plain a violation of the self-evident truth enunciated by the Declaration of Independence, which says that all men are created equal and entitled to equal rights before the law, as negro-slavery, formerly a constitutional institution of this country, was before its abolition by a constitutional amendment. Those provisions grant a public

birthright to native or natural born American citizens which is not recognized by the laws of nature, and is, therefore, unjust. The public institutions of the United States are in themselves freer, truer, and better, than those of any other country ; but human nature is no better in this free country than anywhere else on the globe, all men being created alike in this respect. In connection with this subject it must be said yet that the native or natural born citizens of the United States consist chiefly of descendants of European nations, of descendants of African tribes, and of Indians paying taxes. The naturalized citizens of this country are mostly Europeans by birth.

His character, intelligence, and judgment, not the place of his birth or cradle, ought to entitle and enable an American citizen—native, natural born, or adopted—to be elected to any public office in this country, the presidency and vice presidency included. A false principle, therefore, is contained in the two constitutional clauses referred to, as to naturalized American citizens of the present time. The latter by those clauses are erroneously treated as second-class citizens of this country. A great many of them have come with their parents to the United States when so young that they, by personal experience or observation, know nothing, or hardly anything, of their native countries. These two clauses, by the discrimination contained therein against the present naturalized American citizens, disfigure the Constitution of the United States, which, without this error or defect, would be, as to freedom, the most perfect fundamental law in the world.

J. G. HERTWIG.

THE READING RAILROAD LEASES.*

BY C. LA RUE MUNSON, ESQ.

IN FEBRUARY last, to the surprise of railway and financial circles, an organization was consummated by which the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, theretofore of but comparative strength and confined within portions of Pennsylvania and New Jersey, became one of the foremost railroad systems of the United States, entering the field of transportation with present facilities, and opportunities for future growth of traffic, unexcelled among the great carriers of the eastern states.

The Reading Railroad, as it is commonly known, operated a main line between Philadelphia and Pottsville, with a northern extension to Williamsport, traversing the prosperous valleys of the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Rivers, and, with its various branches in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, forming one of the two railroad arteries, so materially assisting in the commercial prosperity of Philadelphia and the eastern portion of Pennsylvania. On February 11, 1892, this company became the lessee, for the term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, of the Lehigh Valley Railroad, extending from Jersey City, in New York Harbor, and from Perth Amboy, on the Arthur Kill, through the State of New Jersey, into Pennsylvania, traversing the Lehigh and Wyoming Valleys, filled with their wealth of iron, coal, and other great commercial products, and through the populous territory of Western New York, to Buffalo, the gateway to the Great Lakes, through which pours so much of the traffic of the western states; obtaining at the same time the great fleet of lake boats owned by the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, forming direct connection with the West, and also obtaining by this lease the terminals of that company, at Fair

* Read before American Social Science Association.

Haven, on Lake Ontario. On the following day, the Port Reading Railroad Company, a corporation of New Jersey, and harmonious in management with the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, leased, for a like term of nine hundred and ninety-nine years, the Central Railroad of New Jersey, extending from Jersey City to Scranton, in Pennsylvania, and not only carrying the valuable coal and iron freights reached by its extensive railways, but, through its eastern lines and branches, covering a thickly settled portion of New Jersey, and daily pouring into the city of New York no small proportion of its active workers.

Thus the Reading system joins such great centers of distribution as New York, Philadelphia, and Buffalo, with all the enormous population, and consequent volume of passenger and freight traffic, reached by its lines and many branches between these points, while it also becomes the greatest coal carrier in the world, and can convey no mean proportion of the products of the immense iron furnaces and mills of Pennsylvania, and, by means of its fleet of steamers on the lakes, of the great grain fields of the West. With its affiliations, particularly its control of the Poughkeepsie Bridge, it enters the markets of New England with unrivaled facilities, while, through its southern connections, it becomes an active competitor for the traffic of that rapidly growing section.

The Reading system now controls 5,583 miles of railroad; traverses a territory containing nearly ten millions of population; by means of 1,718 locomotives and 113,206 cars, annually carries forty millions of passengers, moves fifty millions of tons of freight, and earns about \$57,000,000; while with its affiliated companies, it has a capital and indebtedness of \$511,000,000, and employs 83,960 wage-earners, among whom it annually distributes \$37,000,000, directly supporting more than four hundred thousand people.

These meager statements convey some idea of the magnitude of the system, and impress us with its importance as a factor in the future prosperity of the populous territory reached by its extensive lines. Viewed from every standpoint, the Reading system must be considered as more than a matter of local inter-

est ; even more than a carrier of freight and passengers within the most thickly settled portion of the United States ; but, as well, one of the means by which the great wealth and importance of the nation are augmented, and her people bound together by ties of common interest and mutual advancement.

These are days of great aggregations of capital and Titanic financial and commercial combinations. That which may be accomplished by consolidations and associations of reciprocal interests, cannot be obtained, in a like degree of efficiency, through individual efforts, however well they may be directed or skillfully conducted. This is the keynote of our national organization, and is the mainspring, by which our Union of States has advanced to her present commanding position among the family of the nations.

Nowhere is the power of obtaining the greatest good for the greatest number, particularly in the commercial way, better shown than in the combination of railway interests, by which corporations, weak in themselves and alone, are enabled, through a consolidation under one head and management, to accomplish results beneficial to themselves and to the public at large ; results absolutely beyond their reach when, as individual operators, they were striving to effectuate the objects of their creation. Many have not forgotten the difficulties and impediments in traffic existing when the various railroads, now making up the famous systems of the Pennsylvania and of the New York Central Railroad Companies, were operated as individual and independent corporations. These two railroads have become so necessary, in their present form, to the shippers and travelers in the territories they traverse, that their relegation to their anterior organizations would cause, not only great inconvenience and loss to their patrons as well as to the public at large, but would be such a retrogradation in the forward progress of our advanced civilization, as to be considered a national calamity. American history can point to no one element in the story of her progress more productive of national benefit than the consolidation of her railway interests. There has been no exception to the invariable rule that the combination, or, in other words, the

strengthening of her railways, has resulted in a benefit to her people. Through such means, more than any other, has the great West become a still greater West. Millions of acres of productive soil have furnished homes to millions of people, and vast areas of nature's wealth have been distributed, not only in our land, but as well to the far-off foreigner, through the facilities offered by railroads consolidated from minor lines, individually unable to open these fields of magnificent production and mines and forests of untold wealth.

It is this knowledge of the certain results of consolidation, favorable as well to the owners of their railroads as to the citizens directly reached by their lines, that prompted the Reading leases, and brought into one great system, powerful among its competitors, the magnificent railroad now commanding our attention.

It is well known that this organization was chiefly effected by one man, Mr. McLeod, the president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, who has thus created a system of greater magnitude and usefulness than has heretofore been the fortune of any one person in this country, if not in the world. Not only did he succeed in bringing into one system more than five thousand miles of railroad and combining five hundred millions of capital, but his negotiations were carried on with such tact and ability that the leases were accomplished facts before any knowledge of his undertaking had become known in the great financial centers of Wall Street and Third Street, so much interested in its outcome, or even to the ubiquitous reporter. In this respect, alone, the Reading leases may be considered as one of the greatest financial feats, in an age when gigantic monetary combinations are so frequent, and when every happening, commercial, political, or social, has a publicity through the press, almost contemporaneous with its occurrence.

The Reading leases have attracted still more attention through their supposed effect upon the anthracite coal market. That article of domestic consumption enters so generally into the cost of living and directly affects so many people that an association, asserted to be able to regulate its production and cost, must necessarily be a subject of general interest.

It will not be irrelevant to make some reference to the magnitude of the coal trade and its future probabilities. In 1890 (the latest attainable figures) the world produced nearly five hundred millions of tons of coal, of which Great Britain mined one hundred and eighty-one, and the United States one hundred and forty millions. In 1891 the United States produced one hundred and fifty-one millions of tons of coal, of which Pennsylvania mined forty-one millions of tons of anthracite and thirty-six millions of tons of bituminous, or more than one half of the entire output.

While a small amount of anthracite coal is claimed for Colorado, it is so infinitesimal in proportion—being only 55,000 tons, or one seventh of one per cent of the whole production—that it makes no exception to the statement that the anthracite coal field is contained in parts of five counties of Pennsylvania, and, by a very careful geological survey, within an area of four hundred and eighty-eight square miles. This coal, first mined in the early part of this century, but in small quantities and by very crude methods, has developed into an enormous tonnage. During the past thirty years, the consumption of the anthracite has quintupled, while the tonnage of the bituminous is twenty times greater than in 1860, the population of the country having only doubled in the same period.

The soft, or bituminous, coal being as effective for steam purposes as the anthracite, and much less expensive, has largely supplanted the hard coal for motive power and many other uses. The latter, however, has rapidly grown in domestic consumption, until it has supplanted wood as a fuel in many remote and rural districts, where, until within a comparatively few years, its use had been quite unknown. This increase in the demand for anthracite coal has been brought about, in addition to the increase in population, by the decrease in the wood supply, by its better adaptation, through improved burners, to all domestic uses, and by the reduction in freight rates. Of the 41,000,000 tons marketed in 1891, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey consumed sixty per cent, while the five cities of New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Brooklyn, and Boston burned one fourth.

Large in consumption and low in price as has been this valuable deposit of nature, it is not to be forgotten that there are those now living who may see the field practically exhausted. Already more than eight hundred and fifty millions of tons have been used, which, at the present tonnage and its natural increase, will reach at least twelve hundred millions at the close of this century. A very careful computation of the available anthracite coal remaining unmined, made by a gentleman well able to express an opinion, places the marketable deposit at less than six thousand millions of tons. This estimate, as he states, is very liberal, and is, probably, the maximum, as he has allowed for future improvements in mining, lessening the waste, burning smaller sizes, etc. But while there may be anthracite coal mined at the end of another century, it is certain that the larger number of the mines will have been worked out at a much earlier period and the present valuable fields very much sooner exhausted. It is the opinion of many, well informed on the subject, that the end of a period of fifty years, or seventy-five at the latest, will find the anthracite coal a thing of the past and no longer a factor in the vital question of fuel, a question so vital that, while it may not affect us, it will be a serious matter for generations not far distant.

The last census shows a capital of more than \$161,000,000 invested in anthracite coal mining. This is certainly under, rather than over, estimated, as four large mining companies, producing less than one half the entire tonnage, alone have a capitalization, including indebtedness, of \$140,000,000. In this connection it may be added, that the cost of opening a mine, prepared to deliver merchantable anthracite, equals two dollars on each ton of its capacity, and that future openings, by reason of deeper mining and improved plants, must be still more expensive.

It is apparent that the successful miner must not only market his coal at a price beyond its cost of production, but must also get out of his mine its original cost and the expenditure for his plant, before his coal is exhausted. Costly drifts and shafts and expensive power stations and breakers, without coal, would be

of but little worth. For reasons, which we will presently discuss, the anthracite operator of the past few years, unless he occupied a peculiarly profitable location, has been far from a realization of such results. As already stated, the capital invested is large and the cost and difficulties of mining very great, while the net prices at which his coal has been sold have been very low. The royalties, or rent or interest upon his coal deposit, his pay roll, and all the miners' expenses, are virtually fixed charges, while the prices, owing to the strife among the sales agents of the large mining companies, have been anything but uniform and stable.

A glance at the anthracite field will give us the situation. The largest operator is the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, owning more than one hundred thousand acres of the territory, or one third of the area, and at least one half of the entire deposit. This company employs twenty-eight thousand men, operates sixty-two collieries, and, last year, shipped nearly eight millions of tons, or one fifth of the entire product. The Lehigh Valley Coal Company, with fifty-five collieries, directly and through its lessees, marketed more than four and a half million tons, while the Lehigh & Wilkes Barre Coal Company and the Lehigh Coal and Navigation Company, operating twenty-three collieries, mined nearly four millions of tons. These companies, closely allied with the railroads forming the Reading system, produced last year sixteen million tons of anthracite coal, or forty per cent of the entire output. The remainder of the coal was mined by individual operators and by companies harmonious in management with the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, the Pennsylvania and other railroad companies.

Many attempts had been made, prior to the present situation, to maintain uniform prices and to secure a production commensurate with the needs of the market; but such efforts had invariably proved ineffectual, until, at last, it became a race between the sales agents to market all the coal possible and at prices to insure a customer. The result was a large overproduction and low prices, with consequent loss to the miner. Anthracite coal,

being chiefly used for domestic purposes and increasing or decreasing in demand as the weather requires greater or less quantities, has, of necessity, peculiar limitations upon its consumption. During a short period of the year the market requires about four millions of tons per month; this output continued, without restriction, throughout the year, would furnish a supply exceeding the demand by about ten millions of tons, and, as the operators must be prepared in capacity to supply the maximum requirement—the coal being delivered directly from the breakers to the cars—the absence of mutual restriction would, and did, result in overstocking the market, thereby reducing the net prices to the miner below a fair profit and, in many instances, causing positive losses. From this overproduction arose the opportunity of the middleman, who, by a judicious investment, was enabled to reap a handsome reward; reducing, on the one hand, the return to the producer, while, on the other, the consumer was able to obtain little, if any, benefit from what would otherwise have been his gain. For a like reason, there arose an inequality in prices at various points, until, in 1891, as it appears, the operator netted at tide-water—the chief market of oversupply and consequent competition—from fifteen to eighteen cents per ton less than at interior points nearer the source of production; or, in other words, the consumer at places nearer the mines, paid more for his coal than those living at a much greater distance. It is a well-known fact that the householders of Pennsylvania have of late, been obliged to pay more for their coal than those living over a hundred miles more remote from the mines.

While it is impossible to obtain any accurate figures, covering the whole field, from which the profit upon anthracite coal to the miner may be ascertained, it has been stated, on high authority, that during 1891 it netted at tide-water from \$1.57 to \$1.74 per ton, and at interior points, from \$1.75 to \$1.92. Deducting from these figures, taking the average of \$1.65 and \$1.84 for each market, the cost of mining and delivering at breaker, amounting, without royalties or interest on cost of the coal land, to at least \$1.50 to \$1.70 per ton, there would be an apparent

average profit of say fourteen and a half cents per ton, producing, upon the tonnage of 1891, about \$6,000,000, or somewhat less than four per centum upon the capital invested in the business. When we consider that during that year, more than forty millions of tons of this wealth of the earth have been reduced to ashes, we can readily see that there has been a decided "squandering of the heritage."

The operators have not been alone in failing to obtain their just deserts, for their miners have been very far from remuneratively employed. There are, according to statistics furnished by Pennsylvania's Department of Internal Affairs, about one hundred and ten thousand employees in the anthracite mines. This means that half a million people are directly dependent for their living upon some uniform rate of wages and regular employment. In point of fact, owing to the want of some systematic operation of the mines to produce the requirements of the markets, the employment of the miners has been very irregular and desultory. If such a system in mining could be secured, there would be at least some regularity in their employment, rather than spasmodic periods of activity followed by long weeks of idleness. Illustrative of the situation of the workman, a comparison of the reports of two of the largest mining companies, for 1891, will be in point. In one, six collieries were idle during the entire year, while the remainder were in operation but 147 days; the other enjoying the proportionate advantage of an average of 213 working days. Thus, omitting Sundays and holidays, the 5,500 miners in one company were idle 158 days, and the 28,000 in the other, 92 days. It is not difficult to imagine the distress caused these workmen and their families, by these long periods of waiting for work, or to account for the many series of labor troubles in the anthracite coal regions of Pennsylvania.

The management of the Reading system and its affiliated coal companies, having such a large share in the production and transportation of this coal, has announced its intention to do its part in bringing order out of this chaos and of placing the business upon a basis productive of much better results both to the

operators and to their miners, as well as to its own shareholders. It proposes to accomplish those ends by these means :

1. Reducing the cost of production, by the adoption of improved methods in mining ; consolidation of management and consequent lessening of the cost of that expense ; the cessation of work at the expensive, and more constant operation of the profitable, collieries, and by bringing to an end former methods, resulting, through unwise management, in so much waste.

2. Proper restriction in production and consequent operation of the mines in harmony with the requirements of the markets.

3. Bringing the coal to market more cheaply, through a unification of systems and management, whereby the traffic can be handled with more economy and regularity and without the requirement of so large a transportation equipment.

4. Marketing more cheaply, eliminating not only rival and costly sales agents, but, as well, unnecessary middlemen, and thereby bringing the coal more directly to the consumer and at prices more fair and equalized than under former conditions.

It is relevant, in passing, to note that commercial affairs are yearly drawing the producer and consumer into closer relations. That such a result is advantageous to both is self-evident. The elimination of the jobber, or middleman, must, of necessity, serve to give the producer a higher profit and enable the consumer to purchase at lower prices. An examination of the anthracite coal trade shows that the dealer realizes about a dollar per ton over cost, from which is to be deducted only his expense of unloading, storing, and delivering. But this cost is reduced by the gain he enjoys between the gross ton of 2240 pounds, at which he buys, and the net ton of 2000 pounds, at which he sells. While a portion of this difference may be lost in screening, there remains fully a profit of eight per centum through this mode of measuring. In many places the dealer's charge, per ton, exceeds the dollar over its cost, reaching in some places, as was testified in an official examination, nearly double that amount. The present organization, working on its announced lines, will seek to equalize these conditions, leaving the market in its proper situation, practically between the pro-

ducer and the consumer, with, if need be, a fair profit to the dealer.

While much has been said of late, upon the effect of the Reading leases as tending to advance the cost of anthracite coal and as actually already causing such an increase, it must be remembered that the prices are still lower than those of five years ago, and that the late advance is one usually made at the season of the year it was adopted. With proper regard for the rights of the operator, who is certainly entitled to the cost of production and a fair return upon his invested capital, not to mention some remuneration for his rapidly diminishing property, it cannot be considered unjust if there should be some advance in prices, necessary to bring about such results, even if the profits of certain dealers are thereby reduced, or even if the consumer pays more for his coal, under a management more systematic and equitable than has prevailed during the past five years.

It is absurd to assume that the effect of the Reading leases will be to extort unreasonable prices for anthracite coal, by creating a monopoly driving out all competition, for it must not be forgotten that nearly twenty millions of tons, or about one half the market, are annually mined by interests far from identical with the Reading, and certainly in no manner within its control, while, yearly, a hundred millions of tons of bituminous coal, raised from mines and areas containing deposits of incalculable tonnage, stand at the door of the market, prepared to meet anthracite prices raised beyond fair returns to its operators. In short, there are limitations upon the price of anthracite coal absolutely beyond the reach of any combination or consolidation, a limitation, through the bituminous coal, always preventing a monopoly in fuel, and which, indeed, may in time, with improved methods in its use, largely supplant its elder, but now weaker, rival.

As is to be expected, the Reading leases have not only been followed by some adverse criticism, but legal proceedings have been instituted to set them aside. Three stockholders' bills have been filed in Pennsylvania and New Jersey, while the attorneys general of those states have instituted chancery proceedings to secure their annulment.

Of the actions instituted by stockholders, but one is of interest at this time, as it alone, of all the cases at issue, has reached any stage of decision. This cause, known as the Gummere case, arose on a bill filed in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, by three small stockholders in the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company, averring, in addition to the allegation of the unconstitutionality of the leases and that they should be declared void as contrary to public policy, that their effect was prejudicial to their interests as such stockholders. The plaintiffs' application for a preliminary injunction and for a receiver, was met by affidavits of the defendants, answering the latter allegation and establishing, very clearly, much larger returns to the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company than under former conditions, by showing very large gains in traffic since the operation of the lease; receipts from east-bound general merchandise alone being greater for four months of 1892, and since the lease, than in all of the preceding year, while the coal freights had returned in that period, as against the corresponding months of 1891, an increase of \$250,000. The motion, having been argued at length by distinguished lawyers, was denied by the court, in an able opinion, and became the first decision in these famous controversies. The other stockholders' bills, proceeding upon similar grounds, are still undetermined, but, so far as the Lehigh Valley Railroad Company is concerned, it may be taken as adjudicated, unless a different state of facts can be established upon final hearing, that the interests of its stockholders have not been injuriously affected by the Reading lease.

The bill of the attorney general of New Jersey, while alleging the creation of a monopoly in anthracite coal, repugnant to public policy and detrimental to the interests of its citizens, seems to be chiefly based upon an averment of a violation of one of its statutes, prohibiting the leasing of a railroad of that state to a foreign corporation, without the consent of its legislature. The defendants' answer avers that the lessee of the Central Railroad of New Jersey is the Port Reading Railroad Company, not a foreign corporation, but created under the laws of New Jersey and operating a railroad wholly within its limits. It is

also denied that this company, lessee, is owned or controlled by the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, although there may be harmony in the management of those companies.

Beyond question, the pending case concerning the Reading leases of the greatest importance, is that commenced by the attorney general of Pennsylvania, in the name of the Commonwealth, wherein it is alleged that those leases are repugnant to Section 4, of Article XVII. of its Constitution, which is in this language :

No railroad, canal, or other corporation, or the lessees, purchasers, or managers of any railroad or canal corporation, shall consolidate the stock, property or franchises of, or in any way control, any other railroad or canal corporation owning or having under its control a parallel or competing line.

The bill avers that the Lehigh Valley Railroad and the Lehigh and Susquehanna division of the Central Railroad of New Jersey, are parallel for the entire length of that division, a distance of 105 miles, and that the Lehigh Valley and the Philadelphia and Reading Railroads are in the same situation over a route of 25 miles, while all the railroads, now making up the Reading system, have heretofore been competitors for freight and passenger traffic.

The answers to those allegations are these :

1. It is denied that the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company has acquired the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroad, or that it owns or controls the Port Reading Railroad Company, the lessee of that road, through its lessor, the Central Railroad of New Jersey.

2. That any competition between the Lehigh Valley and the Lehigh and Susquehanna Railroads, was in traffic originating in Pennsylvania and terminating beyond its limits, or *vice versa*, in respect whereto the Constitution and laws of that State are inoperative.

3. It is averred that the lease of the Lehigh Valley to the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad Company, consummated on February 11, 1892, could not be affected by a subsequent lease of the Central Railroad of New Jersey (lessee of the Lehigh and

Susquehanna Railroad) to the Port Reading Railroad Company.

4. The defendants deny that the Philadelphia and Reading and the Lehigh Valley Railroads, are parallel and competing lines within the spirit and meaning of the Constitution. The former, being a railroad between Philadelphia and Williamsport, neither of which points are reached by the latter, which is a line extending from Buffalo to tide-water in New York harbor, where the Reading Railroad had no connection, except over other and independent lines. In short, that the main railroads of the two systems do not approach one another at any point, and that competition between them was wholly impractical and did not exist. While there is a short branch of each of these railroads, parallel for a distance of a few miles, it is averred and apparently clearly shown by a number of affidavits, that they were only feeders to their respective main lines, and were not competitors for traffic. The statements, accompanying these affidavits, bear out this position, by showing that the entire gross receipts of the Lehigh Valley Company for transportation, other than coal, between the points on these parallel lines, aggregated but \$8,000 in 1891, the larger volume of general merchandise traffic being shipped to those places from Philadelphia, which is not reached by the lines of that company. In coal freights the figures, showing even apparent competition, are still proportionately smaller. Out of 200 collieries delivering tonnage to these railroads, but one is reached by both lines, and that mined but 60,000 tons in 1891, out of nearly 17,000,000 tons carried in that year by both roads. This infinitesimal proportionate amount to the total tonnage, it is urged, does not bring these great railroads within the ban of the Constitution, as parallel and competing lines.

5. It is further averred in defense, that the lease between these railroads of Pennsylvania was expressly authorized by special and general acts of its General Assembly, thereby constituting a part of their charters, and, being anterior to the adoption of the present Constitution, even if repugnant to its language, their validity cannot be affected thereby, because it was not the intention or effect of the Constitution to impair or

affect the operation of charters previously granted ; or, if it was, that the Constitution is itself void, as being, in such case, in violation of that provision of the Constitution of the United States, forbidding that any state shall pass any law impairing the obligation of contracts, the charter of a corporation being held to be a contract with the state.

6. And, lastly, that the Constitution of Pennsylvania can have no effect upon the leases, so far as they relate to railroads of the lessors in New York and New Jersey, being subject matter over which the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania has neither jurisdiction nor authority, as defined by the Constitution of the United States, providing that the sovereign power of each state shall be confined to, and not extended beyond, its territorial limits.

As to what will be the final outcome of these cases it would be both premature and improper to consider now, but it is certain that the proper interpretation of the Constitution will be reached, and by reasoning forever determining the questions at issue.

We have already seen how beneficial, if permitted to stand, will be the present arrangement to the anthracite operator and his employees, but it remains to view the question from a still broader standpoint. The great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, rich in her vast internal wealth, is entitled to receive a fair return for her product of anthracite coal, heretofore so largely wasted in the haste of rival companies to find a market, irrespective of profit or the laws of supply and demand, while her manufacturers should not be required to buy this coal, lying at their doors, at higher prices than their competitors, whose remoteness from this fuel is more than compensated by their proximity to the larger markets of consumption.

But greater still, and this is of incalculable benefit to all her citizens, is the certain assurance, through the present Reading leases, of an organization, so strong within itself as always to be an equal in traffic competition with Pennsylvania's other famous railroad system ; thus giving her citizens the permanent advantage, without fear of monopoly, of two magnificent lines of rail,

over which her vast wealth may find an outlet in constant competition with the products of her sister states ; lines of road, competitive, aggressive, enterprising, and with managements second to none in the world, leading to a greater Pennsylvania, a greater Reading, and a still greater Commonwealth ; advancing her to the position she so well deserves in the Union of the States, the Keystone, binding, in one symmetrical arch, the financial and commercial prosperity of our country.

C. LA RUE MUNSON.

SOCIALISM AND THE REPUBLIC.

BY JEAN LA RUE BURNETT, LL. D.

MODERN socialism is the protest of human nature against fifteen centuries of cruelty and superstition. Wherever human misery has been greatest there its outbreaks have been most violent, and in those nations where the rights of man have been least respected its effects have been most disastrous. Its power began to be felt in France toward the latter half of the last century and it has steadily extended until it embraces nearly all of Europe. Its boldest apostles are found in Germany and Russia, where the progress of opinion is stunted by hereditary obstructions to popular thought. The terrible apathy which has for three hundred years oppressed Spain has smothered every aspiration for freedom, and the corruption of the papal power in Italy has paved the way for the new Utopian creed in that country. The restless spirit of the northern barbarians has left its seal upon the character of every European nation and socialism is the awakening of that spirit after its sleep of a thousand years.

Plunged in the darkness of the middle ages, oppressed by both church and temporal power, the human mind was dwarfed in growth. Deprived of liberty and free thought instead of expanding, it became unnaturally morbid and perverted. The education of the masses, so dangerous to autocratic governments, was neglected. Like a captive giant whose eyes are dim and whose limbs are palsied through long confinement, the intellect of the world showed its marks of degradation. Freedom of will was scouted as the wandering fancy of the madman. "I am the state!" the pithy utterance of Louis XIV., was the ruling maxim of the monarch, and that the state existed for the subject rather than the subject for the state seemed never to have entered the royal mind.

It is difficult for us, living in the America of the nineteenth century, to form an adequate idea of the moral, political, and social degradation of that period. Freed from the traditions of the past, peerless in its individuality, a new society has arisen in the United States. Composed of elements from every nation, it possesses neither caste nor class distinctions, and its very nature forbids the existence of an hereditary aristocracy. In this country unlike European nations the laborer is able to control his own capital and reap the rewards of his own industry, until there is but one country in the world where the wages of labor are one half what they are in the United States. They who were once enemies are now friends, equal before the law and at the ballot box, where the vote of a Cleveland or a Harrison counts for no more than that of the humblest negro, the temptation to repress and retaliate is removed, and the realization of this equality of sentiment begets the true fervor of loyalty. Capital is diffused among the masses not concentrated in a few hands, and the rapid acquirement of large fortunes by obscure persons demonstrates the freedom with which each individual directs his own energies and ideas and exercises his own rights.

Land, the great bone of socialistic contention in the Old World, is divided among the multitude and the possession of large estates is rather an exception than the rule. Here, too, the growth of the mind and the development of the faculties are freed from all restraint. A common school system places education within the reach of all. With heroism unparalleled in history the American people threw off the yoke of political dependence, and have made themselves a mighty nation founded upon freedom of speech, freedom of press, and freedom of conscience. They perceived the designs of Almighty Providence in the discovery of the new continent and declared with characteristic foresight, that America should be both the sepulcher of Tyranny and the birthplace of Liberty. They realized by experience that

Whatever creed is taught or land is trod,
Man's conscience is the oracle of God.

To a foreign observer our government appears curiously in-

different to the possible dangers of such liberty ; but Fenianism and nihilism, grimly threatening other nations, here seem lances hurled at windmills. No editors are imprisoned for discussing the advisability of making the United States an aristocracy, no one is subjected to torture for proposing to divide the nation into several republics. Any person may address his countrymen so long as he does not overstep the bounds of morality.

To appreciate more fully our manifold blessings we need but glance upon the other continent ; at Russia, for example, the largest empire on the globe, embracing within its limits seventy-one distinct nationalities, over which for more than three hundred years the House of Romanoff has ruled. Its policy has been to exclude the light of civilization and allow only such freedom as is compatible with absolute monarchy. In America reforms derive support from government and people together ; Russian reforms made as dynastic experiments, without sustaining popular force, become the cloak of continued despotism. In Russia nihilism has found a certain abode ; but is it strange that in this century, under a government that degrades religion, makes education a mockery and thought a crime, denies freedom of press and speech, and ignores all liberties founded upon the natural rights of man, there should appear those who dream of freedom, who teach it, who strive for it ? When President Garfield met his sad fate the very men who without a pang of conscience had slain Alexander II., issued a proclamation expressing indignation at the act and heartfelt sympathy for our bereaved country. They claimed that while in free America political assassination was monstrous, for them and in Russia it was the only weapon of the slave who would be free or the patriot who would liberate his country.

In the United States the assurance that there is a field where an intelligent mind may employ its energies presents an additional inducement for the elevation of the mental tone of a community. Few citizens are so blind to the interests of their children as to refuse them the benefit of our educational systems. That the American people are especially jealous of their religious rights their toleration of the Mormon hierarchy reveals.

Under no other plea would they appear so blind to the enormity of that system of superstition and crime. Sheltered by the mantle of religion it has been able for three quarters of a century to defy the moral sentiment of the nation. That no wheat might be pulled with the tares, both are suffered to grow together. Not only toleration but absolute freedom of religious conviction is guaranteed, and the total and permanent separation of church and state is distinctively an American idea. As the burning of gunpowder in the open air is harmless, so the violent explosions of fanaticism, so disastrous in the Old World, lose their force under the free and life-giving administration of the republic.

The happy homes of the emigrants, so much in contrast to their former lives, form effectual barriers against the spread of communistic principles. Where there is much to lose as well as to gain mankind require strong motives to impel them to a step that cannot be retraced. When muscle is readily convertible into cash and this in turn into comfortable homes and warm clothes, the great and principal incentives to socialistic agitation are conspicuously lacking. With every faculty for gaining competence and influence no sane man will sacrifice his prospects of happiness to test the visionary schemes of an enthusiast. With society in this condition, with no wrongs to right, with no class distinctions to obliterate, the socialist, anarchist, and extremist possess no lever by which to move the populace.

In a country where individual freedom is assured, where the mind can expand to its fullest extent, where press, pulpit, and platform are free from the vexatious control of the censor; where Pagan, Jew, Catholic, and Protestant stand equal, where no land aristocracy controls the supply of food, where every citizen can live and die under his own roof; in such a country the discontent of the few is drowned in the blessings of the many, and we need not fear the republic's dismemberment by political faction or be alarmed lest her sons wade in the blood of socialistic strife.

JEAN LA RUE BURNETT, LL.D.

SOCIALISM.

BY J. W. SMITH, MEMBER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA BAR.

THE trend of civilization during the centuries has been toward the development of the individual man. From the barbaric ages, when the warrior-monarch was the state, and the individual subject but a monad in the mass, too insignificant to claim recognition of statesman or historian, the unit has been gradually outlining himself and rising in importance until he has become the sovereign. The chief business of government now is to protect his rights, and constitutions and laws are but the reflection of his will. Government has been throughout the ages growing out of paternalism, when one man stood father for and proprietor of a nation, into individualism where all are equals and all patricians, and the ruler is but the chief servant. The philosophy of history may be summarized as the evolution of the individual man.

But in these latter days there are strange sounds in the air. New words are coined to introduce a new theory of government. Much is said and written about the social evolution. The watch-word of the new movement is collectivism. Instead of that being the best government which governs the least, the demand is that government shall supplant all individual freedom and control all industrial activities. In the new vernacular property is piracy, rent is robbery, the capitalist is a corsair. Private property is to be abolished and the government is to plow and sow, and reap and grind, and bake and brew, and mine and mold, and make and move all things; while men are to be reduced to the sterile, hopeless plane of the workhouse and the almshouse. With no incentive to labor, the government having taken away the right to the fruits of labor, and the soup-house being free, with no reward to allure ambition or excite patriotism,

minds would rust and men would rot. This is the condition to which the newest philosophy invites us. Of course the dreamers make a different picture. But they construct it out of an ideal, not a real, human nature. While human nature remains what it is—and it is one of the most permanent things in this world—you cannot make men work unless you either coax or drive them. If you drive them you make them slaves, and that will not do. If you would coax them to their highest endeavor you must offer them the highest rewards—measured by their standards. In other words, you must offer them the things which they think will contribute most to their happiness. To some you must offer honor and place, while to the great mass the strongest and most efficient incentive to effort will be to secure the means, first to satisfy their physical needs and relieve them from further bondage to toil; and afterwards to gratify their vanity of display or pander to their ever-growing luxurious indulgences or feed their sateless greed for dominion and power. For the millionaire does not so much love money as he loves the sense of influence and power which money gives him. Take away the right to private property, the right to the accumulations of one's own efforts, and you cannot make men work without the lash. The dream of such a state is the merest lunacy.

And yet this is the latest political economy. And it is widely taught both in Europe and America. The Socialists of Germany are likely soon to control the legislature. The only section of Gladstone's following that shows any growth since the previous election is the Socialist element from London. In this country, while there is no large and influential party advocating ultimate collectivism or governmental ownership of all property and control of all industrial activity, there is a widespread and growing demand for tentative steps in that direction. The Knights of Labor and Farmers' Alliance demand governmental ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones, express lines, banking agencies, etc., and the Alliance people demand a system of governmental pawnshops for the accommodation of the agriculturists, where they can borrow money on their corn and other crops. The Bellamy, or Nationalist, party advocates

all these things (except perhaps the government storehouse) and many more. Besides these several organizations advocating these extensions of governmental functions, there are large numbers of people who are alarmed at the growing power and danger from strikes of organized labor, and, seeing no remedy for the prevention of strikes, they imagine that if the government were the employer there would be no strike, and hence they join with the strikers in a demand that the government shall run the mills and the roads and the mines. But why would not labor strike for higher wages as quickly if the government employed it as now when private capital employs it? In the first place a strike is the most foolish thing in the world. It is based on the assumption that in this round world nobody can be found willing and able to take the places of the strikers or if found they shall not be allowed to take such places. Wages must be fixed by contract. A contract is the free meeting of the contracting minds. A forced agreement is not binding either in law or morals. Mutual respect and good will between the labor and capital employed in any enterprise is essential to harmony and permanent success. There is no remedy for the disputes which arise between employer and employee except the application of the golden rule. It is a purely selfish contest, and the rule for both is to do as they would be done by. When they cannot agree either upon the price or upon arbitrators to fix the price, the relation of employer and employee ceases. Compulsory arbitration would violate all law and reason, because it would take away the freedom of contract. The law may possibly say that a business which will not pay a certain minimum, fixed as living wages, shall not run.

But whatever the remedy for wage disputes, or whether there be any, it is evident that the strike is a failure. The right to strike is unquestioned. To forcibly prevent others from work is pure anarchy. Where a few men are employed it is never thought of. Where a multitude are employed they lose their individual reason and "run with the multitude to do evil," to shoot and burn and what not.

Governmental employment would not be a remedy for strikes.

When the crowd think they can force an increase of wages they will strike, and the mad multitude has no more respect for government than for individuals. Only the other day the labor organizations of the Mahoning Valley refused to march in a procession with state militia.

The objection to any radical extension of governmental functions is that it tends to centralization and paternalism in government, and, second, to the destruction of self-reliance and independence in the citizen, and, third, that it is difficult to see any stopping place short of absolute socialism. Perhaps governmental control of any function or industry could be justified when viewed solely as a question of economy in cost. Government can do any business on the basis of cost only, while private enterprise requires profit for its capital and skill. Therefore if the cheapest agency is the best, there is no conceivable limit to the functions of government in the industries of the world. If the government can haul freight and passengers and send messages cheaper than private agencies can, it can also make hats and boots cheaper, and there is no limit, till private enterprise is driven from the field, till all the avenues of individual effort and growth are closed, and all the ambitions and wellsprings of action which move and make men, which develop character and caliber, are dried up, and all men are reduced to a dead level of hopeless mediocrity. This concession that the government can run any business on the basis of cost, and therefore cheaper than private capital can, is only theory. This country experimented in governmental canal and railroad building fifty years ago, and found it so expensive that constitutional barriers have been established in most states to prevent future ventures in that field. It is said that travel and freights on government railways in Germany and Australia are more expensive than on our railroads operated by private capital. It is notorious that governmental management of any business in this country is expensive, and to reduce this extravagance our laws now compel municipalities to let all possible work to private agencies by contract with the lowest bidder. The reason why governmental agency is expensive is because it has not the same

personal interest in economy that private agency has. Another reason, perhaps, is that governmental agents are chosen as much to reward political services as for personal fitness, while private agents are selected solely for efficiency. So in truth, so far as experience goes, governmental control of industrial agencies has not even the plea of economy to justify it.

The more tenable ground on which the extension of governmental functions is advocated is to prevent monopolies. There is no doubt but that the late movement in all kinds of business to aggregate capital and form trusts and combines to prevent fair competition and control prices presents a new problem for legislative solution. There is a loud demand for a remedy which shall secure from corporate and other private agencies fair treatment for the public. But it is submitted that a legal remedy against the injustice of monopolies may be secured without the establishment of a state monopoly. The power of the state to regulate the charges of railroads for transportation and freight has been established. A like control over all private corporations which exercise functions delegated by public law would logically follow. Conceding the power of governmental supervision and control, the means for reaching the evil is one for legislative discretion. Constitutional enactments like ours to prevent the consolidation of competing lines and against discrimination in freight, etc., do not execute themselves. But it cannot be doubted that an aroused public sentiment will sometime be crystallized into law and arrogant corporate capital will heed its mandates. The Interstate Commerce Commission is a step in the right direction and should be supplemented by state action in the same direction. It is better than government ownership of railroads with the consequent increase of official patronage to control elections and endanger popular government. There is too much reliance now on the government. Too many men now claim that the world owes them a living, and if their lot is not satisfactory they blame the government. Extend its functions and you only multiply the demand for storehouses and cheap loans and sinecure offices. The only rule of life and growth is freedom of individual action, the widest field, freest

competition, and largest prizes to the victors. The inequalities of condition resulting from free competition are no misfortune. The great who win the large prizes are the examples to fire the ambition and stimulate the efforts of the ardent oncoming throng. It were a sad day for the masses when there were no great men in every department of life as examples of possible attainment, and stimuli to utmost endeavor.

Is there then no remedy for the wage-earners and must they accept the wages which greedy capital offers? Is there no remedy for the sweating business? May a Homestead community be reduced to paupers or sent into exile at the dictation of proud barons and their hard overseers? In the first place the remedy is not in allowing the Amalgamated or Union men to shoot or beat or terrorize or drive away those who want to work at the wages offered. Four thousand employees have no more right to manage the business of their employer than one employee has. Five hundred discharged switchmen have no more right to stop the trains on a railroad than one discharged man has. If a business, manufacture, or transportation, will yield fair profits and pay the wages demanded then co-operation or profit sharing may be a remedy for strikers. It is certain that the law can never compel capital to pay nor labor to accept more or less than either can afford. The one is as free as the other. Capital can no more manufacture without labor than labor without capital.

Is there then no other remedy except that which co-operation offers? Men are not things. Labor is not simply a commodity. Government is both by and for the people. The law may do whatever the greatest good of the greatest number requires. In this country the people make the laws and the laws therefore will provide a remedy for all great wrongs affecting public welfare. If the public good require that men shall not work for less than a given minimum daily wage the law may possibly provide for employment upon public works of all who apply at such minimum wage. I say possibly because I have no faith in such legislation. Much more is to be anticipated from the force of educated and humane public opinion. The factory laws

which forbid child labor, and laws limiting the working hours of a day, are but the crystallizations of a public opinion which is moving toward the amelioration of the lot of the toiler. The law does not forbid a man to work more than eight hours, but it educates the employer to recognize that as a reasonable limit. When all laborers are as intelligent as capitalists, they will not be compelled to accept less than their just share of the profits of any business. The great lesson to be taught to both capital and labor is the consideration due to brotherhood and humanity on the one hand, and the imperial and irresistible claims of the law on the other. It is time that capitalists should recognize that laborers are men, with rights to fair treatment and just wages; and that hard conditions imposed lead to popular discontent and class prejudices, which in a popular government must tend to limit the prerogatives, if not to weaken the securities, of all capital. And it is high time that both capital and labor should learn that the laws of the land limit the rights of both, that criminal conspiracy by capitalists is as punishable as the same offense by laborers, and that numbers can never excuse lawlessness. The people have too much interest in the railroads and great manufacturing plants of this country to allow any trade guild or labor union, however large, by violence to interrupt the running of either. A strike without lawlessness, while entirely innocent, is so useless as to be very rare. A strike accompanied by lawlessness is so common and has such political influence that the law is seldom vindicated, and thus it ceases to be a terror to like evildoers in the future. The great lesson for the discontented sons of toil to bear ever in mind is that their condition in a land of plenty under popular government is the best that God can give them; and for all the injustice which they suffer the remedy is in their own hands, because they make the laws which define their rights. Let them also remember that when they rebel against the law they seek to tear down the only defenses which centuries of struggle have erected to secure the weak against the oppressions of the strong. An appeal to governmental control of all industrial functions would be an abandonment of individual liberty and a return to slavery. Within the

limits of free contract and free competition there is surely room for a legal remedy for all great industrial wrongs. Aggregations of capital—either corporate or individual—may be reached by the taxing power. A graduated income tax is the most equitable and reasonable mode of distributing the public burden conceivable, and might be made a check upon accumulation. Nothing but positive law gives the estate of a decedent to his children. It would violate no natural right if the law should impose a graduated inheritance tax upon decedents' estates, and in this way limit the evils of hereditary plutocracy.

But whatever the remedy for the evils growing out of competition, or whether there be any remedy, it should never be forgotten that these evils are not for a moment to be compared with those that must follow the destruction of competition. It is the one essential to life and growth, and any theory of socialism which would eliminate it must tend to decay and death.

It is wise and timely that scholarship and statesmanship should heed the mutterings of discontent from toiling masses, and so direct their blind gropings that this Samson pull not down the edifice which protects all—the temple which enshrines the highest good. The masses need to be taught to distinguish between equality of right and equality of condition. As long as there is disparity of talent there must be inequality of condition. God made this disparity of talent because He saw that this inequality of condition was in itself desirable. Let us take heed that we be not found fighting against God.

J. W. SMITH.

THE ETHICS OF STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

BY HON. C. H. REEVE.

IN CONNECTION with conditions and relations in human society, business affairs, and government, energy evolves manifestations of force operating in many ways, producing new and constantly changing conditions and relations. Among others come operations and manifestations which we distinguish by the name of ethics.

Ethics is defined as being "the science of moral philosophy which teaches men their duty and the reasons for it"; "a system of moral principles—of rules for regulating the actions and manners of men in society." The want of ethics in strikes and lockouts is evident; to find such a "system of moral principles" in them is difficult. The ethics lies rather in a system of rules and principles that will prevent them; and to turn attention in that direction is the object of this article.

A more intelligent understanding and logical consideration of the subject can be reached by glancing at the motives and acts which evolve the forces that produce the conditions leading to strikes and lockouts. We can then more rationally examine the strikes and lockouts, with the forces they evolve.

We hear much about war between capital and labor. It is a misuse of language. War between capital and labor is impossible. They are parts of one whole; alternate outgrowths of each other; and neither can exist without the other in business enterprises. They are as intimately connected and as necessary to each other's existence in commercial progress as are the heart and the brain in the human organism. War between capitalists and laborers will always exist, as long as human greed and love of gain blunt the perception and the sense of justice; but it need not lead to strikes and lockouts. Let us

start at the beginning and look at some of the main features involved in something of the order in which they present themselves and become active.

First, then, labor produces capital, but capital has no progressive value unless it can employ labor at a profit. On the other hand, labor cannot live—other than in uncivilized forms—unless capital can employ it at a profit. It is a misuse of opportunities and a misapplication of the profits of both, that makes war between the capitalists and the laborers. To find the causes that have led to this misuse and misapplication, we must go back somewhat. We can have no true comprehension of the ethics involved, without the recognition of a few things, a consideration of the forces they bring into operation, and of what is necessary to adapt human affairs harmoniously to that operation.

Man is born on the earth, and there is no way by which he can live except on the productions of the earth; and those productions can be obtained only by mental and manual labor applied to the earth, primarily. All men are created and born under the same physiological laws, and in this they are equal. All are entitled to enough of the earth to secure a living from it by labor, and in this they are equal. Each is entitled to the privilege of making the best use he can—consistently with the same right in others—of the opportunities that come to him, in efforts to live and better his condition, unhindered by artificial obstructions created by others, and in this they are equal. In physical and mental ability men are not equal. In the opportunities to which they are born they are not equal. In their ability to exercise their faculties in taking advantage of opportunities, and in securing the productions of the earth by application of labor, they are not equal. Those who are able will better their condition soonest and to the greatest extent. Those not able will not better their condition, and out of this comes the relation of superior and inferior; and the inferior must look to the superior for assistance in order to live.

Passing by the many conditions and relations growing from this, we will include only one, that of employers and employees. The one able to better his condition will accumulate means to

extend his opportunities and acquire more ; but this he cannot do without labor, and the one who is unable to accumulate will furnish that labor in return for the means to live. Out of this arises the relation between capital and labor.

In time, barter and exchange of productions lead to trade, commerce, finance, transportation, markets, and all the conditions of civilized life. Labor enables capital to increase, and capital affords opportunities for labor to live. Labor produces everything and the productions of labor pay for everything. Every opportunity for the betterment of the condition of each and of all, is produced by labor, and is available only through labor.

When there shall be a proper understanding of the relations between capital and labor, that they are interdependent, parts of one whole, that neither can exist without the other, and that the relation of inferior and superior is a result of inequality in physical and mental capacity, it will be seen that a sense of justice requires a fair distribution between the laborer and the capitalist of the profits and accumulations. Many a collegian and classical scholar labors for a capitalist who has no scholastic education. The former lacks ability to accumulate, and his education does not supply the deficiency. The latter has the ability to accumulate, and the want of book knowledge does not deprive him of it. The former may be an accomplished gentleman and the latter a boor, socially ; but as between capital and labor the latter is the superior, while socially and educationally he may be vastly the inferior.

The world of humanity moves forward in every relation, before the forces evolved in the use of capital in its employment of labor. It moves upward onto higher moral levels only as that use recognizes justice in the distribution of the proceeds. What looks like prosperity and progress, unless attended by a constant sense of justice, is only the gathering of forces for retrogression, through arrogance and oppression on one side, a sense of oppression and an impulse to resistance by physical force on the other ; and on both sides a false conception of the relations of men to each other in the use of their opportunities.

One may be incapable of manual labor, while mentally able to take advantage of opportunities, and so use the fruits of the manual labor of others as to accumulate. Another may be able to perform manual labor to the production of valuable results, while mentally unable so to use opportunities and the fruits of labor as to accumulate. These two are mutually dependent on each other; and without both, neither could live and reach civilization; or being born into it, neither could maintain it. And so through every grade and every relation among men. He who has executive and administrative ability and uses it, will become a capitalist; and regardless of other things, in all business relations will be the superior. He who lacks this ability will remain a laborer on some level, and be the inferior in all business relations.

Without a sense of justice uppermost, there will not be a fair distribution of the profits of capital and labor. With an unfair one, there will be a sense of injustice and oppression in the inferior, and from that will finally come war between him and his superior.

With accumulations of capital there comes to the owner more or less exemption from manual labor. There come also a feeling of independence, and more or less of a spirit of arrogance and dictation. There comes further, a more or less false conception of the relations between capital and labor, and of the true position of the capitalist and of the laborer in the social scale. The natural and real distance between the superior and inferior is magnified and increased to unnatural and unreal proportions, and the inferior is made to feel it in many ways that are unjust; and with him the sense of injustice is increased.

In time, conflicts arise between the interests created by capital, and combinations form among the more powerful interests to suppress the lesser ones. Out of this spring new conditions and relations that reduce the profits of both; and in efforts to prevent the reduction, a draft is made on the share of profits going to the laborers by reducing their wages, while the amount of labor is not reduced; and combinations are formed by the laborers to prevent such reductions. Immediately, new relations

and conditions result, not foreseen or provided for by either, and under the operation of natural forces a conflict begins, which neither side comprehends ; and neither is able so to use opportunities as to allay or suppress it. Arrogance increases on the side of the capitalists and their combinations ; a false conception of the relations between the parties is magnified ; while a sense of injustice becomes more acute on the part of the laborers, and a false conception of their legal rights prompts their impulses. Strikes are inaugurated on one side and lock-outs on the other ; capital is wasted on one side and starvation suffered on the other, in a vain war to compel natural forces to move in a direction they cannot operate in, and to substitute artificial human force for the natural and irresistible forces arising out of the conditions human action has created by a false use of opportunities, under a false conception of the true relations between capital and labor.

The capitalists have obtained such control of the legislative machinery in government, as has enabled them to secure the enactment of a large number of class laws, largely for their own aggrandizement, the operations of which have increased their own opportunities and decreased those of the laborers. Taking advantage of this, they have called in the armed force of government to suppress the strikes, while they have maintained the lockouts. They have often been able to flood the markets or empty them at their pleasure ; to increase or decrease the price of productions and of labor at their will ; and to furnish opportunities for labor to few or many as they found it to their own selfish interests ; while at no time—save in some individual cases—have they sought to make a fair and equitable distribution of the profits between capital and labor.

There is another matter that must be taken into account and be carefully considered. To illustrate : When the American colonies declared themselves free and independent states and adopted the Articles of Confederation, each reserved its sovereignty and the right to withdraw when it should deem it expedient. When the Union was formed and the Constitution was adopted, several of the states, in giving their assent, ex-

pressly reserved the right to withdraw from the Union at any time they might choose to do so and resume their sovereignty. At that time, and for some time after, such action might have been possible and permissible. But after they had remained in the Union until new and extensive territory had been acquired, new states had been admitted, new interstate and international relations had sprung up, two great wars had been fought out, diplomatic relations had been established with all nations, an army, navy, system of national defense, and a great interstate and international commerce had been established, and conditions existed which made the existence of the Union vital to the existence of the states, it became impossible to permit such withdrawal; and what was—in the abstract—an actual reserved right, in the practical, would become a national wrong; and for the safety of the whole public ceased to be a right, and must be denied. The new conditions and relations that had come of so long acquiescence made denial of the right a necessity, no matter how often claimed and asserted.

Exactly the same principle must be recognized in the conditions and relations of capital and labor to-day. Such changes have come in conditions and relations, under acquiescence in customs and legislative enactments affecting them and the public interests in all relations, that what were rights under earlier conditions and relations have ceased to be rights now; to recognize them as rights would be a gross wrong, and the recognition of them as rights is not permissible.

There was a time, and there are now times, when an individual capitalist, having built up a great interest, could say and may say, "I will run my business to suit myself; hire whom I please and discharge whom I please—few or many; run when I please and shut down when I please"; but there are times and conditions when he would have no right to say so, and in a sense of right could not be permitted to do so. There was a time when corporate organizations could say so; but no corporate organization has any right to say so at the present time, under present conditions.

Who will assert that the Pennsylvania Railway Company for

instance, has a right to discharge its 75,000 employees, yard its rolling stock, and cease to transport passengers and freight? It is only an artificial person—a private individual—owning its property like any natural individual; and like the great iron and steel company of Carnegie, and the thousands of other incorporated manufacturing, mining, and other interests' of the country. By special statutory privileges, conferring large powers, by exercise of the sovereign power of eminent domain granted to it by government (in itself such a grant is a usurpation by government) to take private property for its own use; by use of these special privileges through many years in building up a business on which billions of dollars of interests in many states are dependent, millions of persons have relied and must rely, if it ever had any such right it is no longer a right, and could not be permitted any more than the state could be permitted to withdraw from the Union.

No more has it the right to "lock out" its employees. It has opened the doors to the employment of vast numbers in many lines of work, on whom more than a third of a million of mouths depend for bread, and said to them: "Come in. Here are work, and wages, and education in our business." They went in; have lived and still live there. Many of them have devoted more or less of a lifetime to the interest of the company. In each department thousands have been educated in their business; know that business and no other; conditions and relations have been encouraged, created, have grown up, that could not have come otherwise. Little homes all along the line have been secured, to and from which the employees come and go like machinery, on time to a second. Rules and regulations more strict than army discipline have been made, learned, enforced, and submitted to; and uncounted wealth has come to the corporation from the work of these laborers. A right to turn them out arbitrarily, at the will of the manager or the executive board, cannot exist. There must be cause.

Neither have these employees a right to "strike" arbitrarily and block the lines of transportation. Not only the public interests forbid it and make such a right impossible, but the re-

lations with the corporation forbid it; and especially the vast interests outside, dependent upon its operation, forbid it; and make it equally impossible for any such right to exist.

The same principle applies to every great interest so built up, cemented, and made profitable by means of special privileges conferred by class laws, involving interests of others outside and beyond it, which would not have existed but for it and its management and growth so as to involve them. Permitted by law, given corporate powers, though only private corporations at first, they enlarge until their relations to others and to the public make them quasi-public institutions; and what was a right at first ceases to be such under the conditions and relations they create under and by permission of special privileges conferred by law. The great steel and iron works of the Carnegie Company, employing 20,000 men, feeding 100,000 women and children, involving perhaps 10,000 or more homes built on the company's lands, sold or leased to the laborers as an encouragement to stay as laborers for life, and their sons after them, have created such conditions that they have no right arbitrarily to lock out these men; nor have the men a right to strike arbitrarily. Under such conditions a strike or a lockout has ceased to be a private matter of contract or of simple disagreement. The employees who do their duty are entitled to employment while the works are operated, and the company has a right to their labor at fair terms on both sides. Neither has a right arbitrarily as a body to break up the relations without cause; or on any plea that the one has a right to work for whom he pleases and the other has a right to discharge whom he pleases. The right of an individual to work when he pleases and can get employment, and the right of an employer to employ whom he pleases when he can get them, are just rights. But it ceases to be a right when thousands of persons and millions of dollars are combined under corporate powers, and the men are mobilized, educated in an industry, creating such conditions as make them dependent on it, as applied to the whole or any great number. It is a matter that affects the whole community; the whole state; every other interest it has relations with; and no arbi-

trary right can longer exist to lock out on one side or strike on the other.

If laborers are not to become the slaves of capitalists ; if the body of the people and their business interests are not to become subject to the dictation of private corporations created by class legislation ; if liberty is to be preserved and agrarianism to be avoided, strikes and lockouts must be recognized by the state as conditions in government, as matters of public concern ; and the law must provide means for preventing them. It will not be a difficult matter to do so. By vicious legislation the state has made them possible, and by judicious legislation it should now make them impossible. Leave men free as individuals to contract to labor, and as employers to hire laborers by contract. Leave each free to work or quit, to retain or discharge, under his contract, as men do in other business matters. But with corporations, mobilizing large numbers, fixing arbitrary rules and regulations to which all employees must submit, building up immense interests at home and abroad involving thousands of people and millions of money engaged in other enterprises, let them be specially provided for and made subject to regulations that will protect all who are interested.

The first step will be to provide, either in special acts of incorporation, or in general incorporation laws, so that the members of the corporation cannot bury and lose themselves as individuals in the corporation. Giving them leave to combine capital, make laws governing themselves and employees that the courts will enforce, is enough. Hold them to the special objects of the corporation, for a specified time ; prohibit the use of the corporate powers in any other enterprise, and in subordinate and auxiliary organizations ; and hold every member responsible for the obligations of the corporation, individually, as he would be held acting as an individual, as well as all the members collectively. Without corporate privileges they would be so liable as partners, or in an association. Still hold them so, and leave men to seek corporate privileges or not as they choose. Because men put their capital into a pool neither they nor it should secure exemptions they did not have as individuals. The

men and capital remain the same with greater power combined. There is no justice in any law that frees men from their obligations in advance. Instead of saying to others: "Deal with the corporation at your own risk and look to the corporate assets for your pay," say to the corporators: "Deal with others at your corporate and individual risk, and each and all remain liable until your obligations are satisfied. You cannot be permitted to escape obligations by becoming a member of a corporate body."

Next, provide for a tribunal to deal with strikes and lockouts. When conditions arise that are deemed cause for a strike or lockout, let the aggrieved party formulate the cause, and lay it before the tribunal; which shall notify the other parties and proceed to investigate, having full judicial powers.

When a difference arises between the corporation and its employees, it becomes a matter of public interest for municipal recognition, and for action by the state; hence, it is the duty of the state, it having created the corporation, to provide the tribunal and to require the causes of difference to be laid before it, before resorting to a strike or lockout. The tribunal can investigate, adjudge, and enforce its decree. Either party resorting to a strike or a lockout before resorting to the tribunal, should be deemed guilty of an offense equal to insurrection, and be treated accordingly. The corporation offending should forfeit its charter (and this also for the employees if an incorporated union) and go at once into the hands of a receiver. Pending the investigation, if the business ceases, and the interest of those affected demand its continuance, the affairs should be put into the charge of a competent state official, to be operated until the adjudication is ended, and then be restored to the owners on paying the expenses.

In this way strikes and lockouts would be impossible, while the interest of every one concerned would be under the constant protection of a competent court. Men desiring to quit work and go elsewhere as a personal right would be free to do so. Employers desiring to lessen their force, or discharge incompetent men, would be free to do so. No personal right would be unduly denied; but falsely claimed rights to use force, by

means of combinations, and arbitrary methods, would not be recognized, as they should not be. Lockouts and strikes would go out of fashion and Pinkertons and militia would not be needed. Employers and employees would voluntarily formulate causes of difference, and lay them before the tribunal as agreed statements of fact, before resorting to strike or lockout.

The causes of lockouts generally, have been strikes or threatened strikes. In some cases it was a war on labor unions. The causes of strikes have generally been a reduction of wages, a refusal to increase wages, a refusal to reinstate some discharged employee—the member of a union—or the refusal to discharge some official who was offensive to the employees. There have been a few cases of other causes ; such as a change in regulations, increasing the labor of men or abridging some privilege before allowed, etc.

A charter of incorporation, or a general incorporation law, is essentially a class law. There can be no moral outgrowths from conditions created by class legislation. Every enactment that permits the organization of a private corporation without personal liability of every stockholder is a class enactment ; and the conditions that must and will be created by the exercise of its corporate powers, will blunt a sense of justice and evolve more or less injustice. As has been asserted, they should be regarded as public institutions, which the state will control in the interest of the public, when internal strife or an abuse of power, so operates as to affect unfavorably the public or other interests. This is the ethical view of the whole matter ; and with such an understanding and such a tribunal, the manners of both employers and employees would assume a more ethical character. The arrogance on one side and the ignorant obstinacy on the other would be less or less demonstrative. In time, a sense of justice would make a more equitable distribution of the profits of capital and labor, and the judicial tribunal would adjust differences without serious loss to either party. Strikes and lockouts would be known only as incidents in the history of the past.

C. H. REEVE.

THE PRISON QUESTION.

BY THE REV. CAROLINE J. BARTLETT.

AMONG the most picturesque and interesting spots visited in last summer's journeyings was the old historic town of Nuremberg, in Bavaria, a town full of the memorials and traditions of the middle ages, of deeds both brave and shameful; glorified by the fame of Albrecht Durer, the painter Hans Sachs, the "Cobbler Poet," and that other poet Melchior, who "sang Kaiser Maximilian's praise." High above the city, upon a steep o'erhanging cliff, stands the old castle which both ruled and protected Nuremberg from her infancy in the eleventh century, until that time when freedom was born and castles began their long decay. But we eagerly climbed the long, steep path, to look upon the quaint medieval beauty of the lofty, crowded, red-tiled houses, with their rows upon rows of dormer windows that seem to climb over each other's shoulders to the apex of the steeply pitched roof. And then we wandered through the ancient halls, dark with old pictures and tapestries, rich with carvings and gildings and wondrous porcelain stoves that reached from floor to ceiling, and all haunted by the memory of the varied fierce life, ambitions, struggles, triumphs, and defeats that have centered here in ages past. Here, as our poet has sung :

In the courtyard of the castle, bound with many an iron band,
Stands the mighty linden planted by Queen Cunigunde's hand.

Here justice (whatever it might be which was called by that name in those rude ages) was anciently administered. And as we were musing upon the quality of medieval justice and the methods by which it was meted out to offenders, we were led to the old Pentagonal Tower where are housed some of the choicest

treasures of the town of Nuremberg, namely, the instruments of punishment and of torture with which, formerly, she sought to repress crime and encourage virtue in her citizens.

A fearful array! The *Fräulein* who conducted us about, described each instrument with a smiling countenance and a smooth, monotonous voice. These stocks, with the weights to hang from the feet, were for petty disturbers of the peace, and for drunkards and for bakers who sold light loaves. This fantastic bonnet with the long braids of yellow straw to simulate hair, was worn by poor girls who had fallen from the path of virtue, while they were compelled to stand at the church door to be scoffed at by the righteous people who went to "worship God" inside! This thumbscrew and rack were used to facilitate confessions on the part of the accused; this "cradle" lined with sharp points—this fearful "Spanish horse"—all these other instruments of fiendish contrivance, had their "uses" in the economy of "justice." At last we stood before the "Iron Virgin," the iron image of a woman with placid, motherly face. But the image is hollow, and the front opens upon hinges, and is lined upon the inside with long iron spikes. I need not tell the rest—but after our guide had told us when the last victim had been given to the embrace of this image, a shuddering young girl by my side exclaimed, "How good people must have been in those days, when they did such horrible things to them for every little offense!"

We went, later, to the old dungeons of the Rathhaus, where men were imprisoned in dark dens far underground—no light, no ventilation, so that often they were found suffocated on the floor. And because they must never see the light, they must crawl a mile or more underground, to a side opening in the deep well of the old castle, and from there bring all their water—a painful journey of about three hours. And there was the torture chamber, where once these dread instruments we had seen in the castle were used, and men cried out in their agony—they knew not what; and the scribe seated on the other side of the lattice wrote down their "testimony"!

Were men better, more law-abiding citizens in those days?

Let us cross to England for testimony. During the reign of Henry VIII., the number of "crimes" punishable by death mounted into the hundreds. Seventy-two thousand people were put to death during his reign for stealing alone. At the same time nothing was more common than robberies by pick-pockets amid the crowd which congregated about the gallows where a thief was hanged,—such was the "deterrent effect" of the spectacle upon the people! The prisons of those days were also contrived with a view to "detering people from crime." Scarcely more than one hundred years ago, when John Howard became sheriff at the Bedford jail where John Bunyan had written his "*Pilgrim's Progress*," he found that (and subsequently, the other prisons of Europe) in such a wretched and filthy condition that his soul revolted against it, and he there and then began his work of ameliorating the conditions of prison life and discipline which have earned him the gratitude of humane men and women of all generations.

There are many people to-day who approve the labors of this philanthropist, who nevertheless think that the movement inaugurated by him has gone far enough. They say that there is to-day a vast deal of mawkish sentimentality over criminals. They associate prison reform with the showering of roses and maudlin tears of compassion upon highway robbers and murderers, and a general line of conduct which invites the poor but honest workingman to become a criminal of a low order if he wishes to move the hearts of the philanthropic to a proper compassion.

It is of the work of prison reform societies and prisoners' aid associations that I wish to write, and I venture to start with the assertion that no class of men and women are more free from the sentiments quoted than the experienced workers along the line of these reforms. The custom of bestowing flowers upon murderers is not a modern one born of new regard and esteem for the chief of criminals. Long ago, each prisoner at Newgate, London, as he went to execution, was presented at the door of the Church of St. Sepulchre, with a nosegay for his consolation, while the bell above tolled the retaliatory requiem of his death.

Emphatically, those who are students of penology to-day and who seek to make our prison system more humane and helpful to the prisoner do not forget the rights of society. It is precisely the right of society to have protection from the lawless and criminal class that chiefly actuates them in their labors and researches.

There was a time when society talked glibly of meting out punishment to offenders. It talked of how many years and how many stripes a man "deserved" for this or that infraction of the law. But, thank God, we are getting past that. We know that, if it comes to deserts, you and I with all the training and education and all the light of good example we have had are more to blame for many of the sins we commit, than are some of these miserable ones, hurled, as one might almost say, by chance into a world of frightful sin and misery and poverty, with no teaching but in the school of vice and crime. If it comes to deserts, let us remember that opportunity is the true measure of responsibility; and this reflection may greatly modify our own self-complacency, and our impulse towards the utter condemnation of the criminal class.

What then? Shall men of criminal instincts and habits be allowed to roam at large because we have discovered that their measure of responsibility is not so great as we had supposed? If a tiger escapes in our streets, shall we say: "This beast is but following out his nature in killing men, women and children. He is conscious of no blame, and hence we must not punish him by sending him back into the confinement from which he has so gladly escaped"?

Now, if there be men with a strong, tiger strain in them or a touch of prowling wolf or fox shall we not say: "Quite aside from the question of responsibility, society has the right and the duty to protect itself as best it can from the depredations of these savages, even these savages it has produced"?

But how may society best be protected? How may murder, outrage, robbery, fraud, wife-beating, or petty offenses against law and order be prevented, or, if not wholly preventible, be reduced to the minimum? Does the old system of gross abuse

and hideous torture commend itself? Nay, all the world cries out against it as no less debasing and brutalizing to the people who suffer it to be inflicted than to the criminal upon whom it is inflicted. And we are learning that to hate the criminal and to wish to wreak vengeance upon him, is but a remnant of the medieval spirit that devised the dungeons and the "iron virgin." To repay the criminal in kind, is but to incriminate ourselves, and thus to make two (or a thousand) criminals where, before, there was but one. Does the present system commend itself to our judgment? For example: A man is convicted and sent to state's prison for a definite term of years for highway robbery. Perhaps he serves out his term or, perhaps, if he has influential friends a petition for a pardon or commutation of sentence is circulated and receives signatures from the obliging public who find it more easy to sign a paper presented to them than to make the ungracious but manly and sensible refusal. If the prisoner serve out his full term, the state must then discharge him whether he has given the slightest evidence of moral improvement or not.

What word can sufficiently characterize the folly of this turning loose upon society, with uncured criminal instincts, those whose confinement has but whetted their appetite for plunder? But, you say, they have opportunities of reformation. There is time in prison to reflect upon their evil course and its consequences. But if we were ushered through a gate over which might well be painted, as over the gate of Dante's "*Inferno*," "Leave all hope behind who enter here," how much would "time for reflection" cheer and strengthen us? For, as Paul says, "We are saved by hope." If we give this man or this woman nothing to hope for, he must either sink into the sullen lethargy of despair or he will recruit out of his own breast hopes and purposes of evil intent like to those which brought him into these prison walls. This is natural. It is all but inevitable. And if we would make him better, we must give him hope and we must give him motive for improvement. Now I am not pleading the criminal's own need and right of help to become a better man, I am pressing this point solely, that if he

is to be given his freedom again, it is of the utmost importance to society, for its safety, that he be returned to society no longer as a criminal and a vagabond, but as an honest and industrious man. I wish to consider the importance of this as a measure of self-defense. I wish to show that "it would pay." Now, to-day, in our state prisons (and the same is true of our jails) a very large proportion of the inmates have served one or more terms before. Of those who are in for their first offense, the probability is very strong (by reason of our present method of dealing with criminals), that they will in future be returned again. When one thinks of the enormous cost of our penal machinery, and the money expended on repeated trials of the same man for substantially the same old crime repeated—does not the folly of this system from a financial point of view become apparent? And when we think of the repeated depredations and outrages upon humanity which require these repeated and expensive trials, does it not cause us to inquire earnestly if there be not some way of providing that these men be made fit citizens before they are returned upon society, or else that they be not returned at all—any more than the tiger which has eaten a child in the street shall be sentenced to a year's caging for the offense and then let loose, with whetted appetite, to hunt for other children?

I believe that ultimately it can be done, and I believe that any day when the citizens of a state wish to do so they can see inaugurated a system which will begin at once to work powerfully in this needed direction. The system I wish to speak of is not an untried one. Its results are not vague and doubtful, but on the contrary very clearly and unequivocally good.

Doubtless most of my readers are more or less acquainted with what is called the "Elmira plan," because it is a plan of dealing with prisoners which has come to its best at the Elmira (New York) Reformatory under the management of the gifted and devoted warden, Z. R. Brockway. Only the briefest outline of this system can be given here, yet merely to mention the leading features will be enough to convince of the wisdom and practicability of the "Elmira plan."

Mr. Brockway has under his care some 1,300 men all under 30 years of age at the time of sentence, and all in prison for their first offense, and none of them under life sentence. I have said "prison," but I ought to have said "reformatory," for it is true to its name, as our "penitentiaries" are not. There are three grades in this institution, and every man on entering is put in the middle grade. It then depends upon the man himself whether he shall fall to the lower or rise to the higher grade. Each man has been sentenced by the judge for the maximum term provided for his offense, and he is given to understand that the real time of his incarceration will depend upon the fitness he develops for being returned to society. Then every possible means is brought to bear to awaken and stimulate the manhood of these young men. There is a good school and education is compulsory. There is a military drill, to promote discipline. Every man is thoroughly trained in some occupation that he shows a fitness for—they are not let out in gangs by contract. Each is subject to an accurate system of markings, first for conduct (the most essential of all), then for progress in learning, then for progress in the mastery of his trade. These men are not dealt with in the mass, but so far as possible, as individuals, and day by day it is the constant and conscientious effort to supply here as far as may be, the lack of discipline, of useful training, of good precept and good example, the lack of friends, guides, and counselors, the lack of fixed purpose and worthy aim—which for the most part has brought these men here, and which were they turned out without these helps, would with greater certainty bring them back again. When, in the judgment of a suitable council, a man is fit to enter society, he is given at first a qualified liberty. A place of work is provided for him and he is assisted by the friendly interest of the Prisoners' Aid society in keeping on in the good way. But for some time further he is under the guardianship of the reformatory, to whose officers he must report at stated intervals and to whom a written report of his conduct and general progress must be submitted periodically by his employers. If he sustains himself creditably during this time of probation, he is a free man

upon the day of its expiration, and may go where he will, to make a new life and a new record for himself. But, naturally, you ask for the results. The results have been better than the first advocates of the plan dared to hope. Seventy-five per cent of the prisoners so dealt with give evidence, after being restored to society, of permanent reform. So says Warden Brockway. Now, if it were but 50 or 25 per cent, would not the result richly repay this enlightened effort?

The new state of South Dakota two years ago adopted this plan of paroling prisoners who gave promise of good conduct, and the results thus far have been perfectly satisfactory.

But Elmira has not originated all the good things in the line of work. A system of probation for first offenders against the law exists in the state of Massachusetts. When a man appears in a court of justice for his first offense, if it be not too grave, the judge has it in his discretion to suspend sentence during good behavior. Then the man comes under the care of the "probation officer," to whom he must report, and to whom he can go, as to a friend, in difficulty, trouble, or temptation. Thus, by good behavior, by the aid of this friend, and frequently by the added exertions of other friends, if he has any, and by the aid of his own awakened sense of danger if he longer pursues evil courses—he is saved the first experience of prison life, which too often only serves to contaminate him by familiarization with crime, to bereave him of all good hopes and ambitions, and to send him forth at last, with wasted years and blasted life, and the stigma of lasting disgrace upon him, and the strengthened impulse to prey upon a world which has used him so harshly, without ruth or pity.

Which is best, from a purely selfish point of view—these methods which do try and do largely succeed in expelling the criminal from a man and sending him back a new being to the world or the old way, the way which still obtains in nearly all states, of sending evilly disposed men back to prey upon society at the expiration of a sentence imposed without the possibility of knowing beforehand whether the man will be fit for liberty at the expiration of that sentence or not—nay, with a pretty posi-

tive assurance that he will be less fit for liberty than he is at the moment of sentence?

Now, if you think the system such as I have outlined would be better than what we have, and you as a citizen, feel some interest and some responsibility in the matter, what are some of the things that you could do?

First, you could speak or write a strong and earnest word to your representative in the legislature and to others in power, pleading for such an amendment to your state constitution as will make the "indeterminate sentence" plan legal.

Secondly, you can make your plea for the separation and grading of criminals of the different classes, and for systematic and persistent effort for their reform, especially that of the young and unhardened convict.

Third, you can interest yourself in your own jail and the sort of accommodation it affords to prisoners. If you visit the county jail you will find it neat and clean; but you will find that there is no separation of men prisoners from each other, except by iron bars through which they can shake hands, which, of itself, would be well enough. But young and old, innocent and guilty, the hardened criminal and the youth brought in for his first case of drunkenness, enjoy perfectly unrestricted intercourse, and so, instead of being a preventer of crime, our jail becomes a school of crime. Is it just to the young, and as yet unhardened man, possibly the innocent man merely held for trial, that he should be subjected to the influence of such surroundings? Nay, I will not plead justice for him, but ask for the effect upon society. Let us think on these things.

Fourth, you can plead for the probation system for all first offenders of a minor character—at home and everywhere else in the state. And do not forget that "the state" is the people who compose it. We are responsible for any bad law which we suffer to exist without protest.

And again, among the things that you can do if you are interested, you can set your face like a flint against the appointment of our prison officials being associated with politics. It is a shame and a disgrace that such a thing should be, and never

can the first true step toward the proper management of our prisons be taken, while this management is confided to the man who can command the most votes or is granted to some politician as a reward for political services.

I cannot close without one word about the rights of the prisoner himself; for he is a part of society. Society has produced him; society has made and fostered the social, moral, industrial conditions which are largely responsible for his being what he is. This of the worst; but then we must think of the thousands of men and women, who, though indiscriminately classed as criminals, do not habitually cherish criminal impulses, are as much astonished and horrified at the position in which one false and perhaps unpremeditated step has placed them, as we can possibly be. Think of these men and women with their blasted lives, and then pray that we may be delivered from ever harboring one hard, unsympathetic thought toward them. Judge not, judge not! And when we feel prompted to say self-righteously of these: "The way of the transgressor is *hard*," let us give it rather the emphasis that Warden Brockway does: "The way of the transgressor *is* hard." Yes, it is hard, and it is no part of our duty to make it harder.

And let me close by telling you of one early morning hour we spent in London last June at the gate of Pentonville prison. We were waiting to see the discharged men come out, and to see who was there to meet them and to offer them help and a new start in life. And we did not stand alone, for all about us were women—poor, oh! such dejected, wretched women, but they had love and faithfulness in the hearts that beat under their patched and ragged gowns. And there they stood, with nervous locked hands, anxiously watching for the great gate to swing open and give them back husband or father or brother or son. And there were other friends waiting these, too. For just across the street was gathered an ever-increasing group of men in front of a grog shop. Oh! yes, they would welcome their companions back, and give them what cheer they could. And as we stood in front of that gate, a road led directly to us and was intercepted by this gate. And the name of the road was

"Brewery Road." As we stood there we thought of John Bunyan, and how, if he were to write the allegory of the Rogue's Progress, he could choose no better name for the road which should lead up to the gate of that prison which should receive the Rogue; the road which his feet would again tread the moment he emerged into the world. Presently seventy men came forth and I have never seen God's image so defaced as in the countenances of most of these men. As I looked at them, and thought of the slums which had produced them—these thick-necked, low-browed, hideously brutal men—there came to me as never before, a sense of the wickedness of our self-righteous judgments, our determinations of what these men "deserve" of punishment for being what they are. And a new light broke upon the passage of Scripture, "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them." Remember them that are in bonds of evil inheritance, evil instruction, evil fate, as bound with them. Yea, indeed, we are bound with them, for we are all one humanity, one pulse of life throbs through us all, and to cut ourselves off from "remembering" one human soul "in bonds" is to dry up the founts of love for us in the universe.

For we must share, if we would keep,
That blessing from above;
Ceasing to give, we cease to have,
Such is the law of love.

"If ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?" That is not giving—that is exchange of love. We do not give love, until we can pray with full heart, that old Pagan prayer: "O, Lord, bless the wicked, for Thou hast already blessed the good in making them good." And not only must we pray. We must help God to work this chaos into which mankind has wrought itself into order and righteousness for every human soul.

The old doctrine of Jesus—of love—to our neighbor, to the stranger, to our enemy—the returning of love for hate, of good for evil always—it has been pronounced chimerical, impracticable, "against human nature." But human nature has ever been changing and bettering since first it became human instead

of animal nature. And I believe that one day we shall learn to love our enemies and to do good to them that hate us and despitefully use us—and this is the only hope of humanity—then the evil in men and women will be wooed to good, and all men shall be brothers, and children of the Most High.

CAROLINE J. BARTLETT.

SHOULD THE NEXT ADMINISTRATION CHANGE OUR TARIFF SYSTEM?

BY EDWIN MEAD.

ARE we, as a nation, benefited by a protective tariff? It is said, "We have had thirty years of high protection and also thirty years of great prosperity; but is it true that protection has caused our prosperity?" Because one thing follows another does it necessarily follow that the first is cause and the second effect? Even if our tariff system was intended to produce general prosperity, instead of being the result of demands of private interest, yet it does not follow that it has produced prosperity. Much of our legislation not only fails to produce intended results, but actually succeeds in producing quite opposite results. If we doubt this we need but examine some of our recent laws. Pension legislation supposed to benefit our ex-soldiers is doing much to injure them. Many of those whom all have delighted to honor have been degraded to the level of paupers. Such laws fail of their purpose because contrary to the unwritten law, that you cannot benefit a man by gifts. The oleomargarine act not only failed to raise the price of butter, as the dairy farmers had hoped and expected, but caused the formation of a trust which has a monopoly of the manufacture of butterine. Here we have a law passed in the interest of farmers creating a monopoly, and farmers abhor monopolies above all things. A still later and most significant failure of law to produce intended results is furnished by the silver act of 1890 authorizing the government to purchase four and one half million ounces of silver bullion per month. Did this act check the decline in the price of silver? Did it help to settle the silver question? Has it not, on the contrary, had an effect of

hindering such settlement and even of threatening grave financial troubles? That it is a failure and a menace to a sound financial condition is proved by the action of Senator Sherman (its reported author) in offering a bill for its repeal during the past session of Congress.

Intention to do good, then, is not enough. We all know of the familiar saying in regard to "good intentions" being a material largely used in paving the streets of hades. But our protectionist exclaims, "Look at our great and varied industries fostered by our protective tariff: are they not an evidence of our wealth?" And we must answer yes, they are an evidence of our wealth, and in more ways than one; besides being a proof that we are the most progressive and enterprising of nations they also show what we can *endure*. A man who has developed a great brain at the expense of the remainder of his physical system and yet has sufficient vitality to live, gives evidence of immense resources but also of very poor judgment. A woman displays a lack of good sense in torturing her waist to develop great hips and bust. If she still continues to live, we say that her foolishness is an evidence of great physical strength, not as a cause but as showing what she can endure. And so it is with our tariff-fostered industries. We have been able to raise a crop of millionaires such as the world has never seen before; to sink an immense amount of capital in enterprises that should never have been started; to indulge in the most extravagant public expenditures, and pay extra prices for many of the comforts and not a few of the necessities of life, and still prosper as a nation.

All this foolishness is certainly an evidence of our abundant natural resources but is hardly a cause for our prosperity. It is a law of nature which holds as much in the social world as in the physical that we cannot, by artificial stimulant, develop one part to great extent except at the expense of other parts. When we see so many factories closing down and so many others running on short time do we need further proof that we have overdone in this matter of "encouraging industry" by tariff bounties? As Joel Benton so pertinently asks, "Is it industry or laziness that

most needs encouragement? A profitable business needs no encouragement—an unprofitable one deserves none. Is it the business of government to either *encourage* or *discourage* any legitimate business?" Is there not enough enterprise and business shrewdness in Americans to start up industries when there is a demand for them? Are Americans so stupid as to need an act of Congress to show them how to invest so as to develop our natural resources? The assumption "that without this extra bounty of a protective tariff we would not have had our present great industries" implies all this and more: it implies also that American capitalists will not invest their money unless they are assured of a chance to rob their customers besides making a fair profit. This outrageous slander is refuted by the many immense industries now in operation which have never asked nor received favors of the government. And we are warned not to be too severe with those who do obtain such favors. To give them every opportunity to take such advantage and expect them to refuse is expecting too much of weak humanity. Self interest is the great cause of action throughout society and must continue to be in the business world if we attain success. And the people must learn where lie their interests and demand that they be respected.

But why has protection never given Russia or Italy or Mexico varied industry? The protectionist tries to explain such conditions by saying, "Oh, such countries have not the advantage of great natural resources, freedom in government, or the intelligence, business capacity, and tireless energy of Americans." Ah! but this is a fatal admission—fatal to the theory that "protection is the cause of our prosperity," for if something beside a protective tariff is necessary—such as natural resources, good government, and an intelligent and energetic people, is it not *barely possible* that these things are the cause of our prosperity rather than monopoly grants or restrictions on trade?

If it be urged that "encouraging industries by tariffs makes more work," the question arises, do we want *more work*? Are not workmen striving to shorten the hours of labor rather than create more work? Is it not the aim of all science, art, and in-

vention to save labor ; to accomplish results with less work ? If we are benefited by having work more abundant, then all such things must be an injury to us. No, it is not "more labor" that we want, but more of the products of labor. There is no such thing as "labor as an end in itself." We all labor for certain results or benefits, so the question of the policy of protection is not whether it makes more work but whether it gives us a larger or smaller share in the *product* of work. Do protective tariffs cheapen or increase the price of products, do they increase or lessen the purchasing power of a day's wages ? There can be no doubt that their first effect, at least, if they have any effect whatever, is to increase prices, else our industries are not protected. And it is most certainly true that the continued effect must be the same, else there is no excuse for protection. If "prices are the same at home as abroad," from what "cheap goods" are we protected ? It is not to the point to assert that "the prices of all manufactured goods are much less than twenty or thirty years ago." This is undoubtedly true, but it is just as true in free trade England as in protection America, as it is equally true in industries of all sorts whether "protected" or not. A favorite example with protectionists of the cheapening of products by protection is that of steel rails. Steel rails being a protected article and now selling at \$30 a ton, while fifty years ago they sold for five times that amount, it is held that the tariff did it. But what are the facts ? In 1858 Sir Henry Bessemer invented a process of steel making that so cheapened that product that it could be used for many things before impossible because of its cost. Steel rails could be made for about one half the former price. Later in 1875 came the Siemen-Martin process followed by other improvements still further reducing the cost of production. Increased knowledge and labor saving contrivances reduced the price of steel rails as it has so many other products and *without* them steel rails would still be selling at \$150.00 a ton, even *with* a protective tariff of 1,000 per cent.

The question, then, is not whether manufactured goods are cheaper now than a generation ago, but whether they are as cheap now as they would be if protection were abolished ?

There are two ways of obtaining an answer to this question. We can compare prices of home and foreign made goods or we can learn whether foreign goods paying a high tariff are *imported* or *not*. Those who have had an opportunity of comparing prices here and abroad know the extent of the difference in a long list of manufactured articles, and, as all men are free traders when buying, they usually take advantage of this difference and buy what they can while abroad. But it is not necessary to go abroad to learn that prices here are, in many instances, much higher; we need but look at the record of importations. We all know that, as a rule, home and foreign made goods of like quality retail at practically the same price. If it were otherwise one would not be sold, for, with the exception of a few stupid Anglomaniacs, the American people have enough common sense to buy the best goods for the least money regardless of the question of foreign or domestic make. So long as foreign goods continue to be imported and sold, after paying the duty, is it not proved thereby that like goods of home production sell for a price equal to the foreign price *plus the duty*? In other words does it not demonstrate that the entire amount of the duty is added to the price of home products if the market price of such goods allows like foreign goods to be imported? Suppose an English blanket valued at \$3.00 is imported paying a duty of \$3.00 (the tariff on certain grades of blankets is about 100 per cent), it must sell for at least \$6.00 plus the dealer's profit. Now similar blankets made here must sell for the same price else the English goods cannot be sold. If the price of the American blanket drops below such price importations of those goods will cease. So to learn whether or not the entire amount of the duty is added to the price of home products, we have but to note whether or not we are importing similar foreign goods. The reports of the treasury department show that we imported for the year ending June 30, 1892, some \$369,000,000 worth of *dutiable* goods; goods competing with those made here. Further, that during the past five years such imports have averaged about \$470,000,000 a year. Evidently our tariff has failed to give us entire control of our "home market." And

why? Because we cannot have a monopoly of the home market and raise revenue by the same tariff. Our manufacturers are compelled to add the entire amount of the duty to a great many products. If they *did not*, the duty would become prohibitory, and if importation of competing goods should cease we would be compelled to raise revenue by taxing goods now on the free list or by direct taxation. Instances are not wanting where importation has ceased because the price of home products has fallen below the price of foreign goods plus the duty. In 1882 we imported some 200,000 tons of steel rails, now we import practically none. Ten years ago the price was about \$55 and the duty \$28 a ton, now they are quoted at \$30 and the duty is but \$13 a ton. In 1882 importation continued because the full amount of the duty was added to the price of the home product. Now when that price has fallen to \$5.00 less than English rails can be placed on our markets duty paid we find imports have ceased. This also shows the fallacy of the idea that "high duties are necessarily prohibitory duties." They are, only when but part of such duty is added to the price of home products, but a lower rate is equally as effective under such conditions. The tariff on ordinary glass above 24x60 is 40 cents a square foot, and as such glass sells here for about 16 to 20 cents, of course the duty is prohibitory. The tariff on wire nails is from 2 to 4 cents a pound. Because such nails sell here for less than the amount of the duty, Mr. McKinley would have us believe that the "foreigner pays the duty." Does the foreign nail-maker love us to the extent of making nails (at some cost surely), bringing them over here and paying our government 2 or 4 cents a pound for the privilege of selling them to us at 2 cents a pound or less? On the contrary, do not such conditions prove that we import no such goods, and neither we nor foreigners have any chance to pay any duties to the government? Major McKinley's talk about the "foreigner paying the duty" is somewhat humorous in light of the fact that manufacturers are allowed a drawback of 99 per cent of duty paid on materials, provided they export the finished product.

Protectionists continually assume that trade is beneficial only

to the seller, that we are gainers when we sell and losers when we buy. So when foreigners complain of loss on account of our tariffs, protectionists at once infer that we are benefited,—that our gain is a necessary consequence of their loss. This would be true if trade were highway robbery. When a thief steals, his gain is some one's loss. But all legitimate trade is something entirely different. It is simply an exchange of products or values. In business a man sells because he can make a profit, and he buys for exactly the same reason. In selling, his profit is the margin between the cost price and selling price. In buying his profit is the margin between the price which he *paid*, and the cost price of making for himself, which he was wise enough *not* to pay. Primitive man may have been able to live without trading with his fellows but trade is so essential to our present civilization that a great majority of us would soon perish were we denied the privilege of buying. Now foreign trade is just as beneficial as any other trade; so if we buy of one another, because we are thereby gainers, we buy of foreigners for the same reason. We speak of our trade *as a nation* when we say "foreign trade," but we must remember that such trade is simply the sum total of individual exchanges and if these are profitable our whole foreign trade must also be profitable. To say that individual traders may be gainers but that the sum total of our foreign trade is not gainful is to state a manifest absurdity. Is it possible to add up individual exchanges of profit into a sum total called our "foreign trade" so that such total shall represent a loss?

But the most amazing assumption of protectionists is that "protection gives or maintains high wages." The *Chicago Tribune*, the leading Republican organ of the Northwest, has ceased to make any other argument, but continues to reiterate that "protection insures high wages" and "free trade means the reduction of our standard of wages and of living to the standard of Europe." It admits that the tariff increases prices; thus it says: "The fact remains that nearly all the competitive goods made in Europe may be, and are, offered for sale *much* below the prices asked for similar goods in this country." It

gives as the reason, the high cost of labor here. Now, in the first place, what is the "standard" of wages here? The wages of a coal miner or of a mill superintendent? Is our "standard" of living that of a cheap lodging house or of a Vanderbilt mansion? What is the European "standard" of wages; those of England or Italy? A "standard" implies some fixed amount. Is there any such thing anywhere as a standard of wages or a standard of living? We all know of a standard of weight or of measure; but is it not the greatest nonsense to talk of a standard of anything that varies as do wages? A "standard" of wages is as much a fiction as that convenient nonentity "pauper labor." It seems to have never occurred to protectionists that "paupers are those who do not labor but are supported by those who do." We need not go to Europe to find such as these and we need not look through our poorhouses to find our most expensive "paupers."

But what of this assertion that "we cannot compete with Europe because of our higher rate of wages"? If that be true, the nation with the lowest priced labor should be our sharpest competitor. But is such the case? Do we fear the competition of Mexico, Russia, or India? If so-called "pauper labor" is our most dreaded competitor, these are the nations whose competition would be most dangerous. On the contrary, is not England, whose factory labor is the best paid of Europe, our chief competitor? Italy "protects" herself from the better paid labor of France and Germany, who in turn protect themselves from the yet higher priced labor of England, while England fears no competition but that of the United States with its still higher priced labor. What does all this go to prove? Simply that high priced labor, as a rule, is the cheapest labor because the most effective. Those who have traveled in countries where labor is supposed to be cheap, because low priced, have noted the fact that such labor was usually not worth the small price paid; considering the amount of work done. The American workman receives higher wages than the European because he produces more and therefore earns more. But the question of our competing with Europe is not a question of wages, but, as far as

labor is concerned, is a question of labor cost ; or the proportion that the cost for labor bears to the entire cost of production. It is quite possible for high wages to exist with a relatively low labor cost. In fact it has repeatedly been demonstrated that the cost for labor per pound, per ton, or per yard of product, is less in the United States than in England ; also, that such cost is less in England than on the continent, proving that, as a rule, labor cost is less as wages become higher.

But it is universally admitted that the American workman is more intelligent, ingenious, and effective than those of any other country. Does intelligence need to be assisted to compete with ignorance ? Do the strong fear the weak, the quick and energetic fear the lazy and stupid ? After a century of achievement which astonishes the Old World, are we ready to admit that we fear the competition of Europe or any countries whatever ? If protection has given us high wage rate, we are bound to ask why has it not given the Mexican workman high wages ? Mexico has a tariff that averages about 84 per cent on dutiable imports and there are few workmen who receive as much as \$1.00 per day. Many get only 50 cents and not a few 25 cents and less per day. Why does not protection give high wages in Mexico ? Is the climate too warm ? Well, go over to Russia where cold weather is abundant. Russia has nearly as high a tariff as Mexico, the policy of protection being applied more generally than here, even to the prohibition by law of importing or exporting at certain times. Why do not the Russian workmen receive high wages ? They receive even less than those of Mexico. Russia is an immense region rich in natural resources. Why is it that protection is powerless to prevent the Russian people from starving by the thousands, to say nothing of giving them a fair rate of wages ? Germany and France are both partially committed to the policy of protection. Why are the rates of wages in these countries invariably less than in England where the protective policy is entirely abolished ? If the statement is true "that protection gives us high wages," is it possible for the reverse to be true in all other parts of the world ? Is it possible for protection to give us high

wages and cause a low rate of wages in Russia or Mexico? Or is it not more probable that protection has nothing whatever to do with the *rate* of wages? In fact it has absolutely nothing to do with it; no more than the transit of Venus or the position of the moons of Jupiter. But though protection does not affect the *rate* of wages it does affect the *purchasing power* of wages, which is after all the real wages of labor. And it always affects the purchasing power of wages in a certain way—namely, *by reducing it*. Protection may or may not “enable” an employer to pay high wages, but it always “enables” (by way of compulsion) the workman to pay high prices. Protection compels a workman to work a week to pay for a coat that might otherwise be bought for three days’ labor. Protection compels us to pay higher freight and passenger rates because it has artificially raised the cost of railroad and steamship building and of railway rolling stock. By increasing the cost of building material it makes home building more expensive and increases rents.

Wages are higher here than formerly but the same is true in England. If protection has caused such advance here, what produced a like result there? Is it not probable that similar causes have produced similar results in both countries regardless of any tariff policy? In admitting that wages have advanced we must not overlook the fact that they have not kept pace with the increase in the effectiveness of labor. While the latter has increased in many cases a hundred-fold, wages have increased but a small per cent and no one realizes this fact more fully than the workingmen themselves. Labor, while granting to its child, capital, its full reward, realizes that the owners of that child, the capitalists, claim more than their due share. And as he more fully comprehends the question, the wage earner will see that the owner of capital is always abundantly able to take care of his own interests and needs not the assistance of government. From the very nature of things, men of wealth have an advantage over the wage earner; why add to such advantage by legislation? We feel sure that the next national administration should and will materially change our tariff policy.

EDWIN MEAD.

THE FARMERS AND THE STATE.

BY HON. MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

“**W**HAT agency ought the farmer to have in the government of the country?” Evidently the rank held by any class among the controlling forces of society depends chiefly upon their numerical preponderance, their intellectual superiority, and the vigor with which they employed their advantages in the control of others. Farmers might exercise enormous power in the direction of public affairs if they chose to unite their activities to a common end.

Local self-government had its origin in the institutions of farmers long before the birth of cities; our Saxon ancestors created the models on which were formed the representative institutions which at length, under the modifying influence of environment, developed into the splendid system of free government under which we now live in a perfect and harmonious union of individual freedom, local independence, and national control.

While farmers are entitled to a large share of credit for the establishment of our popular form of government, and are largely instrumental in keeping it free—yet they are exercising with the lapse of time a diminishing share of power in its administration.

The growth of cities, the increase of urban population, and the multiplication of trades and pursuits, which diversify interests and employments, produce an increasing ratio of consumers to producers of food products, and make the race for numerical ascendancy inevitably a losing one to the farmer.

Farmers have been held in high respect from the remotest antiquity, and their title is valid to the highest rank in honor and dignity. The agencies by which the farmer impresses his per-

sonality upon the community are chiefly the ballot and public opinion. The ballot is the trustiest of all weapons when wisely used, and the deadliest of all when drawn against the State by ignorant or venal hands. The failure of the ballot to yield the largest measure of usefulness possible under the conditions imposed by popular suffrage is due to two causes: the tendency of good men to neglect its use and the proneness of bad men to its abuse.

We ought to make intelligence and rectitude as universal as the ballot. This is a harvest which invites the sickles of the farmers; yet they are not always on hand when need is greatest. Their great sin in this matter, which I set before them in the crimson livery of its real turpitude, is their indifference to the results of the primary organization of political power in their community.

The existing modes of political management, the state of political morals, the credulity of the ignorant, upon which the community and crafty play; and the corruptibility of the vicious are conditions which imperiously demand the presence of every intelligent patriotic farmer at the primary meetings of his party. These in a large degree govern the State, yet they may be made, by the absence of the best and the presence of the worst men, the veriest travesty on popular rule. There is no point along great waterways of political power which carry the influences, that make or mar the state, where human control is so effective as at the source.

Farmers are willing to accuse of corruption those who attend primaries and sell their votes for a dollar, but are quick to resent the imputation of their own wrong in withholding their ballot for as much advantage as sums up the value of the few hours' work they do when they ought to be performing a public duty. The difference between selling your vote to the wrong candidate and withholding it from the right one for an advantage to yourself is not so great as some suppose. One is called corruption, the other is a culpable neglect of duty which inures to wrong results, and in its consequences may be as harmful to the state as corruption itself. It gives supremacy to forces least

fit to govern. It suppresses the best and advances the worst men in the community. It gives faithless servants the opportunity to neglect the public service and corrupt ones the chance to debauch it. It clothes incapacity with respectability by official positions in which it masquerades as the people's choice. It fills legislative assemblies with incapables who crowd our statute books with costly records of human folly. Thus by the farmer's omission the State suffers, the government falls into disrepute, the public service is rendered inefficient, its honor tarnished, its power enfeebled, its interests stricken, its administration corrupted, and its glory dimmed. When we look at these consequences in cluster we realize how appalling they are.

Contemplating society as a mysterious loom in which the shuttle of individual character, winged by myriad personalities, bearing threads of every hue and color, flies to and fro, building up the vari-colored web in forms and figures, which constitute the standards of opinion and conduct in all the relations of life, it is easily seen how important is the coloring contributed to that wearing by so conspicuous a body of citizens as the farmers.

Character, intelligence, and courage are the farmer's means of impressing his personality upon the community. Whatever other qualities a man may have in his moral tool chest these are handles that fit them all. A man of character puts conscience in his work. When Cromwell wanted a regiment of superior fighters he called for men who could put conscience in their fighting. The result was the famous Ironsides Regiment. Farmers, of all men, ought to possess character. There is no command laid upon them to be rich or learned, but they must be honest. Their situation invites it, their intercourse with nature promotes it. God's myriad ministers of truth are speaking hourly to them in the voice of the field, the woods, and the air. They see no base deceit in nature's converse with them in taking the seed and returning the harvest. They hear no lie from the ceaseless tongues which warble the music of nature's sublime symphonies. They live and move in a glorious temple of truth and beauty, where every inspiration is uplifting and every influence is ennobling.

The forces of civilization are opening new fields for the play of intelligence. The scope of knowledge that enabled the farmer fifty years ago to hold his rank among the agencies of society and keep a touch of elbow with the marching column of progress, now with the increased complexity of our social and industrial mechanism—with the multitude of new instrumentalities for human progress which are springing from the teeming womb of our civilization would leave him far behind, a hopeless and despairing loser in the race for power and supremacy. The time has come when the farmer must mix more brains with his soil. Modern facilities for transportation have annihilated distance and revolutionized agriculture. The problem of competition in its production of the cereals is solved against the eastern farmers. Whether the cattle growing interest will yet succumb to the dressed beef syndicates of the west remains to be seen. If driven from the fields of grain and cattle production, the farmers of the east must discover some new mode of tickling the earth to make it laugh a more bountiful harvest than they have hitherto been able to secure. There is wealth in the soil for those who know how to get it out. Who will discover the Alladin's magic ring to work the miracle? The possibilities imprisoned in an acre of ground have not yet been fathomed. Who will find the plummet to sound these depths? Intensive farming may be the "open sesame" to this treasure house. At all events it is certain that intelligence alone can make conquests in this field. Here knowledge is power. The farmer must know his soil as the painter his pigments. He must understand the markets. They are as sensitive as the prairie flower, that folds its petals at the sound of a horse's hoof. Knowledge can anticipate their fluctuations and either escape their consequences or profit by the advantages. In the present state of the farmer's knowledge, the domain of certainty in his operations is extremely limited, but it abuts upon a vast region of ignorance dedicated heretofore to conjecture and experiments. Armed with weapons which science will soon put in his hands, he must invade these outlying provinces and annex them to the domain of certitude, in which staple and uniform results can be

produced with scientific exactness, if he would continue to thrive by the plow.

There is need of greater intelligence among farmers to enable them to take their part in grappling with the mighty questions, which in the near future may subject to the severest test the wisdom of our institutions and our capacity for their successful management. Among those problems are the labor question, the land question, municipal governments, corporate power, the perils of socialism, immigration, wealth, and our politics.

The stupendous stake the farmer has in public order makes it his duty to qualify himself to render effective aid in maintaining it. I build a great hope upon the rural communities, where fresh air, pure blood, and good morals unite in preserving the physical and intellectual vigor of the citizens. These communities must be the breakwaters to protect our institutions in case the fountains of discontent should overflow, and the bitter waters of anarchy swell in rolling floods from our great cities, the centers of population, and the "storm centers of our civilization."

MARRIOTT BROSIUS.

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AMERICAN RECIPROCITY AND WHAT IT MEANS.

BY SAMUEL M. DAVIS, A. M.

SINCE the proclamation of the Monroe doctrine, this country has adopted no policy with reference to foreign nations which has given such beneficent results as the doctrine of reciprocity. The reciprocity policy is not in the interest of any single individual nor is it for the purpose of promoting the success of any political party. It is simply an endeavor to apply the golden rule to commerce ; to persuade our neighbors to make concessions in favor of our products in return for the concessions we have already made in favor of theirs ; to secure for the farmer and manufacturer of the United States some advantages that their rivals in other countries may not enjoy, and to increase the purchasing power of the consumers in other American nations by reducing the cost of certain merchandise of which they, by reason of the high duties imposed upon it, are in a great measure deprived.

The endeavor of the United States to extend the export trade in the Latin-American republics and colonies by means of reciprocity treaties was commenced in 1882. The doctrine of reciprocity has chiefly been confined to Central and South American states. On account of the geographical and political positions of the United States and Mexico, it was thought that their commercial welfare justified certain mutual concessions with reference to custom duties. A treaty was negotiated with the republic of Mexico, under which certain merchandise from

the United States was to be admitted free of duties into Mexico, and certain products of that country were to be admitted free into the United States. The provisions of this treaty were never carried into effect because of the failure of Congress to enact the legislation to carry out the provisions of the treaty.

In the year 1884, President Arthur, under the authority of Congress, appointed a commission "to ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America." Subsequently this commission visited the several American republics with instructions to ascertain by inquiry the opinions of the merchants actually engaged in trade concerning the most practicable means of promoting commerce with the United States; to confer with the several governments as to the advisability of holding an international American conference, and obtain their views as to what topics should be discussed at such a gathering; and to initiate reciprocity treaties similar to those already arranged with Mexico and Spain with such of the American republics as desired to enter into negotiations for that purpose. This commission made its report, and with a single exception the governments visited expressed a desire to enter into reciprocal arrangements with the United States, and in several instances a definite understanding was reached. The commission recommended that an international conference be held at Washington to which all the republics visited had consented to send delegates, and a number of topics for consideration were submitted. A bill was passed by Congress on the 10th of May, 1888, for the purpose of carrying out the recommendations of the commission, and ten days later it became a law without the approval of the president. On the 13th of the following July, carrying out the provisions of this act, an invitation was issued by Mr. Bayard, then secretary of state, to the governments of Mexico, Central and South America, Hayti, and Santo Domingo to participate in a conference to be held in Washington on the 2d of October, 1889. Among other topics announced for discussion was, "Measures toward the formation of an American customs union, under

which the trade of the American nations with each other shall, so far as possible and profitable, be promoted." At the meeting of the conference this proposition was referred to a committee, which, after careful consideration, reported that the system of taxation and the condition of the public revenues of the Latin-American republics made such a customs union as had been proposed, that is, a free interchange of merchandise, impracticable, but recommended the negotiation of commercial treaties embracing mutual concessions, so far as could be done without impairing the revenues necessary to sustain their several governments.

On the 19th of June, 1890, Mr. Blaine, secretary of state, handed this report and recommendation to the president, who on the same day transmitted a message to Congress, urging upon that body the advisability and wisdom of making some provision in the then pending tariff bill by which the United States would be able to gain material advantage in opening South and Central American markets to our manufactured products. A reciprocity amendment to the tariff bill was proposed which authorized the president to declare the ports of the United States free and open to the products of any nation on the American hemisphere whenever and as long as such nation should admit free to its ports the agricultural products and certain manufactured merchandise of this country. This was a positive proposition, making the removal of the duty on sugar and the retention of other tropical products on the free list dependent and contingent upon the granting of equivalent concessions in favor of the products of the United States. This amendment was not accepted by the committee on ways and means of the House of Representatives. It was afterwards introduced into the Senate by Senator Hale, where it received more favorable consideration. In support of this amendment it was urged that it would be folly on the part of our government to remove the duty on sugar without requiring corresponding concessions from the sugar growing nations in favor of the agricultural and mechanical products of the United States. Other reciprocity amendments to the tariff bill were proposed, among which was

one which instead of authorizing the president to remove the duties on sugar and other products of South American states in case reciprocal concessions were made in favor of the United States, authorized him to restore them if such concessions were not made. Reciprocity was introduced into the McKinley tariff bill, and is known as section three of that bill. This amendment was the result of a compromise between those who favored the absolute and unconditional repeal of the sugar tariff, and those who desired to confer upon the executive a discretionary power to use that special duty as a leverage in negotiating for new and wider markets for our products. The argument used in favor of the scheme of reciprocity was that this government at different times repealed duties on great foreign products, which at the time of their repeal might have been used to induce foreign governments to reduce their duties on our products. We had given up coffee, tea, and hides, and last of all and most important, we had given up sugar ; and never before in giving up any of these had we sought to acquire any advantages with the countries producing these articles in return. Their tariffs on our products had continued as great as ever, and in some cases had been increased. The time had now come when we were to try to retrace our steps and get back some of the advantages we had parted with so readily.

Negotiations were at once opened with Brazil, having as their object the consummation of a treaty securing reciprocal favors by both governments. For ten years preceding 1890 this country had received goods from Brazil valued at \$502,547,258 and had sent back only \$83,432,557. The balance of \$419,114,701 against us had been paid to Brazil in money, which had gone to purchase English, French, and German products which the Brazilians needed and which this nation ought to have sent them instead of the gold which they made us pay. The chief products sent to us by Brazil are coffee, rubber, hides, and sugar. All these were admitted free of duty, with the exception of sugar, which, by the tariff of 1890, was practically so admitted. On the other hand, Brazil imposed a heavy duty upon almost every one of our products, and ever since 1872, when the

duty was removed from coffee, our ministers had in vain endeavored to get some concessions to American products from the Brazilian government as a compensation for the free admission of coffee from that country. It was not until the power conferred on the president to reimpose duties on coffee, hides, and sugar, that the government of Brazil realized the marked difference in the tariff laws of the two countries. It was not long before an arrangement was concluded under which the Brazilian government authorized the admission into its ports, free of all duties, of the products of the farms and mines of the United States, all forms of machinery and railway supplies, agricultural implements, labor-saving machinery; while wearing apparel, preserved meats, fruits and vegetables, lard, lumber, furniture, wagons and carriages were to be admitted at a rate of duty twenty-five per cent less than that imposed upon similar articles imported from other countries. Brazil has been in a constant ferment and state of revolution since the treaty was concluded and therefore the conditions under which trade has been carried on were largely against the transaction of a large amount of business, yet in spite of all this our export trade with that country has increased in the eight months immediately after the reciprocity treaty was signed \$2,000,000, compared with the corresponding trade in the previous year, which up to that time was the largest in the history of our trade with Brazil. Considering all the conditions under which this increased trade has taken place it would indicate that the United States under this arrangement will maintain a trade with Brazil which in the near future must bring our exportations quite or nearly equal to our importations from that country.

A treaty similar to the one concluded with Brazil was made shortly afterwards by the Hon. John W. Foster, representing the secretary of state, with the government of Spain acting for her American colonies, Cuba and Porto Rico. The passage of the reciprocity provision of the tariff bill brought the sugar producer of Cuba face to face with the question whether new advantages should be given to the trade of the United States by him or he should see his own industry ruined and his plantation

abandoned. The Spanish authorities at first told our negotiators that Spain and Cuba expected the benefit of free sugar without being obliged to give anything in return, but when they were assured that the president of the United States would carry the law into execution in good faith, the Spanish government at once entered upon the negotiation of an arrangement which culminated in a treaty. The treaties with Santo Domingo, Cuba, and Porto Rico did not go into force until the first of September, and there has been little opportunity to judge of their value, but the increase in shipments from the United States to those countries since that time has been very satisfactory. During the four months since these treaties went into effect, the domestic exports to Cuba were \$7,063,222, an increase of \$2,247,193 over the corresponding period of 1890. In the month of December, 1891, alone this increase amounted to \$848,561, while the average monthly increase was \$562,000. The merchandise imported at Havana alone from the United States during these four months was valued at \$4,669,229 as against \$2,137,170 for the corresponding period of the previous year. On the first of January the duty on flour imported into Cuba from the United States was abolished. The result shows the benefit of a reciprocity treaty. During the month of January, 1891, there were imported into Havana 2,720 bags of flour from the United States and 38,439 bags from Spain. During the month of January, 1892, there were imported into Havana 62,371 bags of flour from the United States and none from Spain. During the month of January, 1891, there were imported into all the ports of Cuba from the United States 9,234 bags of flour. During the month of January, 1892, 67,478 bags of flour were imported—an increase of more than seven hundred per cent. The exports to Porto Rico during the four months since the reciprocity treaty went into effect were valued at \$973,690 an increase of \$285,212 over the corresponding period of 1890.

Treaties have also been negotiated with the republics of Santo Domingo, Guatemala, Salvador, Costa Rica and Nicaragua, and with commissioners from the British colonies of Jamaica, Trinidad, Barbadoes, Guiana, the Leeward and the Windward Islands.

A treaty was also made with Germany under the provisions of which, in consideration for the free admission of her beet sugar into the United States, the agricultural products from this country are to be admitted into German ports at largely reduced rates of duty. Other and further arrangements of the same character are in progress with other American republics and colonies, affording the farmers and manufacturers of this country an opportunity to introduce their products into the markets of the southern zones under advantages that are not enjoyed and cannot be obtained by their European rivals. During the early part of the year 1892 the president gave official notice to the countries that have negotiated treaties that unless equivalent concessions were made by them in favor of duties on merchandise from this country on the 15th of March, 1892, he should invoke the authority of the McKinley bill, and restore the duty upon coffee, hides, and other articles from them that are now on the free list. This act of retaliation will chiefly affect Venezuela coffee, which we imported to the value of about \$10,000,000 last year.

By assiduous and unremitting efforts the government has obtained advantages for the merchants and manufacturers which they are able to enjoy at their pleasure. However, many serious obstacles to the increase of trade remain, which must be overcome by individual enterprise and intelligence. The best results from the doctrine of reciprocity cannot be obtained without the enlistment of all the energies of mercantile and manufacturing genius. By arrangements already negotiated, a population of more than 17,000,000 people have been enabled to purchase the products of the United States at prices very largely below what they have hitherto been compelled to pay, but to place these products within their reach is the province of the individual rather than the government. European merchants and manufacturers by a long and careful study of the wants and requirements of consumers in Central and South America and the West Indies, and who have gained and got control of a large and lucrative market, by granting liberal credits, cannot be expected to retire from the field without a struggle. The annual imports of the Latin-American countries average \$600,000,000

and of these we have generally furnished about ten per cent. The annual exports of these same countries average about \$600,000,000 and of these we bought last year \$200,000,000, or about thirty-three per cent. These conditions are reversed in their commercial relations with Great Britain. The aim of the scheme of reciprocity is to reverse the existing conditions, and cause our neighbors to look to us for those things which we have and which they need. By the development of this principle our industries will be quickened and stimulated and our commerce will be extended and enlarged. Senator Hale in the United States senate, when advocating the usefulness of the measure, said, "Reciprocity means more products and more manufactures here and more sales abroad." Its helpfulness and beneficent results have already become apparent, and now it remains for an enlightened and educated nation to take advantage of the great field of opportunity which has been opened before it. . It is sincerely to be hoped that party prejudice and political strife will not jeopardize the reciprocal arrangements entered into with neighboring governments, and it is likewise to be hoped that the reciprocal treaties already in existence may be continued and others negotiated until all the American republics are bound together by commercial and industrial ties as well as by political and geographical bonds.

SAMUEL M. DAVIS, A.M.

GAMBLING, IN ITS RELATION TO THE PUBLIC WELFARE.

BY THE REV. J. W. RIDDLE.

GAMBLING is another term for gaming, and is a scheme of winning money in which resort is had to some game or instrument of chance to determine and designate the winner. For example, two persons, A and B, put a dime apiece, called the stakes, into the hand of a third person, the stakeholder ; a penny is tossed, and if the image on the upper side of the coin is "heads" the stakes are given to A, if "tails" they are given to B. This is the crudest and simplest illustration of the scheme, one understood by almost every urchin on the street. All other forms of the practice—and their name is legion—are but amplifications of this example. The essential feature of all alike is that they involve risk or hazard to the persons engaging in them, and the loss or gain, to a large extent at least, is determined by chance.

In the ordinary and more vulgar forms of gambling the instrument commonly used is cards. They are supposed also to be the oldest instrument. Where and when cards were invented is not easy to determine. They have existed among the Chinese, it is said, for over a thousand years ; though they do not appear to have been known in Europe until the latter half of the fourteenth century. At first their use was merely to furnish sport, which is the root meaning of the term "game" ; but being used for the purpose of amusement, recreation, or pastime, soon a stake or prize was introduced ; then the step to employing the game for the winning of money was an easy and natural one, so that at length the original signification of the term game, "sport," has come to be used in designating a person who gives himself up to the card table and other means of gaming or gambling.

In the account of the private secretary of Charles VI. of France for 1393 there is an entry of "56 sols. of Paris, paid to a painter (Jacquemin Gringonneur) for three packs of cards, gilt and colored and variously ornamented, for the amusement of the king"; and as this was the year just following that in which King Charles became insane, the story goes that cards were invented for the purpose of diverting his mind and dissipating his melancholy. Unfortunately for this story, however, it is certain that cards were in use in France before this time; so that if we are justified in drawing any inference from the striking coincidence, the more natural and sensible one would be that it was probably by playing cards and playing for money that the king lost his reason, as thousands of other foolish and unfortunate mortals have done since his day. Twenty-five years later certainly, in 1420, gambling by means of cards had grown to such a pitch in Europe as to provoke St. Bernardin to preach against it at Bologna, and so eloquently it is said, as to cause many of his hearers to carry their cards to the public square and make a bonfire of them.

In these days cards and card tables are an important part of the necessary outfit of every gambling house; and where used in private homes and by private individuals, they are used nine times for gambling where they are used once for innocent pleasure or pastime. Other instruments used in gambling places are dice and the roulette; the latter being a device in which a small ball is made to move around rapidly on a circle divided off into red and black spaces, and as it stops on the one or the other the player wins or loses. Gambling houses, fitted up with these and other devices, for the purpose of luring innocent victims to ruined fortune and ruined manhood, exist in large numbers in every city and important community, and although proscribed by law, do a thriving business, often under the protection and patronage of the very civil officials who are sworn to see that the laws for the suppression of vice and crime are properly executed. Such places can be found of all grades from the miserable, dimly lighted, upstairs den on a back alley, the resort of thieves and cutthroats, to the brilliant and richly

furnished palace with its entrance on the public street, and numbering among its patrons many of those who are commonly supposed to belong to the *élite*, or upper and wealthier classes of the community. The time such places are open for their nefarious business is principally between the hours of nine or ten in the evening and five in the morning, the time when every honest and legitimate place of business in the community is closed and when all honest and respectable people are at home.

In describing a visit to one of these gilded dens in New York City, a writer says: "The doors were open to all; a sumptuous supper was spread free to the players; the furniture was elegant; the players were fashionably dressed. Some of them were seated at cards, while others gathered about a roulette table, where they staked large piles of 'greenbacks,' and lost or won in silence. Behind each the arch-gamester, Satan, seemed luring each to stake his conscience for gold, knowing that he was sure to cheat them out of their immortal souls." While I am speaking of such places it may be said also that many of the ordinary pool rooms along our streets, where our youth and others are inveigled in to play at billiards, and many of the so-called social clubrooms, entered by private password, and where the members are supposed to be assembled for purposes of mental and social improvement, are little better than the places I have described. Many of them indeed are gambling places of the vilest sort, schools of every form of iniquity and vice; and suffering our boys to enter them we encourage their feet in paths that lead to ruin and certain perdition.

But it is not only in places such as have been described that gambling is carried on, and that fortunes and characters are wrecked. A vast amount of such disgraceful business is carried on every day in open daylight, under the honorable guise of commerce and trade. On the floor of our boards of trade, oil and coffee exchanges, and similar institutions, the larger part of the commercial operations, supposed by the uninitiated to be strictly legitimate and honorable business transactions, are nothing but gambling of the purest sort. Take for illustration the oil exchange of our own city (Pittsburg). Ostensibly it is a

commercial institution with civil charter, organized for the purpose of furnishing a ready and exclusive market for the buying and selling of petroleum ; and if you go there any day during business hours you will see an excited and boisterous company of men shouting and gesticulating as if the oil interest were the only important commercial interest in the country, and as if nearly all the oil that was to be had was located in the Pittsburg market. There are the "bulls" who are supposed to have rivers of oil to sell, doing their utmost to "bull" the market up ; and there are the "bears" whose barrels are supposed to be empty, vociferating at their best to "bear" the market down ; and at three o'clock when business comes to a close, there will be on the secretary's books the record of sales and exchanges amounting perhaps to hundreds or thousands of barrels ; and yet, in all probability, literally not a gallon of oil has been bought or sold. Nearly all that the men have been doing was simply gambling or betting on the fluctuation of prices in the oil market ; though of course, couching their bets in commercial terms, and by this means giving to their operations a business guise. The "bulls" and "bears" in this disgraceful proceeding are the members of the exchange, who have paid a liberal membership fee and alone have a right to operate. Besides these there is the class called "lambs." These are outsiders who come in to take a hand in the game indirectly through some of the members, and generally are there to be "fleeced." One of these lambs, versed on the state of the oil market, comes in, and selecting his member, says to him : "Buy me a thousand (or ten thousand) barrels of oil at the present figure, selling it again before the market closes if the price goes up or down."

Lest it should go down a sum of money is handed over to cover the "margin," plus the member's commission for the "round trip," i. e. buying and selling. If the "bulls" have their way and the price goes up, the lamb is in "luck" ; if the "bears" have their way and the price goes down he is "fleeced" of his money ; and yet, in nine cases out of ten, is ambitious to try again. Even women are sometimes found among the lambs eager to try their luck. The institution described does not

present-to-day the scene of activity it exhibited in the palmy days of the oil excitement, but it has activity enough to furnish us with a fair example of the oil exchanges of the country ; and such to a large extent are many of the other institutions such as stock, coffee, and cotton exchanges, and even boards of trade both east and west.

But that is not all. We have a class of men in the community calling themselves "brokers" who are nothing more or less than a set of gamblers and gambling-den proprietors. Ostensibly they are private dealers in stocks, petroleum, pork, grain, etc. Their places of business are called "bucket shops" ; and there is scarcely a town of importance in the entire country where they have not intruded themselves. In all our great cities they exist in large numbers, and are generally planted on the principal business streets or squares, side by side with banks, real estate and insurance offices, not infrequently on the ground floor of prominent hotels where convenient access can be had at the rear from the hotel office or corridors. The business sign displayed, invariably modest, and seldom calculated to arouse suspicion, is commonly a burnished doorplate (showing their "brass") with such simple lettering as : "Bingly & Co., Brokers, New York Stocks and Chicago Grain. Private Wires." Passing inside, the attention is attracted to a large blackboard covering perhaps the whole side of the room, upon which from minute to minute and hour to hour figures are being thrown by a telegraph operator. Facing the blackboard are several rows of chairs, many of them filled with eager occupants whose eyes are fixed intently on the changing figures. At the right, separated by a heavy office rail, is a desk at which sits the proprietor or his clerk. Persons come and go silently ; among them young men, middle-aged men, and men with stooping forms—clerks, merchants, professional men, artisans, and laborers. Now and then one who for a time has been deeply absorbed in the figures, rises, and stepping to the rail, is seen to give the clerk some money, taking a receipt. This is a customer. He has just invested it may be in a thousand barrels of pork or ten thousand bushels of wheat at a certain figure, to be delivered at the same

hour the next day, week, or month ; and the money paid was a sum sufficient to cover the "margin." Actually, of course, the proprietor has no pork or wheat to sell. He likely never owned a bushel of wheat or a barrel of pork in his life, and in all probability never expects to. The customer, too, is not a buyer of pork or wheat ; does not have any use for either commodity in the quantities named ; likely has not the money to pay for it and would not know what to do with the merchandise if it were put down at his door. The man in plain terms is simply a gambler, and the person he is dealing with is a gambler, and the whole affair from beginning to end is a gambling transaction pure and simple. The bucket shop described is one of the more respectable grade, its business being conducted in the utmost decorum. In others where greater license is granted, the frequenters are often a motley and boisterous crowd, who gamble with one another over the blackboard figures, and in an atmosphere foul with profanity and tobacco smoke. In passing the door of one which an accompanying friend had swung wide open that I might get a view of the interior, the shout that came from a hilarious throat within was : "Come on in ; this is the place to get 'broke' !" My friend and I could fully appreciate the remark when we remembered that the room was a "broker's" office.

All such places, we have no hesitation in saying, ought to be suppressed by law. A bill is now pending before Congress, which we hope may be carried, making so-called "speculation" in stocks, grain, oil, etc., or buying on "futures" or "options," as it is technically termed, illegal, as being nothing but gambling, and calculated not only to unsettle trade and interfere with commerce, but to injure personal and business honesty and corrupt the public morals. The bill is based on the undeniable fact that dealing in options and futures is nothing but gambling pure and simple. In many of the exchanges and boards of trade of the country these fictitious transactions constitute ninety per cent of all the so-called business done ; while in the bucket shops, it is not so much as claimed that a bushel of wheat or a gallon of oil or a pound of pork, coffee, cotton, or any other commodity is

ever bought or sold in any true or legitimate sense. In Pennsylvania no state law exists applying directly to establishments of this kind ; but none is really needed in order to secure their indictment. Their case is amply covered by the statute on gambling, which explicitly defines the crime as "the setting up or establishing of any game or device of address or hazard, with cards, dice, billiard balls, shuffle boards, or any other instrument, article, or thing whatsoever heretofore or which hereafter may be invented, used, and employed, which money or other valuable thing, may or shall be played for, or staked or betted upon." According to this definition these places are "public gaming or gambling houses," and a public gaming house is a "public nuisance" at common law, which means that it may be indicted without any statutory provision. All that is needed is that some person shall make an information against them, and to do this in our cities is plainly the prerogative of the chief of police.

The courts of Pennsylvania have uniformly held that a contract of indebtedness incurred by dealing in "margins" is a gambling contract, given without legal consideration, contrary to public policy, and therefore not enforceable at law. A case of the kind brought before the lower court of Philadelphia County by a New York broker in 1888 was decided against him, and being carried to the Supreme Court the decision was affirmed. For this reason a broker of this sort, generally, is willing rather to lose the debt than to take the matter before the courts, knowing, not only that the court is sure to decide against him, but that the true nature of his business will be exposed, and public sentiment created against it. Quite recently within the bounds of our own county (Allegheny), a young man of wealthy family, by dealing in "futures" as an agent for others, became indebted to his principals for several thousand dollars, and to cover the amount, having no money, was induced to give them a judgment note. With the hope then of squeezing the amount from the young man's relatives, the principals instituted criminal proceedings against him for embezzlement. The legal advice at once given to the family, was to feel no alarm over the matter,

but to let the parties go ahead ; that they could not recover civilly in the case ; and that if they persisted in enforcing the criminal charge, it could readily be shown that they were equally guilty before the law as participants in a gambling transaction. The result was that neither the civil nor the criminal suit was ever enforced.

We might speak also of gambling in the form of "betting" or "wagering," as it is carried on among us at horse racing, prize fighting, so-called pugilistic entertainments, baseball and football matches, etc., and which has come even to be so serious an accompaniment of all our civil elections, both national and village. But suffice it to say that the crime has grown to such proportions that it is a foul blot on the fair name of our American nation, and calls most loudly for reform. If we have laws against this vice and crime, why are they not enforced ?

A few words finally as to the evil effects of this vice. The evil effects of gambling, in whatever form indulged, are far-reaching and baneful to the individual and to society. The effect which naturally suggests itself first to the mind is the immense wrecking of fortunes due to it—the overwhelming financial ruin, with its far-reaching consequences, which so frequently overtakes those who indulge in the vice. To say nothing of fortunes lost at the gaming table, not a day passes but we read in the newspapers of men of prominence in business and social circles somewhere who by stepping aside from the legitimate walks of business or profession and dabbling in "speculation" as it is politely termed—in other words, by gambling in stocks, oil, wheat, or some other commodity—have not only squandered large personal estates, sinfully reducing themselves and their families to penury, but what is worse, have brought untold loss to other people, involving in disaster, perhaps, even large business establishments with which they were commercially related. If a bank closes its doors, or an insurance company fails, or a large mercantile establishment becomes bankrupt, the almost invariable explanation is that the president or cashier of the concern has been speculating in stocks or wheat, and has used the money belonging to it. Could all the fortunes wrecked in a

single year through this one means of gambling alone be accurately calculated the figures, no doubt, would reach far into hundreds of millions of dollars. Appalling, however, as is this evil result, the wrecking of fortunes is only as a drop in the bucket compared with the tremendous wrecking of honor and demoralization of manhood which follows.

First of all, the tendency of gambling is utterly to unfit the person indulging in it for devoting himself to any legitimate occupation or business. The wonderful fascination attaching to any game or scheme of chance in which there is the possibility of gain to the participant, together with the vision it inspires of suddenly acquired wealth by other than the ordinary means of tedious and toilsome effort, conspires to hold the person as if under the influence of a spell or charm ; so that soon he loses interest in the ordinary and humdrum methods of gaining a livelihood or competency, ere long begins to neglect his legitimate business or calling to its detriment, and finally abandons it entirely for the gambling resort. This is no mere picture of the imagination ; it is a literal statement of sad and demonstrable fact, and in every great community there are thousands of men seduced from the ranks of every honorable occupation and calling, of whom my words are unfortunately but literally true. Gambling, like drinking, when once it is indulged in draws its victim steadily on until a passion is developed from which he is without power to deliver himself.

A further evil tendency of this vice is to develop in the individual a spirit of dishonesty. It operates to destroy the finer distinctions made by the mind between right and wrong. When the person has persuaded himself that it is proper to take from another over the card table or the rail of the bucket shop what does not belong to him—that for which he has not given an honest equivalent in value or service—it is an easy matter for him to satisfy his conscience that it is allowable for him in the game with his fellows to deceive and cheat ; and ultimately in his legitimate business to take for his own use his employer's money or the funds of the corporation he may chance to control. Known to every one are the endless cheatings and tricks of

dishonesty practiced at professional gaming and horse racing ; and from a similar source come the larger part of the thefts, embezzlements, defalcations, and other forms of dishonesty with which we are so familiar in the daily record of the world's misdoings. Along this line, indeed, gambling gradually develops in a man the instinct of a shark, leading him to look upon every person he meets as simply an object of prey. Living as he does by feeding upon the lives of others, the disposition to "devour his fellows" grows with him to be a passion.

To gambling also must be attributed a large percentage of the suicides which mark the daily record of public crime—the fatal bullet being used to bring relief, sometimes in a fit of reckless despair, induced by the victim's losses ; sometimes, as commonly with business men, when overwhelmed with the disgrace of a public exposure including the causes which led to their financial downfall. Where practice of this vice does not speedily end in literal suicide, and is persistently followed, the ultimate effect upon its victim is the total destruction of all the characteristic elements of manhood in him, including the finer sensibilities of the heart and soul. The desperate depravity to which in time gambling will reduce its votaries is forcibly illustrated by an incident, said by a Boston clergyman to rest on good authority and made by him the subject of a poem on gambling. The story is that three hardened professional gamblers, as if to show their utter contempt for everything sacred both in this world and the next, made their way at night to a charnel house, took out a corpse that had been placed in the vault that very day, bore it to a cathedral near by, passed with it within the chancel, lighted one of the candles before the altar, seated the grim corpse by the communion table, and gathering around the table themselves proceeded to engage in a game of cards—a shameless and sacrilegious proceeding which none but such soulless wretches could think of without shuddering !

In conclusion, another evil effect of this vice, a general effect, is that it floods society with a large and increasing class of persons who obtain their living simply by preying upon the life of the community—a class of ravenous parasites, who subsist

not by the honest sweat of their own face or brain, but upon the toil and industry of other people. The person who maintains himself by gambling, whether in the form of "gaming" or "stock speculation," whether by keeping a "poker room" or a high- or low-toned "bucket shop," is simply a leech on the body politic, doing or producing nothing which adds to the wealth or comfort of society, or which contributes in any wise to the happiness or well-being of its members. A few years ago, in the city of Pittsburg, as stated by the chief of the department of public safety, it was proved by a lawsuit which that department had with the "pool sellers" that there were thousands of persons in the city who had no other visible means of support than the pool room. At present, in the city named, this condition of things may be greatly improved so far as pool-buying and other of the lower methods of gambling are concerned, but if a similar means of getting at the facts relating to gambling on the floor of the exchange and in bucket shops were employed there is no doubt that it could be readily shown that even a much larger per cent of the population to-day and among the number many of the city's would-be honorable and respected citizens belong to this class of human parasites; and what is true of Pittsburg is relatively true of every important city in the land. Ought not then this crying sin to be condemned? In harboring or tolerating such an evil are we not fostering that which has become a serious and alarming menace to the truest and loftiest interests both of society and the nation?

REV. J. W. RIDDLE.

A SOLUTION OF THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

BY WILLIAM H. JEFFREY.*

ONE of the most serious questions which confronts our government to-day is that of immigration. While it is one of the fundamental principles of the government of the United States to welcome the people of other nations to her shores, there are almost daily landed in this country thousands of people who may be termed objectionable. They are made up of three classes: the ignorant, the pauper, and the criminal.

It is becoming evident that something must be done to check the importation of disease and crime. That our immigration laws are loose and unsatisfactory has for a long time been painfully apparent.

During the recent campaign politicians discussed the tariff and its benefits to the American workingman, telling him that in exchange for his vote he would be protected from foreign competition; and yet nothing has been done or even suggested to protect him from the objectionable foreigner, who is admitted to our country FREE. These persons who are born diseased, cradled in filth, reared in ignorance, and living in crime, are permitted to land upon our shores and enjoy the rights and privileges of freeborn American citizens and to compete in our labor markets with our intelligent workmen.

During the last few months we have seen shiploads of filthy humanity landing on our shores with that deadly disease, cholera; we have seen our fair land disgraced by the anarchists, a people who do not understand or respect our laws, nor have anything in common with us; we have seen human life foully destroyed by the Italian societies of New Orleans, composed of beings who are not possessed of any of the qualities of manhood,

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and who can never understand republican laws or institutions. These examples would seem to illustrate vividly the great need of reform in our immigration laws.

In 1877 less than ten per cent of the total number of immigrants came from Poland, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Italy, while in 1891 these countries sent us forty-one per cent, and in 1892 it without doubt, exceeded fifty-five per cent, or more than one half of the whole number. To exclude the people of these countries would be wrong ; it would be a blot on the fair pages of history, as is the "Chinese exclusion act," but a system must be perfected which shall fix a standard, morally, socially, physically, financially, and intellectually, by which these people must be rated or refused admission to our country.

I must not be construed as objecting to all foreigners, for many of our most honored citizens first saw the light of day in some foreign land. To every one who comes here possessing a reasonable amount of intelligence, good moral character, and fair physical health, every true American extends a cordial welcome, but for the nations of Europe to open their asylums, almshouses, and prisons to permit the ignorant, the diseased, and the criminal to emigrate to the United States is the cause of a condition which our government should cease to tolerate.

The question then arises, how shall we strengthen our immigration laws so as to be able to discriminate justly—for we are a nation of justice—between the unobjectionable and the objectionable classes? Whom shall we admit and whom shall we exclude?

Mr. Cleveland and both branches of Congress have been elected as a reform government. Let us hope that their first official acts may be the passing of immigration laws that will afford the demanded relief.

Let the new law require all persons coming to this country for settlement—not including children under sixteen years of age—to provide themselves with a certificate of character from the chief executive officer of their town, stating that the person named is a resident of said town, is of good moral character, temperate, and industrious. The certificate should have three endorsements : first, by the chief officer of the poor, stating that

the person named has not received any assistance from the poor authorities for a period of not less than five years ; second, by the chief officer of the board of health, stating that the said person is in good health and that no contagious disease has been reported in his household for a period of not less than one year ; third, by the chief of police, stating that the said person has not been brought before any court for any crime for a period of not less than five years, and that no indictment or judgment is now pending against the said person. This certificate should bear the signature of the person to whom it is issued as evidence of his ability to read and write ; it should also be countersigned by the duly accredited agent of this government at the "port of sailing." Upon his arrival in this country the immigration authorities should take up the certificate of character and issue a certificate of admission, which should contain a general description of the person, together with the statements set forth in the certificate of character.

No person should be eligible for citizenship in less than five years from the date of his arrival in this country and then only in case the applicant has in every particular been a good, law-abiding citizen, and not received assistance from any charitable institution or officer of the poor, can read, write, and has a fair idea of the Constitution of the United States.

This system once perfected great good must result, as diseases like cholera and smallpox would not be brought to this country, foul crimes would be less frequent, and a better class of immigrants would in the future be landed on our shores.

Illegal naturalization would be unknown. Our voters would be more intelligent men, having the welfare of our country at heart. Our workingmen would not have to compete with so poor and filthy a class, and the safety of life and health would be more generally assured.

In conclusion, let us amend our immigration laws ; let a more thorough system be employed to protect our fair land from becoming a "dumping ground" for the disease, filth, ignorance, and crime of all foreign nations.

WILLIAM H. JEFFREY.

THE RELATIONS OF CAPITAL AND LABOR.

BY THE REV. W. C. SELLECK.

IT IS not difficult to show that, in the last analysis, selfishness and unselfishness, in their higher forms, are identical. For example, a young man of noble qualities, fired with the spirit of Christianity, resolves to consecrate his life to the service of his fellow-men in the field of the Christian ministry. He is intelligent enough to understand that he can render his best service only by making the most of himself through the largest and finest equipment possible to him. He therefore begins to deny himself the pleasures of freedom and ease, and to harness himself to patient toil, in order to secure this. He saves his money, wears poor clothes, buys good books, economizes his time, directs all his energies toward the one object, pushes through the academy, the college, and the divinity school, and finally enters his chosen profession. Even then, after he has taken up the practical work of his life, he feels the greatness of its demands upon him, and the passion for preparation still possesses his soul. He is jealous of the petty interests which encroach upon his time and strength; he refuses to join every organization, attend every meeting, advocate every cause, and contribute to every institution that urges its claims for his support; he wants a good salary, he wants more books, he wants to travel, he likes to stay at home evenings to study, and he begrudges the time he fritters away on the streets and in making formal calls. In all this he has been and is selfish—some would be quick to say meanly selfish—but all the time his one ardent desire and dominating purpose have been to make more and more of himself, in order that he might do more and more, in his best way, for humanity; and therefore the truth is that his selfishness has been simply that praiseworthy selfishness which would be a

means to a magnificent unselfishness. Accordingly it is just to say that, in his life, selfishness and unselfishness are identical. The same thing is true of money-making. One who has the power and opportunity may desire to accumulate riches, and may bend all his efforts to that end, for the one great reason that he wants to have the means of doing some vast good. Therefore he may be frugal and close even to penuriousness; but his selfishness is justified by his larger unselfishness, and is really absorbed and lost in it, somewhat as one's physical energies may be absorbed and expended in the higher employments of the mind. Surely our world has been blessed by many such lives, and they constitute one of the brightest galaxies in the firmament of our modern civilization.

Now in a similar sense the true interests of capital and labor are identical. There can be no doubt about this. The employer and the employed alike desire prosperity, plenty, peace, and happiness. They are both seeking the comfort, independence, and influence which only the possession of wealth can give. Moreover, they must needs seek these things through their co-operative utilization of the wealth already acquired in the world. Whether they will or no, they must work together; they are indispensable to each other; their real interests are those of a union, like that of husband and wife. The true welfare of the one is indissolubly linked with the true welfare of the other. Capital without labor cannot be productive; labor without some form and measure of capital is limited to the primitive conditions of savagery. Their hostility to each other is as foolish and fatal as a family quarrel or civil war. Divorce or secession is suicidal. Confidence, contentment, and conscious co-operation between them is their very life, and the one great source of the world's gain. Theoretically and ideally their true interests are identical.

From this it follows that it is only mistaken views of their true interests that bring capital and labor into conflict. The fundamental trouble is that capitalists and laborers, like ministers and money-makers, are liable to lose sight of the end in their attention to the means. The immediate, temporary inter-

est obscures the ultimate, absolute interest. The minister in his preparation and the money-maker in his business forget the grand purpose with which they set out, and the selfish spirit waxes while the unselfish spirit wanes, until the habit of the one so cripples the habit of the other as to render it practically impotent. Alas! how often the spiritual energy which projects a noble young soul toward a lofty and far-off goal, loses its propelling force amid the friction of this earthly atmosphere, and yields to the attractive influence of lower claims 'until it gravitates and stops this side of a splendid achievement! So the capitalist and the laborer, however fully they may understand in the beginning the fact that their true interests are mutual and identical, continually feel the pressure of their respective sides of their co-operative association, until the claims of the other side come to be underestimated. The capitalist forgets that the laborer is his indispensable partner, or that he has any other interest in his business than that of his wages, or that labor is anything more than a commodity; while the laborer easily grows suspicious of the capitalist, expects him to make an unfair use of his power, and believes that capital receives an undue share of the profits of productive industry. Thus under the most favorable circumstances, where each party starts out with the honest intention to regard the other party's interests, it is quite natural, or at least easy, for misunderstandings to arise, for the ideal to be lost sight of, for the fair and generous spirit to be displaced by narrowness, suspicion, and prejudice.

Then how is this condition of things aggravated when neither party has any honest or generous intention to begin with! The worst evils with the minister and the money-maker, and between capitalists and laborers, arise when they never cherish any high, ulterior purpose to which they would make present conduct a means. There are men who never think of being nobly unselfish, even in the "sweet bye and bye"; in fact they expect to reach that "sweet bye and bye" through a supreme selfishness,—through looking out for No. 1 from start to finish, in religion not less than in business. When such men enter into industrial partnership they aim to promote each his own

interests at the other's expense. The capitalist begins straightway to regard labor as purely a commodity, and to recognize no law concerning it, except "the law of supply and demand." He will pay just such a price for it as the condition of the labor market compels him to pay—no more, no less; and he counts whatever he can thus wring *per force* from the bodies and souls of his employees, over and above what a true and wise humanitarianism might bid him pay, as so much clear gain; and he "caps the climax" of all this by declaring that the wage-interest is the only interest which the laborer has at stake, and that, as Mr. Frick said at Homestead, "a man's business is his own, and he has a right to run it as he sees fit." On the other hand, the laborer begins by feeling that nothing but want or necessity drives him to work, and that his only interest in his employer is to make all he can out of him by getting the largest possible wages which, through force of circumstances or by concerted action with his fellow-laborers, he can obtain. He expects nothing but self-interest to dictate the policy of his employer, and resolves not to be behind in making self-interest the rule and arbiter of his own conduct. Thus the spirit of competition comes to reign at the very heart of that union which is essentially an industrial copartnership with mutual rights and ideally mutual interests.

These evils are aggravated still further by the enormous growth of the money power and the widespread antagonism of organized labor which we have seen during the last thirty years. By "the growth of the money power" is meant the vast increase of wealth, its concentration into a few hands, its combination in the form of gigantic trusts, and its bold, aggressive encroachments upon public rights through the exercise of its tremendous influence upon municipal, state, and national legislation. It would almost seem as if men had just come, within the last half-century, to understand and appreciate the wonderful power of wealth. In olden times the ideals of power were thrones and military leadership; but the ideal of power which the modern world cherishes is the possession of riches. And the growth and centralization of riches in our time have been followed,

naturally, by the organization of labor as a means of defense and protection as well as aggrandizement. Just as the nations of Europe keep their standing armies in order to be prepared at any moment for possible war, so the encroachments, or possible encroachments, of capital have tended to beget the increasing organization and antagonistic attitude of labor. Thus our industrial society, to a great extent, maintains itself at present in a state of virtual armistice; and all the interests of our civilization are involved in an existing tension of feeling which is liable to break into serious disruption almost anywhere, at almost any moment.

Now what are the remedies for this unfortunate condition of things? How wise would he be who should answer this question completely! Let each one of us give his best answer, and bye and bye, out of the best answers of many that which is true and right shall be developed.

A few things seem clear to me:

1. Human society is passing through another stage of its general evolution. Progress is slow—sometimes we feel that it is painfully slow—but there is progress. Our present industrial order is vastly better than ancient serfdom or mediæval feudalism. The poor may not be rising out of their poverty at anything like the rapid rate at which the rich are growing richer; but the poor are surely, even if slowly, rising. Especially are they rising in intelligence and a sense of their rights; while the means for increasing this are multiplying on every hand, pervading the whole nation, and reaching every family in the land; and this one fact is a sign of great promise. The newspaper of to-day circulates everywhere, and the newspaper, imperfect as it is, purblind in its partisanship, one-sided, and sensational though it be, is after all the great educator. This, by the aid of the railroad and the telegraph, penetrates every section of the country, carrying somewhat of the best along with much of the worst of the thought and life of our great centers of population into the remotest hamlet and rural neighborhood; while the magazines and books find their way, sooner or later, to the pastor of every church and the teacher of every school, and

thus help to carry on the great work of enlightenment. Because of these things, our nation is more truly one to-day than ever before, despite the vast extent of our country, the variety of our population, and the sectionalism that still recognizes a North and a South, an East and a West. All this is encouraging, notwithstanding the serious evils which no thoughtful man can overlook.

2. The supreme need is an abatement of that narrow and short-sighted selfishness which has no ulterior unselfishness to justify it, together with that excessive love of wealth as an end in itself which begets luxury and false pride, awakening envy and hatred in the breasts of the poor; and a fostering of the spirit of candor, wisdom, justice, and fraternity everywhere. The great means to the accomplishment of this result is intelligence. What is required is enlightenment. We all need to "see eye to eye." The laboring man needs to be brought to see things from the capitalist's standpoint, and the capitalist needs equally to be brought to see things from the laboring man's standpoint. We have enough of separation, distrust, and estrangement between capitalists and laborers; we need vastly more of conference, confidence, and co-operation between them. If they could attend one another's meetings, take part in one another's discussions in a frank and kindly way, read one another's best publications, and thus gradually learn to regard one another as friends, and to think of their interests as really mutual, what an immense gain in understanding and fairness there would be! As things now are, the two classes keep apart, and in their separation misconceptions easily arise, half-truths are easily accepted for whole truths, prejudice takes the place of calm and careful judgment, distrust is begotten and hostility is engendered. The urgent need of the present is a freer interchange of ideas, the bringing of the different classes together, the promotion of larger and higher views of their respective interests. Welcome, therefore, any attempt to accomplish this result! Welcome especially the mediatorial work of the Christian church in this behalf! Alas! that the churches do so little of this work!

One of the great benefits of profit-sharing, when it comes to be general—as, in some form, I believe it will sooner or later do—will be that it will do just this,—bring employers and employed, or rather the different classes of partners, together upon a common footing, with a common object, that will insure a common feeling. This leads me to say that I look for the solution of our labor difficulties, the relief of the present “strained relations” of capital and labor, not in the direction of increasing hostility between them, and the victory of one over the other, but rather in the direction of a higher, more reasonable, more equitable form of industrial society than that which now prevails, into which we must rise. Just as the jealousies and feuds of ancient nations had to give way to international amity, so our present competitive business methods must eventually give way to a wise, comprehensive, and just system of essential co-operation.

3. Finally, in order to hasten the day when these things shall be, we need to inculcate over and over, however trite it may seem, the old, simple idea of primitive Christianity, that human society is one great brotherhood, one universal family, one social body, of which it is true that “whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honored, all the members rejoice with it.” It is because this lesson is not yet half learned that we are at variance one with another in so many ways. The spirit of Christ is the one sure and mighty solvent of our social difficulties, and we need to instil that spirit into every heart until justice and brotherly love shall rule in every life. He teaches all men to pray, “*Our Father who art in Heaven*”; and he says to all, “Be not ye many masters; for one is your Master, even Christ, and *all ye are brethren.*”

And it is a source of profound satisfaction to reflect that, after all the strife and toil and sorrow of the ages that are gone, we are living in an age when this conception of universal brotherhood is growing as never before. The invention of the steam-engine, bringing to pass rapid transit; the invention of the printing press, the telegraph, and the telephone, bringing to pass

rapid and world-wide intercommunication ; and the commerce and the missionary activities which have followed in the wake of these around the globe, have facilitated marvelously the development of international law and international good-will, and have preached St. Paul's gospel with a thousandfold greater force than even the apostle himself. They have compelled men to see that the world is really one world, the human family is really one family, and all our true interests are identical. The idea of cosmopolitanism is spreading everywhere. The world is both smaller and larger than it used to be. It is smaller in the sense that we are all nearer together ; it is larger in the sense that every man's conceptions are broader and higher. Thank God for it all ! and what may we not hope for from it ? I believe we may hope for the not very distant reign of universal peace, an ultimately universal co-operation, and the consequent blessings of a larger measure of universal prosperity. And, in the language of ancient prophecy, "Ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace : the mountains and the hills shall break forth before you into singing, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands. Instead of the thorn shall come up the fir tree, and instead of the brier shall come up the myrtle tree."

W. C. SELLECK.

THE PATHOLOGY AND TREATMENT OF INEBRIETY.

BY LESLIE E. KEELEY, M. D., LL. D.

IN THE *Popular Science Monthly* for October (1892) there is an article by Dr. T. D. Crothers, entitled "Specifics in the Cure of Inebriety." Dr. Crothers makes allusions in a general way to various systems of fraud and delusion, such as Perkin's factors, in the history of the evolution of medicine and also refers to the gold treatment of inebriety in terms to which I do not care to reply.

But I am interested in one statement of Dr. Crothers', and only one, which is as follows: "Inebriety is literally an insanity of the border-line type and a general condition of central brain defect, unknown, and at present beyond the power of any combination of drugs."

I greatly regret that Dr. Crothers has placed himself in such an inconsistent position. He is a gentleman of learning and culture and a prominent professional specialist, treating inebriety as a specialty, and is the proprietor of an "asylum" for the sequestration and treatment of inebriates.

To have it denied that anything is known on the pathology of inebriety and that any specific cure or any combination of drugs will cure the disease, by a physician who has had years of experience, must surely be discouraging to his patients, and certainly places Dr. Crothers in an inconsistent position. If there be no cure for a disease there is no justification in the establishment of asylums for the "treatment" of the disease. It is folly to treat or drug a disease that is incurable.

The error that some physicians seem to make is that, acknowledging inebriety to be a disease, they think the disease arises spontaneously, accumulates by heredity and leads to a craving for alcohol, or a weak will, so that the patient cannot

resist drinking. Several writers appear to think that other diseases—insanity, brain degeneration, or the infectious diseases—as tuberculosis, syphilis, etc., may, as a symptom, develop inebriety.

Gentlemen who view inebriety from this standpoint and who reason about it after this manner will no doubt conclude that inebriety has no pathology that can be discovered, and, therefore, is incurable. I am not of this manner and method of thinking. The laws of poisoning are now so well understood and established, that a deductive science of the pathology of inebriety can be made from this standpoint.

The first law of poisons which I will note is that poison affects those tissues the most which have the least resistance. I think no one will dispute this proposition. Applying this law to alcohol the evidence is clear that the cerebro-spinal system has the least resistance to alcohol and is the bodily apparatus chiefly poisoned by this drug. That other tissues are affected and may become diseased is not denied. Alcohol in poisonous doses, long continued, will no doubt predispose to nerve and other degeneration, and may weaken the tissues in their resistance to the invasion of infectious diseases—such as tuberculosis—perhaps cancer, and other diseases. But none of these things constitutes inebriety or the craving for drink, which is the mental side of the lesion of inebriety and is the principal symptom of this disease.

The second general law of poisoning is that tissue cells, when poisoned, if not destroyed, have their power of resistance to the poison increased, as a resultant of being poisoned. The law of poisoning is dependent upon that great law of biology—variation.

We must look upon the action of a poison and the resistance of tissue cells in the light of a conflict. It is simply a battle. As a result the alcohol is destroyed chemically and the tissue cells undergo a variation, the character of which variation I think we can induce from well-known results.

If a man goes to bed at night intoxicated, he will feel the effects of the poison the next morning—pains, muscular tremors,

nausea, headache, and such symptoms. A supply of more alcohol will lessen this suffering; in fact, if the debauch was caused by a pint of brandy we find that the man can drink a half pint of brandy the next morning—more or less—with the result of steadying his nerves and giving him an appetite for breakfast.

The chief features here are the facts that the cells demand the poison and can resist it with much greater power, or resist a greater quantity of it the morning after the debauch. The reason is that the cells have undergone a variation of type which enables them to resist alcohol with greater force; but which also demands a supply of alcohol. This demand of the cells for alcohol is inebriety—inebriety is nothing else and nothing else is inebriety. The cause is alcohol: nothing but alcohol ever causes or can cause alcoholic inebriety. No tumor causes it, no degeneration causes it, no other disease can cause it.

These same laws hold good in poisoning by any drug. Any drug taken habitually results in the ability of the cells to resist greater quantities and a demand on the part of the cells for the presence of the drug. A person may begin to take morphia in small doses. In two weeks he can take quantities of the drug that are called fatal doses. In time he can take a bottle of morphia or a pint of laudanum at once and has a craving for the drug which he is powerless to resist. These two resultants—variation and a demand for the drug or poison—must be explained. They can be explained by the laws of natural selection.

If two species of animals antagonize each other, both will undergo variation; very likely this variation will be transmitted by heredity. It makes no difference in the working of the general law if one species is represented by a poison. If a species of animal is subjected to a poison in its environment it will either be exterminated or its tissue cells will acquire a resistance to it or it will learn intellectually to avoid the poison. But the species which antagonize each other by fighting will undergo a variation increasing their fighting powers or speed, or means of offense and defense. There will be a development of tooth, claw, horn, beak, muscle, or other means of natural warfare, which is called variation.

In development—subject to variation or caused by variation—perhaps these features of variation may not be ornamental in every way or useful generally. They are not necessary to enable the animal to live, secure food, and be prosperous generally—they may be a detriment in every way, except to resist this particular enemy. The same law holds good in poisoning. But an animal, so reconstructed and adapted to resist an enemy, by the laws of physiology, will demand the presence of the enemy. Animals with horns, if they have no enemy to fight, will exercise their fighting qualities by horning trees or the ground. Animals with claws, which have learned the ways of domestic peace, will scratch the furniture or anything else to give the claws exercise. In alcohol poisoning the cells have undergone a variation giving them an increased tolerance to alcohol. If alcohol is withdrawn they must undergo a new variation backward—*atavistic*; the variation backward is accompanied by difficulties and appears to be painful. To maintain the tolerance to alcohol the cells demand alcohol, and the man, in this condition, has *inebriety* and is an *inebriate* and this is the pathology of *inebriety*. *Inebriety* may be called an insanity or weakness of will or infidelity or moral turpitude or a vice or a sin or crime or what not. These titles are simply views of the same thing from different standpoints and make no difference with the pathology which is a cell variation, caused by alcohol, characterized by an increased tolerance to, and a demand for, alcohol. The weak will, vice, moral weakness, insanity, criminality, irreligion, and all are results of, and not causes of, the *inebriety*.

Medical writers, under the head of alcoholism, give us a pathological view of nearly all known diseases. In “*alcoholism*” can be found effusion in the brain cavities and membranes, various lesions of the cerebro-spinal system, degeneration of the tissues of the stomach, liver, and kidneys, etc. These things cut no figure with the symptoms of a craving for drink. It makes no difference what associate or resultant diseases an *inebriate* may have—none of them causes the craving for liquor. A man with any disease may begin drinking but not because he

has a craving for liquor. He is not an inebriate until he has drunk enough alcohol to cause the disease.

Then what is the variation of the cells which causes inebriety from the standpoint of anatomy? Of course, this condition cannot be demonstrated by the microscope. The variation consists in a change of the atomic relations of the molecules of the structures. No one can tell what the atomic difference is in the protoplasmic contents of two cells, one of which is dead and the other alive; but any man can tell whether an elephant is dead or alive by an inspection. It would be as sensible and would be as rational to assent that pathology of inebriety is unknown as to claim that there are no appreciable distinctions and differences between a man, dead drunk, and one in his sober senses. There are differences here which cannot be mistaken. Human knowledge is relative and not absolute.

The pathology of shock, following injuries, is understood. By an impression made upon the sensory nerves in the wound a reflex resultant upon the nerve centers of the heart follows, which inhibits the heart to the extent that death may follow. In such a case no one doubts the pathology but no one can detect any anatomical change in the nerve centers or their cells. The change is atomic and is so accepted and understood. Physicians do not say, when shock follows an injury, that the pathology is unknown or that it is always beyond the reach of remedies. Such cases are always treated and a large proportion of them are treated successfully. There are combinations of drugs and also specific drugs, which "cure" shocks.

Compared with other diseases there is no pathology less complex than that of inebriety. It is the simplest of all problems in pathology. It makes no difference what may be the pathology of alcoholism, as a whole—no matter if it causes insanity, Bright's disease, consumption, hobnailed liver, degeneration of the peripheral nerves, atrophy of the spleen, effusions in cerebral membranes, fatty degenerations of the heart, and the sixteen degenerations of the coats of the stomach, as taught by the school-books. The one symptom—inebriety—is known to depend upon a variation of the cells and nuclei caused by alcohol.

Another feature of inebriety is its periodicity. This question is somewhat complex. It is observed that drunkenness presents this feature and I do not consider the explanation difficult. There is a marked rhythm in inebriety as a disease, just as there is in all other diseases. The course of a fever (relating to the rhythm of temperance) is a marked feature. Each feature has a distinguished range of temperature or rhythm. Underlying the law of periodicity in inebriety is the fact that the cells undergo poisoning, that they are subject to a variation causing inebriety and that there is a debauch, a recovery, and a variation backward of the cells and a period of sobriety. The period of sobriety is a feature or factor or a part of the inebriety. No matter how short the rhythm it is always there. The sobriety period is certain, in inebriety, to be followed by the debauch and the debauch is certain to be followed by the sober period.

The chief reason why inebriety presents this feature of periodicity is because it is acquired in this manner. People do not begin drinking and pursue the custom without intermissions. They begin drinking and continue it with intervals of sobriety. When the inebriety is established it will present this periodical interval of sobriety. The nerve centers of automatic life are trained in this manner and are so educated. All automatic desire is periodical. No matter how religious a man may be, under no circumstances, if sane, would he stay in church continuously. The desire to exercise his religious feelings is periodical.

The greater part of human life is automatic, so-called. The meaning is that there is an action of the nerve centers which is the result of training, education, and inheritance and which takes on initial energy rhythmically, independently of consciousness or volition. At the close of a debauch an inebriate, after much suffering, bodily and mental, reforms. He declares he will never drink again. He goes about his business, but at the appointed time—the time appointed by his automatic life—the craving comes on again and the debauch follows.

In consciousness and to the observer, this return may seem like a weak will. The will is only one factor of the problem

and has nothing to do with the fact of the inebriety. An inebriate might not enter a debauch if his will could restrain him, but this would not change the fact that he is an inebriate. It would only prove that his will was powerful enough, through some motive, to overcome the craving for drink.

THE CURE OF INEBRIETY.

Inebriety is one of the curable diseases. I have said that a man does not have the craving for drink because alcohol may have directly or remotely given him any bodily disease whatever. Effusion in the brain, kidney, stomach, liver, cerebro-spinal disease, consumption, or other disease—none of them causes the craving for liquor. Neither will the cure of any associate lesion that an inebriate may have cure his inebriety. Curing inebriety consists in breaking up the rhythmical craving for liquor—the automatic habit of inebriety.

One of the chief methods of the treatment of all disease is by the same general method of breaking the rhythmic factor of the disease and the method is a very successful one.

I think there can be but one opinion regarding my success in curing inebriety. I claim to have successfully treated more than 90,000 cases and that the results prove that the failures are less than in any other method of treating this disease or in any method of treating any other disease. It does not follow, by any means, that because my method of cure is not published and is not public property, therefore, inebriety has no pathology, and no combination of drugs will cure the disease. That my method of cure is popular is beyond doubt, but this does not prove that it is not successful. I know of no other reason why my remedy, or rather method of treatment, is so widely known and so generally patronized, except that it is universally successful. No other explanation has ever been made to the public—the public know nothing else about it. I do not believe its success can be explained away, not even by a wholesale denial that people drink, that there is any known pathology of inebriety and any discovered or discoverable remedy.

LESLIE E. KEELEY.

THE COURTS VERSUS THE GERRYMANDER.

BY NORMAN T. MASON.

THE appellate courts of three states have recently been called upon to consider legislative reapportionment acts, based in two of the states upon the late census. The questions discussed by them involve the vital principle of our government,—the right of each elector to have an equal voice in the government's affairs. The people have sought to guard this principle, even against their own power, by more or less minute provisions in their various state, and in the federal constitutions. In the national government it has been encroached upon by the adoption in all of the states, except Michigan, of the general ticket system of choosing electors, the practical result of which is to deprive a large proportion of the people of all voice in the election of the chief executive of the nation, and to make it possible for a minority to choose a ruler for the majority. In the state governments the same tendency toward the perpetuation of power, through inequality in representation, has given rise to the gerrymander. The results, both in the national and state governments, are fraught with evil, and full of portent. Upon the final outcome hangs the future of proportionate representation, and with it, of republican institutions, in this country. Questions of tariff and finance, though for the moment of engrossing interest, are more transient in character, and of less vital importance than this, since they go to the conduct of the government, rather than to its being, involving, it is true, its prosperity, but not threatening its perpetuity.

The question which has come before the courts, however, does not go to this extent. They have only been called upon to decide whether the constitutional provisions thus far enacted are sufficient to invalidate certain supposed attempts at gerrymandering.

In New York, the Constitution makes the following requirements: Senatorial districts "shall be so altered that each senate district (1) shall contain as nearly as may be an equal number of inhabitants, (2) shall at all times consist of contiguous territory, and (3) no county shall be divided, except such county shall be equitably entitled to two or more senators." The members of assembly shall be apportioned among the several counties (1) "as nearly as may be according to the number of their respective inhabitants," and (2) shall be chosen by single districts, (3) each county being entitled to at least one member, and (4) when entitled to more than one, it shall be divided into districts, but without dividing any town.

Under these restrictions it was the Legislature's duty to apportion 128 members of the assembly among the several counties of the state. In so doing eleven members were left to be assigned to counties having fractional excesses or remainders after apportioning the members due them according to the ratio of representation. Instead of giving these eleven members to the eleven counties having the largest fractional excesses, three of the members were given to counties having considerably smaller excesses, so that Dutchess County, with a population less than St. Lawrence, received double the representation of the latter, and Albany County, with less than twice the population of St. Lawrence, received four times its representation, and Monroe County, with 24,000 more population than Albany received one less representative.

Starting with the proposition that an act must be plainly unconstitutional before it will be so declared by the courts, the majority of the New York Court of Appeals were of the opinion that the expression "as nearly as may be," does not mean as nearly as a mathematical process can be followed; that it is a general direction to the Legislature of the principles upon which the apportionment should be made; that the extent to which this direction may be carried must depend generally upon the integrity of the Legislature; that the expression itself imports that some amount of discretion may be exercised by the Legislature; and that deviations from a mathematical distribution may

be demanded by public exigencies or by the conflicting claims and demands of representatives or by local pride, commercial jealousies, etc.

On the other hand the minority of the court denied that the phrase in question gave any discretionary power to the Legislature; they asserted that the fact that an apportionment can never be exact, according to the population, and that some inequality is inevitable, cannot relegate the proceeding to the domain of discretionary powers; that the discretion of the Legislature, if any, ends where certainty begins, and that the very object of a constitutional provision is to establish a rule of conduct which cannot be varied according to the passions or prejudices of a majority.

The entire controversy, it will be seen, depended upon whether the phrase "as nearly as may be," means as nearly as may be under the limitations laid down by the Constitution itself, requiring senatorial districts to be of contiguous territory, and assemblymen to be chosen by single districts with at least one to each county, etc. (as, in effect, contended by the minority of the court), or whether it means as nearly as may be, not only under the limitations imposed by the Constitution, but under the limitations imposed by all the surrounding circumstances of legislation, including the passions and prejudices, the rivalries and conflicting demands of different districts and of opposing parties. In the first case, an apportionment could be set aside whenever it was certain that it was not made in accordance with the number of the respective inhabitants. In the second case, it could only be set aside, if at all, where it proved to be "so gross a violation of the Constitution that it could be seen that it had been entirely lost sight of, and that an intentional disregard of its commands, both in the letter and in the spirit, had been indulged in."

It will also be observed that this difference in opinion could not have arisen were it not that the conditions of the act itself necessitate some inequality; if they did not, then the phrase "as nearly as may be" would necessarily refer to external conditions or requirements, and would accordingly, without any

room for doubt or dispute, invest the Legislature with the large discretion contended for by the majority of the court.

The Constitution of Michigan requires the Legislature to "rearrange the senate districts (1) according to the number of white inhabitants," (2) such districts to be numbered from one to thirty-two inclusive, each of which shall choose one senator, (3) to be elected by single districts, and (4) "no county shall be divided in the formation of senate districts, except such county be equitably entitled to two or more senators. Each representative district "shall contain (1) as nearly as may be an equal number of inhabitants, and (2) shall consist of convenient and contiguous territory, but no township or county shall be divided in the formation of a representative district; (3) representatives shall be chosen by single districts, (4) the House to consist of not less than sixty-four, nor more than one hundred members, and (5) each county shall be entitled to a separate representative when it has attained a population equal to a moiety of the ratio of representation.

The Michigan Constitution, it will be noticed, contains the same phrase—"as nearly as may be"—which divided the New York court, but it has an additional and significant provision, numbered "5" above, which is not in the New York Constitution. In New York City one senatorial district was said to have in round numbers 241,000 inhabitants, while another had but 105,000. Under the Michigan apportionment act, the most populous senatorial district had 97,300 inhabitants, and the least populous 39,700. The Michigan court held that the inhibition against the division of a county necessarily gives great latitude to the legislative discretion, but that, in the senatorial apportionment, the Legislature "went far beyond any legitimate discretion, and violated the rules of equity when it was not necessary, or even proper, to do so, because of the fact that a county cannot be divided."

In making the apportionment of representatives, there were six counties having fractional excesses over a moiety of the ratio of representation; an additional representation was given to each of the three least populous of these counties, instead of giving

them to the three largest,—a situation very similar to that in New York. The Michigan Supreme Court held this apportionment to be invalid because a county was divided in the formation of the representative districts. In discussing the questions, the chief justice remarked that “the words ‘as near as may be’ are capable of sufficient expansion to meet all difficulties that lie in the way. The number of inhabitants in each district is to be as equal as may be under a compliance with the other provisions of the Constitution which compel a representation by counties” ;—plainly intimating that the legislative discretion is confined to the limitations prescribed by the Constitution itself, and cannot be influenced by any external factors, such as the difficulties attendant upon legislation where there are conflicting interests and contending factions.

The same justice observed that in the legislative discretion the counties having the least number of inhabitants above the ratio, or the moiety of a ratio, should be the ones to suffer any deprivation of representatives made necessary by the constitutional requirements as to the division of counties, etc.; that there could be no legislative discretion under the Constitution “to give a county of less population than another a greater representation; such action would be arbitrary and capricious, and against the vital principle of equality in our government; there can be found no excuse for it.”

In Wisconsin, the Constitution provides that the Legislature shall apportion and district anew the members of the Senate (1) “according to the number of inhabitants” ; (2) senators must be elected by single districts, (3) which must be of convenient and contiguous territory, and shall not divide assembly districts. The members of the Assembly must also be apportioned (1) “according to the number of inhabitants,” and (2) must be elected by single districts, (3) which shall consist of contiguous territory, in as compact form as practicable, and (4) which must be bounded by county, precinct, town, and ward lines.

In the apportionment act under consideration by the Wisconsin court, the largest senatorial district contained 68,000 inhabitants, the smallest 37,000 ; the largest assembly district contained

38,000, and the smallest 7,000. The Supreme Court observed that perfect exactness in the apportionment was neither required nor possible, but that "there should be as close an approximation to exactness as possible, and this is the utmost limit for the exercise of legislative discretion." They held the words "according to the number of inhabitants," equivalent to the expression, "proportionate representation of the people in the Legislature"; the chief justice stated that he knew of no theory by which a uniform and equitable apportionment could be accomplished other than that which prefers in the apportionment the largest fractions of population in excess of the unit of representation. While the members of the court speak of legislative "discretion," they do not, as in New York, discuss with much detail the limits of that discretion; still it can be gathered from the nature of their remarks that in their opinion the discretion is limited entirely by the requirements of the Constitution, and cannot be enlarged by any outside considerations either of public policy or of public necessity. For instance, while they speak of a "fair, just, and necessary discretion," and say "there must be no unnecessary inequality," they add that districts "must be as nearly equal in population as other constitutional requirements will permit," etc. The Wisconsin court accordingly held this act unconstitutional and void, basing its decision in part, however, upon the wrongful division of county lines in the formation of assembly districts.

While the conclusions arrived at by the highest courts of these three great states may be harmonized upon the surface by differences in the facts involved, yet, in their underlying principles, the decisions in Michigan and Wisconsin are diametrically opposed to that in New York.

It is for the people to determine which is most in accord with the spirit of republican government, and which will best conserve the safety and prosperity of its institutions. May their decision be right.

NORMAN T. MASON.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION.

BY A. A. HALBROOK.

AN ENGROSSING subject at this time is the restriction of foreign immigration. The occasion given the President by the cholera scare to close our ports to the poor of Europe, has also been made the occasion for a demand, which seems quite general, for legislation which shall make this new condition permanent.

Is it not possible that the American people are allowing their enthusiasm to run away with their better judgment? Is it not likely that the threadbare theories of some labor leaders are being advocated without proper thought?

There seems to be a popular misapprehension concerning the character of immigrants, and a mistaken notion which personal contact with these people would correct. True, the average immigrant cannot speak the English language. No one of common sense would expect it. But he is not by any means the savage that he is often pictured. On the other hand he is industrious, a hard worker, careful of his earnings, and in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he comes here with the intention of adopting America as his home and intends to adapt himself as best he understands the way to the manner of living in our country.

To the popular objection that the average immigrant is ignorant, the reply must be in simplest charity, that it is not his fault but his misfortune. The immigrant class on their native soil are treated but little better than beasts of burden. They have no opportunities for education and mental improvement, and they come to this free land in the hope of bettering a most hopeless and wretched condition. And that they succeed will be acknowledged by any person who notes the change in habits, in dress, and in speech after a few years of residence here. The Hungarian and the Polander possess the elements which are at

the foundation of good citizenship. In the coal regions many of the most ignorant Polanders who came to this country penniless a dozen years ago, have by application to work and business accumulated comfortable fortunes and are thoroughly Americanized, speaking our language as correctly as the average man who has known it from childhood.

But we ought to hope for little from the present generation. Their children, however, are growing up under far different surroundings from those which their parents knew, and the result is all that one could expect. Many bright-eyed Polish and Hungarian children are to-day reciting their lessons in public and parochial schools and are crowding their native classmates closely for honors. Some have passed from the schools to fill positions in offices and banks where they are invaluable. Those who are in association with these nationalities must admit that the generation of American-born Polanders and Hungarians which is springing up is as full of promise as that of any other foreign nationality.

But the labor phase of the question is perhaps of most immediate importance. It is claimed that the "cheap" foreign labor is reducing wages and driving our own people from their work. If this were true, if American workmen were being thrown out of employment by the foreigner, there would indeed be cause for alarm in the tide of European "paupers" which is continually flowing into the country.

The fact is that with the tens and hundreds of thousands of Hungarians, Polanders, and Italians who are now at work in the United States, there are not enough to fill the demand. During the past year a railroad was being built from the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania to the seaboard. The contractors were unable to secure sufficient foreign or native labor and hundreds of negroes were brought up from Virginia and paid as high wages as the Italians, though capable of accomplishing not more than one half as much work. The wages paid were equal to those of the American lumbermen by whose side they worked with pick and shovel as they constructed the new road through the forests of Wayne county.

European labor is not crowding Americans out of work, though the "Huns" may be crowding our own people into a class of work which requires more skill and consequently demands higher pay. If we were deprived of our European labor the trainmen, firemen, and engineers would be compelled to leave their cars and engines and take their places among the section gangs. If we cannot have the Italians and Hungarians to build railroad track and keep it in repair there will be much less employment for car and engine builders and engineers and trainmen.

It is said that the Polish and Hungarian people are crowding out the Welsh and Irish in the coal regions, where so many thousands are employed. True. But the latter are only being crowded up. They are running the engines, "bossing" the breakers, making up the reports in the offices, and are finding more congenial and healthful work in manufacturing establishments and machine shops. Surely we ought to welcome a class of men who are willing to bear the exposures of the mine and face its dangers and allow our own people to engage in a better class of labor.

Perhaps Uncle Sam is not "rich enough to give them all a farm," but the country is yet so little developed that it will for years assimilate the thousands who will come from other lands. It has taken in many hundreds of thousands of Europe's "paupers" and set them to work at good wages and put them on a new plane of existence. It can make use of a few hundreds of thousands more to the positive benefit of the American laborer, in fact when we have enough there will be no American "laborers" and the country will have reached its highest physical development.

Then open the gates and let them come in. They are simply machines, labor-saving devices, and the idea that they interfere with the American working people is that same false notion which has agitated labor circles in years past, that a labor-saving machine is an injury because it *appears* to throw people out of employment. But they are more than wood and steel, and from their posterity, if not from them, we may expect a class of honest, capable, and respectable American citizens.

A. A. HALBROOK.

THE MONETARY CONFERENCE: WERE WE READY FOR IT?

BY FRANK W. HACKETT.

THE following is the main portion of an article written in advance of the call of the President for a conference. It was designed to invite public attention to the fact that Congress and the executive have all along failed to grasp the situation of the silver question abroad; that our government has showed itself listless and inactive, where it ought to have been diligent in carrying forward a settled policy. What appears thus far to have occurred at Brussels serves, in the judgment of the writer, to render the considerations here presented worthy of being still more carefully taken into account.

Since 1876, when the question first came up, Congress has steadily refused to yield to the demand that the United States shall undertake the free coinage of silver without the support of other countries. The executive has maintained a like attitude. The defeat of the Bland bill thus accorded with the settled policy of the United States. The ulterior object, constantly in view, has been to obtain and preserve a stable parity between the metals, a result to be secured only by re-establishing silver as international money. To this end, Congress and the executive have put the United States before the world as ready at any moment to join European nations in the free coinage of silver. Two monetary conferences have operated as a standing offer to this effect; so have the utterances made from time to time by our public men.

When we resumed specie payment the United States was given an opportunity to take the lead of the family of nations in this business. Our situation fitted us for leadership. Happily we are free from many causes of irritation and jealousy that

affect the reciprocal relations of certain of the Continental countries. The outcome of the war, and our phenomenal growth in material prosperity, have won for us a prestige and influence, which, if wisely used, no other nation can hope to rival. With propriety the United States may be said to have been designated by common consent, to go forward as the promoter and educator of the doctrine of maintaining stable parity between gold and silver.

We stood up in a manly way in the conferences of 1878 and of 1881. In the spring of 1882, our delegate (Dana Horton), and the French Minister of European Finance (Léon Say), by the terms of an "identical note" brought it about that the latter conference could at a future date be reconvened. The measures thus adopted under the direction of Congress implied that nothing on our part should be left undone to remove the obstacles that stood in the way of the opening of European mints to silver. But what was done?

The Italian government, early in 1882, proposed to the several governments (as an alternative scheme, in the event of France and the United States not agreeing upon free coinage), that an international agreement might be arrived at on a basis named of quotas for each nation. The British Royal Commission on Gold and Silver, in taking note of this proposal, tells us: "No definite answer appears to have been given to these proposals, and up to the present date (November, 1888) they have not been acted upon." *

Who can doubt that such a rebuff, instead of a cordial welcome, given by the United States to a friendly power, discredited our cause in Europe?

The conference itself had indicated a method of procedure to be followed after its adjournment, namely: "diplomatic negotiations." The plan was that proficient representatives should at the different capitals confer directly with men in power, discussing the subject in private. The superiority of this method over a formal conference, held at one place only and remaining

*Senate Miscellaneous Document, No. 34, 50th Congress, 2d Session, Washington, 1889, Page 75, where the terms of Italy's proposal are stated.

only a short time in session, is apparent. The subject matter is peculiarly one not fitted to be disposed of by strangers making speeches at each other in public. (*Silver in Europe*, New York, 1892—Page 293.)

It may well surprise the reader to learn that from that date (1882) down to the present moment, no organized effort whatever has been made by our government to carry on continuous work in the countries on which we were depending, and still depend, for a monetary union. We have simply been "drifting."

In furtherance of the personal negotiations referred to, our ministers, of course, could have been depended upon to render efficient aid in the countries to which they were respectively accredited. But it is too much to expect of a minister that he should be a specialist. Moreover, the duties of the office scarcely admit of his doing this kind of work, still less of his constantly traveling from capital to capital. Whoever was to be charged in Europe with the arduous, but by no means impracticable, task of thus continuing the work of the conference, must necessarily act upon plans formed upon the spot, amid the shifting scenes of the politics of different states, meeting on easy terms the leading minds (few in number) of each country, in whose counsel or decision lay the issues of success or failure. Had the requirements of the situation been rightly apprehended, and the business committed to competent hands, it hardly admits of a doubt that the wise policy instituted by Congress in 1878 would by this time have attained its beneficent end.

Some of those who talk of an international conference entertain, it is to be feared, but a vague conception of what an international conference really means. We are apt to be unmindful of the circumstance that certain conditions absolutely essential must precede the favorable action of foreign governments, although (as the experience of two conferences shows) they may be too polite to decline an invitation to send delegates, especially when it appears to them to be for their interest "to encourage the others," and themselves do nothing.

To begin with, we ought once for all to rid ourselves of the confirmed habit of looking at public affairs from the standpoint

of our own country alone. We must remember that foreigners, who indulge in a like habit, are themselves expected to lay such propensity aside. Notwithstanding the obvious and fundamental truth, that the money of a country is an international, not a local, subject—unfortunately not everybody abroad has as yet accustomed himself so to regard it.

A conference can be expected to do little more than offer a conspicuous place for registering the expression of such views as shall have been formed beforehand. True, the bringing together for a brief season of men, each prominent in his own country, and affording them some slight opportunity for agreeable social intercourse—is not altogether without effect. Something new is sure to be acquired, and the intensity of opinion may to a degree be moderated. On the other hand we ought to remember that, in the event that a conference fails of its object, the world is likely to suspect the wisdom of having called it.

To him who can put to one side the notion that his own country constitutes the center of the universe, it will probably after due reflection occur that the surer method of convincing a foreign government, upon a subject so difficult as silver, lies in a more deliberate line of procedure and one less public in its nature. Differences in language and in ways of thinking, prejudice of race, inability to understand the true position of countries foreign to one's own, internal jealousies, party politics, the inertia that attends any proposal for a change in economic conditions,—these, together with numerous other factors, are to be taken into account, and justly estimated.

Again, who are the men, in this or that country, who really lead? Some are engaged in public affairs; others not. What are the relations of the latter to the party in power? What influences are at work between these two governments, for instance, that can be resorted to or must be avoided? What is the effect of yesterday's change in the ministry? Manifestly there are very many such questions to be answered.

It is because just such work as this should long ago have been entered upon and regularly prosecuted, that the United States appears to the world to have thrown away opportunities. Had

our government pursued the course indicated, we would have been spared the recent spectacle of the friends in Congress of an international agreement, calling frantically upon Europe to come to the rescue,—telling the party of silver abroad that “it cannot be known if an international conference *will fail* until it has been attempted.” Such is the language of the minority of the House Committee on Coinage, in their report of February last, upon the Bland free-coinage bill.

The President has selected able men to represent the United States as delegates to the conference. In spite of its “eleventh-hour” character, every American citizen must cherish the hope that somehow much good will eventually come of the enterprise.

FRANK W. HACKETT.

HAS THE STATE ABDICATED?

BY H. L. WAYLAND, D.D.

THERE had been trouble brewing in an iron and steel manufacturing town in Western Pennsylvania for weeks. There was no concealment, and in the end no surprise. At last, in the early morning, it was known that the Pinkertons were coming. You know the rest,—how from two in the morning till evening five thousand men on either shore of the river were firing at the Pinkerton barges with guns and cannon, and the Pinkertons were replying, till the latter surrendered. This was not a riot. It was war. And the essential state of war continued for ten days. The war did not grow; but this was a happy accident. There was nothing to prevent its growing. Suppose the Pinkertons had been five thousand, and had had a fair chance, why should there not have been a battle of a week, with five hundred killed instead of twenty?

There is force in the words of the great newspaper which is associated with the illustrious name of our eminent friend, Mr. Curtis :

It does not require an extraordinary flight of the imagination to fancy two of our great railroad corporations contesting the control of some district of territory, and employing two different private armies to win by force what cannot be won by peaceable means.*

And all this time the state did nothing. When at last the state did arouse itself, the situation ceased. But did not the state begin at the wrong end?

A week or two later, much the same series of events was repeated in Idaho, in Tennessee, and in the state of New York, with the same prolonged silence of the state. In all these cases I am not at all speaking of the equities involved: I am only speaking of the state's inaction.

* Social Science Association.

A few months ago, the Reading Road by a combine got control of the anthracite-producing regions. The next thing was a rise in price, which has several effects. It makes millions of people pay more for a necessary of life. It precludes many kinds of manufacturing, to which the difference in price of coal makes all the odds between success and failure. And, in diminishing the demand for coal, it diminishes the earnings—already too low—of the miners. These results the road is able to produce because, by combination, whether legal or not I do not know, it holds the coal.

And the state? Oh, as before.

As to food adulterations, Mr. H. W. Wiley, chief chemist of the Department of Agriculture, states that the fraud upon the American consumer amounts annually to \$700,000,000. If this sum were annually consumed in conflagrations, it would be bad enough. But it represents children starved, families poisoned.

And the state? Is just where it was.

This of food. And the same of medicines. Everywhere men are growing rich, are building palaces, by the sale of alleged cures for every disease. The sufferers, made credulous with pain and fear and despair, clutching at the hope of relief, spend the last shilling on what, in the majority of cases, is worthless and fraudulent, and often harmful.

The other day I found that a young working woman whom I know had been drawn into one of these endowment societies which promise to the innocent that, if he (more often *she*) will pay \$3 a month for eighteen months, he can draw out \$100, *provided* that a sufficient number of persons join, on the same terms, in the mean time. Thus an incentive is given to every member to draw in others. When the time of maturity (it might be called even over-ripeness) approached, some one in the company suggested to her that the society was not in a very flourishing condition, and indirectly advised her not to pay any more monthly assessments. She took the advice and thus (as was intended) forfeited all claim to any return. An official, however, offered \$5 for certificates with full assignment of all claims, provided the certificates were brought in within a stated

(very short) time. When the Massachusetts court inquired into the status, there were 53,000 claimants for \$100 each (or less, according as they had paid in), and there was \$52,000 of assets, or about one per cent. Just such societies are all the time putting out their prospectuses and offers. The officers of the law know that it is all a lie; but the state is deaf and blind.

Here are great cities dependent on rivers for their water supply. The city of Providence gets its water from the Pawtuxet. The villages and the manufactories along the river drain into it. A paper published in that city has lately given an account of the filth which is daily poured into the river, so revolting that I dare not quote it. The Schuylkill, which is the supply of Philadelphia, receives the drainage of Norristown, Conshohocken, Reading, and the towns of a dense mining region, and of several cemeteries. If a single case of cholera should occur in any of these cities, I do not see what would save Philadelphia from an epidemic, just as Providence was visited by typhoid from its infected water supply four years ago.

And the state is asleep.

Here is a village of one thousand people, living about a mill in which the fathers and husbands earn bread for their families. They are gradually paying for their homes, are sending their children to school. They understand the Constitution, though mayhap they do not all interpret it alike. Some of them fought in the great War for Liberty and Union, or their fathers did. They sustain their churches. Some of the children find their way to college.

One day, there is a question about wages or about time. Perhaps a protective tariff has been enacted, and the price of goods is raised; but somehow it seems to these men that the enhanced profit and they are entire strangers. Then comes a strike or a lockout. Perhaps it is not unwelcome to the employer, who knows that he can get Hungarians or Italians for half-wages. The American-born citizens leave the homes which they have built. The schools are silent, for the foreign children are put in the mill. The American-speaking churches are closed. The

village has become Italian or Polish, filled with ignorant, superstitious anarchists, addicted to assassination.

In these words I but faintly outline a picture which is drawn from real life and from personal observation by Mr. Henry Rood, in the September *Forum* (article, "Mine Laborers in Pennsylvania"). In Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, Lehigh, and other of the coal counties, the mines were once worked by Americans, Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Germans, and English. The operators treated the miners as they chose. The men were compelled to buy everything at the company store, at high rates. Presently wages were cut, the screws were tightened. Then came a strike. Then agents were sent abroad, who brought back thousands of Hungarians, Slavs, Polanders, Bohemians, Arabs, Italians, Sicilians, of the lowest class. These men would bear anything. They had worked in the old country for ten cents a day and upwards. Sixty cents a day was comfort. A dollar a day was bewildering opulence. The first installment was followed by others; and every year the immigrants were of a lower grade. These men live in the most wretched hovels, massed together in filth, breeding disease and contagion. "Decent people hesitate about waiting in railroad stations near mining towns, for fear of being overrun with vermin or of contracting disease." "The police will tell you that the Slav, Bohemian, Italian, and the baser Polanders are guilty of nameless crimes and horrid vices." Murders are abundant, and are rarely punished, owing to the universal perjury. "Women hesitate to drive about the country roads by day: unarmed men are not safe after the sinking of the sun." Even the priests seem to have no authority, and are themselves in danger of assassination. Many of these men are naturalized, and sell their votes at a dollar a head. A large and rich tract of territory has here become denationalized, and has become a national peril.

And the state? The state is so speechless that the silent grave or the voiceless tomb is chattering loquacity in comparison.

One almost welcomes the cholera panic as a blessing since, for the time at least, it suspends the incoming of a flood of moral and social and political contagion.

Here is a railroad working its employed twelve, fourteen, sixteen hours a day. Presently human muscles and nerves give way. There is a disaster. Twenty lives are lost, because a brakeman, half asleep, did not down brakes. The state might have known how much a man could bear, and where he would break down ; but it did nothing, except, after all was over, to order an inquiry, which no doubt was a balm to the bereaved families.

Every year a little army of twenty-five hundred men, ten times as many as were killed on the American side at Bunker Hill, are slaughtered on our railroads while coupling the cars, because the roads do not adopt the automatic couplers.

A few months ago, I set out on a Thursday night from New York to New Haven by the steamer "Elm City." Next morning, we were lying in Huntington Bay. There was a little wind. The captain, who knew his boat, had put in. There we lay all Friday and Saturday. At last, famine began to stare us in the face ; but we meditated with some cheerfulness, that there were four hundred dozen eggs in the freight. We should not absolutely perish. However, there were several horses on board, who were not wonted to live on omelets. Late Saturday evening, we made New Haven light. The unseaworthy craft is still feebly traversing the Sound. Almost every week she has a disaster, just missing a catastrophe. Some day she will not escape it. And the state knows it all, and is silent.

Here are the great railroads, created and endowed by the nation, crossing the continent, running through the great farming states. In the words ascribed to Mr. Jay Gould, "they put on the traffic all it will bear." In other words, they load the grain with such a freight that the farmer gets little return, is unable to pay his interest and taxes, and presently he is added to the dangerous class of the landless.

And the state is too busy to give the matter attention. Here have been these western mortgage companies receiving from eastern men and women the savings of a lifetime, the dependence of old age. The companies offer to invest at seven to ten per cent. The offer seems fair : money is in demand out West ;

with the rapid rise of land and the hopes of good harvests, the West is willing to pay a liberal interest. Millions of money have gone West. The lenders had no means of assuring themselves of the good faith of the borrowers. And the result? Millions of dollars loaned on land not worth a year's interest; lenders left in old age destitute. And the state has left the lenders to gain wisdom by experience.

Here are the street cars, which have gained a monopoly of a necessary of life, thrown to them as a gift by the municipalities. I am not afraid to affirm that in the city of my residence the robberies by street cars vastly surpass the robberies by burglars and all the lesser forms of plunder.

West and Southwest and Northwest, men are grasping great tracts of land. There is no practical inconvenience now, but the time will come when an advancing population will need these lands; and the holders will demand their own price, for land will be a necessity, and the quantity of land cannot be enlarged, it cannot be diluted or expanded. In the states and territories where irrigation is a necessity, men have got hold of long tracts on the banks of streams; and they have all the settlers at their mercy. And the state is silent.

The New York *Tribune* has been publishing a list of the millionaires of the country. In the city of New York there are 1,103. There are 4,047 for the whole country. Of course, it is impossible to state the average sum of their possessions. Probably there are few who rank as low as simply one million. They run up to \$50,000,000 or \$100,000,000. The other day, when it was incorrectly telegraphed that a citizen of the metropolis had deceased abroad, a paper put his means at \$150,000,000. Suppose we set the average at \$10,000,000, which does not seem extreme. This would make \$40,000,000,000, or two thirds of the property of the country held by 4,047 persons. And the tendency is for this disproportion to increase. After a man has accumulated a certain amount, it is his own fault if it does not accumulate with constantly accelerating rapidity. A man of wealth can make anything succeed which would be failure with another. And in addition to the natural fecundity of wealth,

surpassing that of rabbits and tramps and the Irish peasantry, the rich can always enlist the best genius of the world to guard against losses and to open new avenues.

When a man has so many millions, and controls a necessary of life, it is for himself to say how rich he will be. And, of course, if 4,000 men own two thirds of the wealth of the country, it is a simple problem in arithmetic how much is left for the remainder of the 65,000,000.

There may be sanguine souls who see nothing alarming or disturbing in this future. I am not of these. I stand appalled at the prospect or at least at the possibility. But I am reassured by the fact that this is a country of universal suffrage and of a free press. I do not anticipate aught of violence. Where there are votes, they will tell in a peaceful revolution.

But you say, "You are only making your complaint; this is idle, unless you propose a remedy." I do not agree to your position. It is well to diagnose the case, even before we are prepared with a cure. The first thing is to find out *if* anything is wrong, and *what* is wrong.

But, if you ask me for a remedy, I should answer by adapting to the occasion the famous words of Abbé Sieyès: "What has the state been? Nothing. What is it? Something. What do we mean it to be? Everything." You ask what I would have the state do. It is a large question. I will, however, make a beginning by citing from "Imperial Germany" (an English book) the following notice issued by the German government:

Warning against Patent Medicines.—An official scientific analysis of a medicine under the name of Schlagwasser, manufactured by Roman Weissman of Vilshofen, has shown that it consists of nothing save a little tincture of *ratanhia*, or *kino*, mixed with tincture of arnica, the value of which is between 2½*d.* and 3½*d.* It is sold at 8*s.* a bottle. It is evident that this decoction does not possess the virtues attributed to it.

If our government took such a step, it is quite likely that there would be fewer brownstone palaces; but there would be more money in the pockets of the people, and more sound livers in their bodies.

As to food, Germany punishes the dealer who sells an adulterated article with fine and imprisonment, even though he is

proved ignorant of the adulteration. With us it is stated on good authority that unadulterated sugar, coffee, tea, lard, honey, are hardly to be found. It only remains to adulterate the adulterations. But, in fact, we have passed beyond that point.

The author of "Imperial Germany" also says that the state control of savings banks and kindred institutions in Germany has been so effective that they show a wonderfully clean record. Spendthrifts and drunkards will soon be deprived of the control of their own property. Similar results come from the state control of railroads, telegraphs, refreshment bars, restaurants at stations.

If it is said that this system involves despotism, that is not at all proven. And it certainly is lamentable that the government calling itself the freest in the world should be the only one that allows its people to be robbed and poisoned with absolute impunity. It is simply impossible for the citizen to protect himself against adulteration, against robbery by street cars. He has not the scientific knowledge to analyze every article of food. He has not the time to claim redress for every robbery.

Now and then there is a man of the Spartan mold of my dear friend, Dr. Henry Clay Trumbull, of Philadelphia, who, when defrauded of 75 cents by the N. Y. & N. H. Steamboat Company, entered suit against the company, and forced them to refund the plunder with interest and costs. All honor to him ! Alas that men like him are so few and solitary !

As to the swindling endowment companies and the Iron Hall, as to the calamitous destruction of forests, as to the sweating system, as to child labor, as to the railroad employed who are worked till nature gives way, as to railroad hands slaughtered, I am sure there cannot be a diversity of opinion concerning the duty and the power of the state.

I come to the matter of the great industrial disturbances. Here are strikes ; here are lockouts ; here are combinations of the employed, union men refusing to allow nonunion men to work ; here are combinations of employers, several companies consolidated into one immense corporation, with capital passing the imagination ; here all the manufacturers in one line com-

bining, and agreeing that, if there is a strike in the shop of one, all the shops shall shut up till his employed have returned to work. Here is a vast loss to everybody, to the immediate community, to remote workers in connected industries ; a hundred ships wait in vain for their cargo ; and, in the end, perhaps blood ; and almost surely the introduction of a mass of foreigners, with results to which I have alluded. Shall not the state act before the evil is under way ? If the state is to come in at the finish with the bayonet, shall it not come in at the start with the balances ?

The duty of the government to interfere for the restriction of immigration is all the more pressing from the fact that excessive and indiscriminate immigration is the direct result of measures adopted by the government. The government imposes high protective duties. The object of this is to deprive the foreign manufacturer and laborer of an American market. Deprived of the opportunity to labor, what shall the Italian or German or Hungarian do ? He comes over to America, and offers to do the work of the American mechanic at one third wages. The result is not far to seek.

I cannot believe that the ideal of human destiny is found in the status described by a writer in the August *Contemporary Review*, "It has become obvious that five sixths of the population of Great Britain must continue to 'be hired servants, dependent on the owners of capital and land for leave to earn a living.'"

The Massachusetts Board of Arbitration, though with only moral powers, in the year 1890 brought peace in every case which was frankly intrusted to its mediation. What would not a board of arbitration have saved in the one disturbance at Homestead ? And a board should have not alone moral weight : it should have behind it the whole force of the state.

The accumulation of fortunes in few hands is a subject that is no doubt involved in difficulty, largely through our superstitious idolatry of "the sacred right." But it is not insuperable. New Zealand has adopted the principle of progressive taxation,—taxing the property of the rich at twice the rate of the poor. This,

though but a step, yet is in the right direction. Estates and inheritances are taxed progressively. And no doubt we shall presently provide for the equal division of the property of a parent among his natural heirs, so that no longer shall a vast estate descend to a single heir, to be swollen, through another generation, into yet more gigantic proportions. Jeremy Bentham urged that taxation need not be limited to the supply of funds for the bare administrative necessities of the state, but that wisely handled, it also supplied an admirable means of gradually equalizing private fortunes.

An English writer says: "Aristotle said that the salvation of a nation in a crisis must lie in its *middle classes*. The tendency with us is to increase property in the hands of a few individuals, leaving an impoverished middle class and cutting off the hope of the poorer classes ever rising into the middle class. The problem of the moment is to prevent this accumulation of immense fortunes in few hands, and to spread this wealth throughout the country."

Against all these imperfect suggestions, I hear the frenzied cry, "This is Paternalism! this is Socialism!" I sincerely hope that we have passed beyond the age of being frightened by names. All government is Socialism in some degree: it is only a matter of more or less. If you talk about Paternalism, it makes a great difference whether the *father* is a youthful *Kaiser* or whether it is ourselves. What is the state? It is you and I and all of us. Now, if we choose to be our own father, to govern ourselves in a paternal way, if we say, "We, the 65,000,000 represented in the government, will do for the individual citizen what he cannot do well or at all for himself," is it any harm?

But a yet shriller cry is raised. "You are violating the right of property, the most sacred right in the universe." Pardon me. We are not disturbing the right of *property*: we may perhaps disturb some of the alleged rights of *possession*, which is very far from being the most sacred thing in the world, which is one of the least sacred, which is one of the most blood-stained and tainted. When I consider the origin of great fortunes, the

beginnings of the wealth of the ducal houses of St. Albans, of Richmond, of Grafton ; when I think that till a few years since every ton of coal that came up the Thames to London paid a tax to one of these dukes because his great-grandmother was *not* the wife of Charles II. ; when I remember the estates that were created by slave-trading or by slave-working, by rum, by wholesale robbery, the great landed properties that were stolen from a former possessor who had no right to them, and given by a king who had no right to them to a loyal retainer who had no right to them, and then hear men chatter about the sacredness of possession,—I stand speechless at their effrontery.

Once possession in slaves was considered peculiarly sacred, till light was shed on the subject by the ignition of a vast amount of gunpowder. Once the right to take possession of every wreck that came on the shore was deemed very sacred, and men used to pray that it might be a good year for wrecks. Once a man's right of possession in his wife and in his children, his right to task, to beat, to sell, to kill, was unchallenged. Once the divine right of kings was as sacred as now is the right of possession.

Property is sacred. What is property ? Character is property. A man's honor, a woman's virtue, a man's own soul, a man's life, a man's right to his belief, his right to liberty (unless he has forfeited it),—these are, in a true sense, property. They do not so much belong to a person as they are of him, are a part of himself. He may not alienate them, he may not dispossess himself of his character, of his purity ; nor has any one a right to dispossess him.

But possessions ? We constantly go on the principle that the state may at will dispossess a man of his house, his land, his goods. The recent land legislation of Great Britain, under the leadership of the immortal old man who will live in history by the elevation of his own character and by the extent and the value of his public services, has ignored and trampled on the alleged "sacred right." When he decreed that the landlord should reduce the rent which the tenant, under so-called freedom of contract, had agreed to pay ; when he enacted that the landlord should sell, whether he would or not ; when he made a

law that, in case of a tenant owing more than he could pay, the crown should pay one third, the tenant another third, and the landlord should give the other third,—he established the great truth for all time that there is no sacred right of possession, that the public welfare takes precedence of all else.

The late Lord Justice Bramwell said: "I have no superstitious reverence for the institution of separate or private property. Show me that its abolition would be for the general good, and I would vote for it, letting down the present possessors gently." I by no means go so far as his lordship; for I am a very calm, cautious conservative. I merely assert that private possession is secondary to the public welfare, and that the great supreme law is the good of all.

We in our everyday experience see the same principle dominant. If you own a lot on Broadway, may you set up there on your own land, with your own money, a dynamite factory, a powder house, an oil refinery? You might, indeed, set up a saloon, a gambling hell, if only you "saw the police" first; for that is the one kind of possession that is sacred in the good metropolis. The right of possession is hedged in on every hand by the rights of others and by the welfare of the community. If the state may on occasion take a man's life, putting him or his son into the army, shall we say that his *money* is sacred from interference if the public welfare make a demand?

I notice that the governor of Newfoundland, in his address to the colonial legislature called together to devise means for rebuilding the city of St. John's, said, "If excessive rents are demanded by the landowners, the attention of the legislature will become necessary." In other words, the holders of property must not use their possessions in a way to be prejudicial to the public welfare.

President Schurman, of Cornell, in an address at Chautauqua (and he who speaks at Chautauqua speaks to the world), said:

Private property in itself is nothing sacred. . . . There are unjust laws and institutions and sentiments yet to be overcome in the interest of manual laborers: strikes have been effective means for the correction of much injustice. . . . It is irrational to suppose that strikes can always continue. What can we substitute? I suggest

courts of arbitration, like the courts established by the British Parliament to arbitrate between landlords and tenants in Ireland. The state has an interest in the use of capital and labor, especially when aggregated in large masses, which is perhaps paramount to the interest of the capitalist or the laborers directly concerned. The legislature certainly has the right to enact laws compelling the arbitration of differences between employers and employees. . . . In most strikes both parties are at fault,—the capitalist because he adheres to the letter of the law, and the employee because he violates the law. The latter is animated, however, in many cases at any rate, by the spirit of ideal justice, which it is the duty of legislators to embody in law.

Has a man a right so to use his mill as to dispossess a thousand American citizens, and to create a mob of ignorant, superstitious, passionate foreigners, who shall be a curse and a menace to the state, who shall be the raw material of riot, of savagery, of murder, of everything that is threatening to our civilization? Shall there not somewhere in the resources of civilization be found a remedy?

In the September *Forum*, ex-Lieutenant Governor Black, writing upon "The Lesson of Homestead," says:

Capital massed on one side and men massed on the other make a situation to which neither the common law nor the statute law of our foregoers is at all adequate. . . . A dispute between an employer and eighteen thousand men . . . cannot be satisfactorily disposed of by ordinary judicial procedure. . . . No man in civilized society can do what he pleases with his own. . . . His property, no less than his life, is held at the call of the state. . . . Mr. Carnegie's business, and the business of other men situated like him, challenge public regulation by reason of their very immensity, to say nothing of the public contributions to them by the unjust operation of monopoly tariff laws. . . . If the state chooses to say him nay, and to lay down the limits of his freedom, he can have no right whatever to go on dealing with three thousand men here and five thousand men there and ten thousand men elsewhere according to his private impulses. All private property is held and enjoyed subject to the public safety; and the contention that great plants like that of the Carnegie companies, built up mainly by public bounties, are exempt from the rule, would be nothing short of monstrous.

In the matter of the Reading leases Chancellor McGill, of New Jersey, says:

Corporate bodies that engage in public occupations are created by the state upon the hypothesis that they will be a public benefit. When, therefore, it appears that such a corporation, unmindful of its plain

duty, acts prejudicially to the public, it uses its powers in a manner not contemplated by the law which confers them. The Reading leases were beyond the power granted by the legislature, and also void on the ground of public policy, in that they tended to the creation of a monopoly by stifling competition between the contracting corporations, and thereby to increase the price of anthracite coal. . . . To say that these conditions do not tend to a disastrous monopoly in coal would be an insult to intelligence. It is possible that such a monopoly may be used, as the defendants suggest, to introduce economies and to cheapen coal ; but it does violence to our knowledge of human nature to expect such a result. . . . If once a complete monopoly be established by the destruction of competition, . . . the promoters and sharers in it may have whatever price their cupidity suggests. The disaster which will follow cannot be measured.

But, further, you speak of the security of possession. Is not security enhanced when possession, no longer concentrated in a few thousand hands, shall be distributed among the tens of millions ? Is a pyramid more secure for resting on its apex ?

And may we not go further, and believe that one day the idea of the state may expand into the Commonwealth of States, and that the new Commonwealth shall be charged with the welfare of the race ? Shall not the time come when it will be reckoned unlawful for any member of this Commonwealth to do any act which is prejudicial to the common weal ? Is it always to be tolerated that a great empire shall debase a portion of its people, and then shall force them to exile themselves, and to come upon shores where the people are guiltless of their wrongs, and where their incoming—filthy, savage, more than brutal—is a curse and a calamity, reducing wages, and debasing the national standard ?

Already we go on the principle that the great, unused continent belongs, not to Mtesa or Mwango or some other savage accident, but to the human race, to the Commonwealth of Nations. So does not the world belong to him who can demonstrate his title by the use he makes of its possibilities ? The Arabs insist on the sacred right of carrying on the slave trade in the heart of Africa with the sagacity, with the endurance, with the unscrupulousness of first-class demons. Surely, the Commonwealth of Nations has the right to suppress this traffic as it suppressed the trade on the high seas, as it interfered in

behalf of Greece two generations ago, and crushed Turkey at the battle of Navarino.

There is fear that Mr. Gladstone may feel compelled by some fantastic notion to withdraw from Egypt, and to leave once more the wretched land which has profited so immensely by the British protectorate and oversight, to another century of misrule, of crushing despotism, of public robbery. No! Egypt does not belong to the naked fellaheen nor to some infamous khedive. It belongs to the human race: it is for the Commonwealth of Nations to determine its future in the interests of humanity.

H. L. WAYLAND.

THE "MAGDALENS" OF SOCIETY.

BY THE REV. J. W. SPROULL, D.D.

TO SAY that the teachings of Christ with reference to the magdalens of society have been in a number of instances most shamefully perverted is to use mild language. The only inference that can be drawn from certain utterances lately published in the daily papers is to the effect that if the Savior's example be followed, women of loose morals will not be molested as long as their houses are not the scenes of disorder. These "fallen sisters" are to be pitied rather than blamed, should be reached by means of the gospel, not dealt with by the civil law; brothels are places not to be suppressed by the police but to be visited by ministers and other pious people for the purpose of converting the inmates.

Such teachings are not Christ's. Never once so far as we have any account did he favor a loose construction of the seventh commandment or show any countenance to impenitent violators of it. "Adulterous and sinful generation" are the terms he chose to designate the awful depravity of his day. Even "harlots go into the kingdom of God," it is true, but what a miracle of grace! So far as we know Christ never entered "a house of ill-fame" in order to proclaim salvation. Many fallen women, no doubt, heard his gracious words as he preached in the streets and by the wayside and some were reached by them. Such he gladly welcomed just as he did the dying thief, who received but "the due reward of his deeds." It was to these, not to the hardened and persistently impenitent that he addressed his wonderful words of tenderness and power. Instead of countenancing the ecclesiastical fathers of his day, who made "the commandment of God of none effect" by their "traditions" he exposed and denounced them, tore away the

false constructions put upon the law, explained its true meaning, and emphasized the fact that it was then no less binding than when first promulgated.

This narrative, even if it be admitted that the verses are authentic, does not warrant the conclusion that Christ would have "bad women" dealt with differently from other violators of law. It ought to be remembered that the Roman and Jewish law were not the same as regards immoralities of this character; that the interpretation of the former had been so modified that adultery was no longer regarded as a capital offense; that society was very corrupt and the ecclesiastical authorities themselves were by no means models of virtue and that the only object of this woman's accusers was to "tempt" Jesus.

In His eyes cold and selfish hypocrisy was as "hateful as more glaring sin." A life of "sinful and impenitent respectability," He regarded as no less dangerous and deadly "than a life of open shame." The sight of this miserable woman, hurried off to the temple just as she was when "taken in the very act," made a public spectacle for most wicked purposes and by those probably no less guilty than she, filled Jesus with indignation. Her condemnation would be their vindication. He never had claimed to act as a judge "over" them, why should he do so now? The law of Moses he admits is binding. Death by stoning is the proper punishment for adultery. They know how in such cases to proceed. There was no need for him to say more. By a master stroke he exposes their hypocrisy, and puts to shame the "scribes and Pharisees," "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her." No wonder, they, baffled, detected, and exposed, slunk away. Left alone with a guilty woman, the witnesses against her all gone, what could Jesus, even as "the Just One," do other than he did—dismiss her with a gracious word of encouragement? "Go," he said, there is no reason for remaining; food and shelter are to be provided; the terrible struggle to break off from the old life and live the new, has only commenced. "Go"; not to a brothel; not to a repetition of the sinful act, no, but "Go and sin no more."

In Luke VII., 36-50, is recorded the incident of the woman anointing the Savior in the house of Simon. Because of a tradition that this was Mary of Magdala, the term *magdalen* has been applied to designate those women of loose morals who have reformed. There is nothing in the narrative that in the least indicates that Christ regarded this one's former life as other than very sinful or believed that those who persist in living as she had been, should be treated any more leniently than other violators of law. Her, too, he dismissed with a kind word of encouragement and help, but wholly unprovided for so far as this life was concerned. "Thy sins are forgiven ; go in peace."

This question, what shall be done with the "*magdalens*" of society ? (i. e., the social outcasts, using the term in a loose sense now common) is only another form of the question, how shall the social evil be treated ? Whatever action is taken with reference to the latter, the former are the parties first and most affected. When radical measures are proposed or attempted, efforts to prevent their adoption or enforcement are always made and, alas, with too much success ! by creating a feeling of sympathy in the community in their behalf. For this reason, with the consideration of the question relating to the social evil, there ought to be, there must be, a consideration of the other relating to these unfortunate women. This subject is attracting everywhere much attention. Our community is stirred up by it as never before. The facts published a short time ago, in one of our daily newspapers, were a complete surprise and a most unexpected revelation. No wonder the subject is discussed by both pulpit and press. The evil is on the increase. Opinions differ as to how it should be dealt with. The attempts thus far to regulate or remove it have been failures. Something, all feel, must be done and soon or it will get beyond control.

In our endeavors to come to the right conclusion as to what is best, the life and teachings of Christ can be studied with great advantage. But to explain them so as to justify or shield for an hour determined violators of the seventh commandment, whether men or women, is to most shamefully pervert them as well as to antagonize all the teachings of the Bible on the subject.

What should be done with the magdalens of society?

They should at any cost and at once be suppressed.

1. These women are and should be regarded as a most dangerous and hurtful element of society.

All, it is admitted, are not equally hopeless or depraved. In the very worst there are some redeeming traits. As a class they are more sinned against than sinning. They are infinitely more entitled to sympathy than the base creatures who have made and keep them what they are. Still it is a fact that they are a dangerous and hurtful, nay, the most dangerous and hurtful element of society. Is this questioned? A statement of what they are and what they do, ought to convince the most skeptical, as to the correctness of the assertion. It is best here to use plain language. Through choice or because of circumstances the women have become and are now prostitutes. Their bread is earned and their lives spent gratifying the passions of immoral men. This is their only business. About it there is not one redeeming feature. The more ruin they cause the more successful they are. Licentious husbands and fathers frequent their establishments and waste their substance in riotous living. Thousands of homes are thus blighted, and pure, innocent wives and daughters made to go through life with heavy hearts. It is the depraved and vicious that consort with these harlots. Their houses are the resort and they are the companions of murderers, gamblers, drunkards, lawbreakers of every description. In nearly all of these places illicit selling of liquor is carried on. The authorities in Pittsburg admitted that if the unlawful selling of intoxicating liquor was stopped, many would soon be closed for want of patronage. It is in these haunts of vice and sin and amid such surroundings that the crimes against society are conceived and brought forth.

The statement was publicly made a short time ago that there are in Pittsburg three thousand prostitutes. That city, be it remembered, is one of the most moral in the country. That is very probably an exaggerated estimate; even if it be reduced by one half, the number is 1,500. It is utterly impossible to conceive of the amount of sin and crime those figures represent.

One section of the city is largely given up to these women. Of course, property has depreciated. No virtuous person wants to live and bring up a family amid such surroundings. Respectable citizens complain bitterly of the moral contagion so near their homes, but, alas! without avail. The Catholic priest whose church is in this district earnestly asked the authorities to give him deliverance from the annoyance occasioned by the presence and conduct of those who live in or visit these houses, but failed to obtain it. The entire neighborhood is fast becoming contaminated.

It is estimated that the average life of a prostitute is about five years. And what a life! every day sinking lower and lower. As a rule only the proprietress is able to lay up anything. She frequently becomes rich; the miserable inmates cannot save. When obliged to leave, as so frequently they are, they have nothing with which to support themselves and so, unfitted for any other life, they are willing, nay, obliged to submit to any indignity in order to obtain a mere subsistence. And then the death,—how sad!

The average life, five years! That means that in the one city of Pittsburg, there must be annually sacrificed on the altar of man's lust, not less than three hundred young girls. How great must be the number in the United States! How many happy homes are thus each year saddened and the hearts of parents and brothers and sisters made to bleed as they think of a loved sister or daughter enticed to a life a thousand times worse than death. Better, far better be an inmate of the penitentiary or a reformatory institution or live at the poorhouse than in these dens of vice, wear away life in such awful dissipation.

Such is the character and life of these women. Nothing is said in malice: every word is literally true. They are social outcasts, enemies of society. They are lawbreakers and law-defiers; they are subverters of morality; they are corrupters of the youth of both sexes; they are their own worst enemies, destroying alike body and soul. Why should they be tolerated a single hour? At any cost and at once they should be suppressed and their houses closed forever. Surely that does not require argu-

ment. But how can this be done best : *i. e.*, so done that the interests of none will suffer ? That is the question of the hour. The authorities should enforce rigidly and impartially the laws relating to this class of society.

Here has always been the difficulty. The authorities absolutely refuse to do this. They claim and exercise the right to decide for themselves to what extent laws relating to certain forms of evil shall be enforced. Hence, in nearly all of our large cities, gambling in its most dangerous forms is tolerated ; brutal and obscene exhibitions are permitted ; "speak-easies" flourish ; brothels are "regulated," not suppressed. The authorities have no such optional powers and should not be allowed to exercise them. They should be held to the strict performance of their duties as required by their oath of office. Police officials are not the persons to whom should be allowed such discretion. Their familiarity with crime and criminals is not well calculated to help them form a correct opinion in such cases. Their evident determination to keep these brothels "going," no difference what may be the result, affords good reason for suspecting their motives. The charge has been publicly made again and again that politics and "hush money" have much to do with their conduct. It is easy to believe this. The charges have never been satisfactorily met. In Pittsburg the authorities did everything they could to make odious the order of the mayor calling for the closing of the houses of prostitution and that failing, to render the law inoperative. Such conduct is shameful and should not be tolerated. If officials hesitate or refuse to enforce the law, they should be compelled to do it or removed and others, who will, be put in their places.

The reasons assigned for tolerating the "social evil" will not stand the test. The sad condition in which the miserable women will be placed in case the brothels are closed before provision is made for their care is urged with greatest effect. Earnest, philanthropic, Christian people are influenced by it. Why should they be ? If houses of prostitution are to continue until provision is made for their inmates, they will never be closed. It is only when attention is directed to the magnitude and

character of the evil and there is a probability of severe measures being adopted, that the effort is made to create sympathy by such appeals. No class of persons do so much to create it as the villains who have made those women what they are and profit most by their fall. There is no reason why so great a reform should be hindered or delayed simply because the guilty will be deprived of earning a living in their accustomed way. The complaint of a hard-working woman published in one of our papers that too much sympathy is shown toward those who support themselves with the wages of sin and too little toward those who resist temptation, live virtuous lives, and earn an honest living, is well-founded. Let the former do as the latter and if they will not, better, far better that they suffer than that their unholy work go on.

It is objected that these women are unfitted by their lives for other work, and even if they were willing, so great is the distrust of them that no one knowing who they are will employ them. They must learn sometime—and the sooner the better, if they are ever to escape—to get a living in some other place than in a brothel. The difficulty is no reason why they should not try. And as for distrust is there not good reason for it? A mother in this city sheltered for a few days in her house one of this class who claimed to have reformed. To her great surprise, she found that her little six-year-old boy had learned so much evil in that short time, that, for the sake of her family, she was obliged to dismiss the woman at once. They must "bring forth fruits meet for repentance."

"Would you then send these unfortunate sisters," it is asked, as if only one answer could be given, "to the jails and penitentiaries and poorhouses, where reformation is impossible?" Is either one of these as bad as a house of prostitution? If it comes to this, that a choice must be made, by all means let those places be closed even though our jails and penitentiaries and reformatory institutions and poorhouses be crowded from cellar to attic.

"But, after all," it is urged, "these houses are necessary. You cannot possibly stamp out the social evil. Man is a bundle

of passions and will find ways for their gratification. The right plan is to control, not suppress. That cannot be done. Wherever tried the attempt has failed." Tried? Where? When? Society has all along acted on the theory that prostitution is "a necessary evil," to be controlled not eradicated. To a great extent our laws are enacted and executed on that theory. The result is that the thing itself is not looked upon as so very bad. It has assumed fearful magnitude. It will not be long before we are ready for the black wagon of Paris, the medical examination, the doctor's certificate, the disgraceful orgies open to all. The proposition that now finds most favor is only preparing the way for this. It is gravely proposed to confine houses of prostitution to certain districts and place them under the surveillance of the police, *i. e.*, legalize the evil, make it respectable, advertise to all, old and young, where sin can be committed without danger of arrest, and it will come to this before long, without fear of contamination. What is that but to insult every virtuous mother and daughter, lower woman in her own estimation and in the estimation of all, by proclaiming far and wide that for man's gratification this particular part of the city must be given up to harlots? "Confine by such methods"! No surer way of scattering and increasing. Is it any wonder the Turk objects to Christianity because of the immoralities of Christian people, when such propositions are advocated and tried. Which is the worse—the private harem of the Moslem or the public one under the control of the city officials and open to all?

It is time this whole subject was studied from a higher point of view. Let prostitution be regarded as an evil, a great evil, an evil not to be extenuated or countenanced, but suppressed; let officials execute the laws relating to it so that whenever it can be done, every man or woman guilty and found out, will be punished and every house of the kind immediately suppressed, and it will soon cease. At all events before it is asserted that suppression is a failure let it be tried. Let the authorities execute the laws. But is nothing to be done for these unfortunate women? Are they to be wholly uncared for? Not at all. Christ did not so act nor did he teach us so to act.

3. Society, and especially the Christian part of society, the church, is morally bound to labor for the welfare of these women, degraded as they are. The fact that on account of their mode of life they are likely to be neglected, makes the duty more imperative.

They should be helped to a better life, not, however, by visiting their haunts any more than the drunkards are to be reformed by visiting the saloon. The indications are that the church in order to do her work must make a radical change in her methods. She must do as Christ did and as he commanded her to do, "go," not merely erect buildings and wait for sinners to come. The "salvation army" is doing much to solve the problem how to reach the people that are without the gospel and most need its wholesome teachings. It need not occasion surprise if such radical changes be soon made in efforts to reach the depraved that church buildings will be regarded as of far less importance than they now are. The church has not done her duty and is not doing it now to the outcasts of society. She needs to arouse herself to her work and should be stirred up. Every opportunity should be given those desiring to change their life to do so. Not only should places of refuge be provided but the church should throw wide open her arms and welcome to her fold the penitent, even though her past life may have made her notorious as a "sinner." The church should do more than this. Not only should she endeavor to save the lost but should do all that can be done to protect the innocent from temptation and sin. She should free herself from all complicity in this evil. No one practicing such immoralities, encouraging others, directly or indirectly, knowingly reaping profits from houses of prostitution, has a right to a place in her membership. Grave charges are made against her members in regard to this. No doubt they are greatly exaggerated. Let the facts be given and then let the church act. She should in every right way call attention to the character and magnitude of this evil until not only herself but society is freed from it.

She should demand that all laws on statute books favoring this vice be repealed and one standard, the Bible standard, of mor-

ality for both man and woman be adopted. She should take notice of local abuses and encourage and unite with others in compelling the authorities to deal with prostitution as with other evils and fearlessly execute the law. She should instruct on this subject her members, and especially women and children who suffer most on account of it. She should relieve distress when she finds it and actively engage in searching out and rendering needed assistance to the poor, that the humblest may be able to enjoy protection and escape the temptation that brings so many to ruin.

In this as in all good work the church should take the lead, and if she continues to be a power for good she must. It was to help mankind she was "purchased," and it is only as she does this that she fulfills her mission. The denomination in which no notice is taken of everyday life, has no right to exist. The minister that never refers to everyday sins and abuses and needs, fails to understand and to accomplish the work of the ministry. It is in the performance of what they regard as their duty that this subject has been discussed from so many pulpits by pastors. They know too well what harm is being done in the homes of virtuous people and the necessity for the adoption of prompt measures to put an end to the evil. It is not for the want of charity or lack of a willingness to help the poor unfortunates that they speak of them as they do. The public needs to be aroused and the meanness and villainy of some who are loud in their expressions of sympathy for these degraded creatures, using them all the time as a shield in order to escape detection and deserved odium and who are so bitter in their denunciations of those ministers who insist on the impartial enforcement of the laws, need to be exposed. The efforts have not been in vain. Let the good work go on. Let agitation and discussion be encouraged. Let officials be held to strict accountability, until society is cleansed and "iniquity stop her mouth."

J. W. SPROULL.

OUR TARIFF SYSTEM—ITS INJUSTICE.

BY EDWIN MEAD.

OUR national Constitution has been called the most wonderful piece of work ever executed by statesmen. In all the world's history there is nothing to compare with it in its ingenuity of construction, simplicity of wording, breadth of purpose, or depth and soundness of principle. Its forerunner, the Declaration of Independence, declares that governments are instituted among men for the purpose of securing to *all* their natural rights. Applying this principle in its preamble the makers of the Constitution declare as the object of its adoption "To form a more perfect union, to *establish justice*, to insure domestic tranquillity, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The second object might be said to include those that follow it, for "the establishing of justice" would give the greatest assurance of domestic tranquillity, give the largest possible liberty, and, as far as government is able, promote the general welfare to its greatest extent without injury to any.

It is becoming more apparent every day that we must, sooner or later, settle down on some *definite* principle as to what is the business of government. The function of government is either limited and definite or it is unlimited and indefinite. It is to secure to all men the full enjoyment of their natural rights or it is to do anything and everything that the implied unlimited power of a majority may dictate. Some day this question must be decided and it would seem to be a question worthy of our most thoughtful consideration.

For the present we will assume that the principle set forth in the Constitution is correct; that the business of government is primarily "to establish justice," and examine our present tariff

system in the light of such principle. I think that we shall find that when government has attended strictly to its business of securing justice it has been fairly successful and that, on the contrary, when it has attempted to "promote the general welfare" by aiding private enterprise, it has not only failed to secure justice to all but has actually established a condition of gross injustice. When, in our great industrial centers, labor troubles are numerous (as during the past summer) and are accompanied by great disorder, destruction of property, and loss of life, we hear great clamoring for government to maintain peace and order. Very often these appeals come from those who are busy preaching the doctrine that government should do everything under the sun—except attend to its business of securing justice. In their frenzy over frequent riots they ask, "Why does not the government preserve order? What is the government for anyway?" And we must admit that such questions are pertinent and deserve an intelligent answer.

To expect government to take care of all sorts of private interests and also to secure justice to all is certainly expecting too much of any human agency. Or is government an omnipotent and infinite power? Having rejected the dogma of the "divine right of kings" shall we substitute for it, the dogma of the "divine right of governments"?

But what is a tariff duty and wherein is its injustice? A tariff, in the first place, is always a *sum collected*; whether by government in form of duties on imports or by corporations such as railroad, telegraph, express, or any other rates, it is always a sum to be paid and has nothing in common with such things as mercy, "blessing him that gives and him that takes." In its simplest form—a revenue tariff—a tariff is a tax levied by governments on a few articles of general consumption that are largely or entirely imported. In its most complex form—a protective tariff—it is primarily a bounty collected by home industries from home consumers on many hundreds or thousands of articles and is made possible by the government tax on like foreign articles. Incidentally it raises revenue but primarily it is intended to "protect" home industries.

The right of the government to raise revenue by tariff duties is plainly stated in the Constitution and therefore cannot be questioned on such grounds. But is a revenue tariff just or equitable? If it is just for a wage-earner to pay relatively more than the millionaire for the support of the government, then it is just. If it is equitable for a man with an income of \$1,000 a year or less to use a large per cent of such income for national taxes while the man of a yearly income of \$25,000 or \$100,000 or possibly \$1,000,000 pays but an infinitesimal fraction of his income for such purpose, then a revenue tariff is equitable. But if it is more equitable to tax a man according to his wealth rather than according to his poverty, then such a system of taxation is a great injustice. Justice demands that a man's taxes should bear some proportion to his ability to pay them; furthermore an intelligent conception of the subject of taxation by taxpayers, will demand a system of taxation that will enable them at least to know *how much* they are paying for the support of the government. This they can never know under any system of indirect taxes such as tariff duties. Of course, those who are gainers by such sort of taxes (like Louis XIV.) favor a system of taxation that "plucks the feathers with the least remonstrance from the geese." They would have us believe Mr. McKinley's statement that a thing cannot be a burden if you don't know it is a burden, implying that, as no one knows how much his tariff tax is, therefore it is not a burden! But he appears very anxious that we shall not try to get along without this tax; possibly if we did we might discover that we have been burdened and it might not be an easy matter to replace this load on the taxpayer.

But if we find a revenue tariff to be a great injustice what shall we say of a protective tariff? A revenue tariff is a *low duty* on a *few* articles while a protective tariff is a *high duty* on a *great many* articles. Major McKinley, in pointing out the beauties of a protective tariff, tells us that "a protective tariff will do what a revenue tariff will do and it will do more." Let us not only admit this statement but insist upon it. A revenue tariff takes dollars from the wage-earner and *only* dollars from

the man of wealth, but a protective tariff "does this and more," it also takes dollars from the wage-earner and gives them to the man of wealth!

If it is wrong for the government to tax wealth lightly while taxing the laborer heavily, what a monstrous injustice is it to add to this burden by compelling consumers to pay tribute to a few wealthy producers! If a revenue tariff is unjust what a gigantic wrong is done under the name of "protection"! And yet governments are instituted among men to secure justice! When a titled nobility of Europe compels the people to pay tribute for their support we call it robbery. When government compels us to pay immense sums every year to enrich certain favored industries, we call it "protection." Is robbery any the less robbery because we call it "protection"? Does injustice become justice by calling it by some fair-sounding name?

If we examine the history of our country we shall find that our forefathers of a century ago regarded a protective tariff as a burden. In urging its adoption they said, "We are willing to suffer temporary loss to obtain an ultimate gain." Such a policy, whether we regard it as one of wisdom or not, was clearly intended to be but temporary and implying that as soon as manufacturing plants were established the protection was to be withdrawn. It is reported that Hamilton—now known as the father of the protective system—favored giving protection by direct bounties instead of by indirect tariff duties. This is significant as showing that they regarded protective tariffs as essentially the same thing as bounties. If any doubt existed on this point it should have been removed by the tariff act of 1890, which repealed protection to sugar interests by tariffs and gave in its place, protection by direct bounties.

Such men as Washington, Jefferson, Madison, and Clay in favoring a protective tariff, did so with the understanding that consumers were to pay the increase in price of commodities for only a short time—that protection was a temporary measure. It remained for the modern school of protectionists to make the remarkable discovery that there was no loss connected with a protective tariff: that, on the contrary, it was an all-round

benefit. A suspicious feature of this great discovery is the fact that it was not made until a vigorous assault had been made upon the protective system. A century ago the people were asked to suffer for a time that certain industries might become more thoroughly established : now after one hundred years of more or less protection and thirty years of a *constantly increasing* protection, we are asked to support such a system as a permanent policy. Here we have an original burden transformed into a general prosperity promoter, for they tell us that the benefits of protection extend beyond the protected industries taking in all other industries, even down to the farmer. And more amazing still is the startling discovery (made since protectionists were called on to defend their system) that the greatest benefit goes to the wage-earner ! If we analyze this assertion (for it is nothing more) we shall find that it is based on the assumption that we, as a nation, do not pay all these benefits. Where they come from, protectionists have failed entirely to explain. But it is quite clear that if we are all benefited because workmen of protected industries are benefited, who, in turn, are benefited because of the benefit received by their employers from a protective tariff, the entire body of consumers contribute to that benefit as they make up the home market where the great bulk of the manufactured products are sold. This is but reversing the protectionist explanation "that our high tariff enables the manufacturer to compete with foreigners, which enables him to pay his workmen high wages, which enables the workmen to spend more money, thus conferring benefits on the merchant, builder, professional man, and even the farmer."

Of course this destroys the idea that our tariff does not increase the price of products ; but it is logical and consistent (if a protection argument can be called such) compared with the ridiculously contradictory statements that "the tariff makes goods cheaper and wages higher," that it "benefits the workman and raises the price of farm products," and that it "encourages foreign trade and enables us to make more goods at home by checking imports." Such absurdities are on a par with some of the statements made by Mr. McKinley, who, in one

breath, says, "The foreigner, *who pays not \$1.00 to support the government*, should not be allowed to enter our markets on an equality with home producers," and in the next asserts "that the foreigner pays the tariff for the privilege of entering our markets." But let us assume, with the more logical protectionists, that protection raises prices, thus benefiting the manufacturer. Is it justice for all the people to contribute to enrich a few? Admit that the manufacturer does not retain all the benefit of protection; admit that a few million workmen receive some of the benefit, yet we must admit that we have not attained justice. Admit, even, that this benefit is extended to a much larger number, even to a considerable majority, it is still unjust. But suppose we could extend the benefits of protection to all according to the demands of justice, we should arrive at this condition: All pay that all may receive benefits. So if we remove the injustice in the distribution we arrive at an absurdity. Is there any magical way of distributing benefits equally, that have been equally contributed so that *all* shall be gainers? On the contrary must there not, of necessity, be a loss—the cost of collection and distribution? Is a thing greater than the sum of all its parts? Can even so wonderful a thing as "protection" produce something out of nothing? We had supposed nothing less than Deity could accomplish such a feat.

Such scientific truths may not be received with much favor by protectionists who, as a rule, have great contempt for anything scientific. Indeed we are told by some of the great organs of protection that "there are no general rules or principles in politics," and that "equity and justice have nothing whatever to do with the subject." It is quite evident that there are no principles in the policy of protectionists and that their politics have nothing to do with justice and equity, but it is also becoming quite evident that justice *will* have considerable to do with protection. Naturally protectionism desires to have no dealings with justice—like the evil spirits with the Man of Nazareth—it cries out against any interference with its possessions. But justice shall as completely rout it from its stronghold as were the unclean spirits of old.

They tell us further that "political questions will, as in the past, continue to be settled by force of majorities rather than by science." Are questions of error or truth, of wrong or right to be settled by majorities? Were such questions ever settled by majorities? A majority, yes a large majority, of the people on earth would have once voted that the planet was flat. Was the question so settled? Was the earth, since it became a planet, ever anything but a globe? A large majority once believed human slavery to be right. Did that make it so? Was there ever a time when slavery was not an evil? Slavery was abolished in this country by the action of a majority of the people. But the question was settled, not by the simple fact of majority action, but because such action was according to the eternal law of right. Supposing a majority had upheld slavery; suppose the South had won, would we have settled down on the principle that slavery was right? Would the question have been settled that way? Not at all. The decision would have been but temporary and the final settlement would only have been postponed. And so with the tariff question. It will never be settled until it is settled right. Whether a majority vote to have protection or vote to have free trade, such vote does not settle the question unless such vote is for the correct principle. Human slavery was once an unsettled question but it needs no argument to-day to uphold the virtues and justice of liberty. The simple fact that the tariff is now an unsettled question surely indicates that we have not yet adopted the correct principle—the principle demanded by right and justice. And the tariff question not only involves the question of justice but is more than anything else a question of justice, of equity.

Whether protectionists recognize it or not, there are principles in ethics as in mathematics that are eternal and universal as far as we are concerned. One of the chief principles of ethics and the one that especially applies to our subject, was given to the world as a commandment by Moses some thousands of years ago. It is short and to the point and reads: "Thou shalt not steal." Now, it never was right to steal and never will be. Appropriation of other people's property without giving

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some equivalent is theft, and it matters not by what name you call it so long as the act is accomplished. A Supreme Court decision says: "Compelling all the people to contribute to the support of a private enterprise is none the less robbery because done under the form of law and called taxation."

The assertion that politics is a question of expediency and not of principle is strangely out of place in this age of the world. It implies that the science of society—sociology, has no general principles or laws. Astronomy, geology, mechanics, or chemistry may be based on universal law, but sociology, the latest and greatest of the sciences, is founded on chance. Does it seem reasonable? Does not every conclusion of modern knowledge negative such an absurd idea? As physical science has wrought harmony out of chaos in the world of matter in discovering the general laws of nature according to which all natural phenomena conform, so the science of sociology promises to bring, and *is bringing*, the growth of society under the reign of universal law. In short it is becoming clear to the scientific student of society, that things do not happen by chance but that all social events are the natural result of previous causes: that present conditions are the result of past conditions and will, in turn, determine, as a cause, the condition of the future. The general laws so far disclosed by the science of sociology are not peculiar to any particular nation but are applicable to all nations at all times. Indeed it is only by the recognition of the *generality* of such laws that various conditions, whether political or industrial, can be rationally explained. Such laws offer the only explanation of the evolution and progress of the European (and especially the English-speaking) people, and the dissolution and decay of such races as the African and American Indians. Sociology shows us that social changes are, and always have been, the result of social growth and depend not on royal decrees or legislative enactments but occur often in spite of such action of kings and legislatures. That, as a rule, the acts of government, when justified by a rational sociology, do not cause social changes but are themselves a result of such changes.

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When the events of history are thus viewed as a natural order of development, as an organic growth, in many respects similar to the growth of the individual, it is plain that the best results will follow the least possible interference with the natural condition of growth. Is it not imperative, then, that we have some knowledge of such laws of growth? Is it not the greatest folly to legislate and ignore such laws and principles? In doing so may we not—have we not already—in our well-meaning but ill-advised attempts to promote social development, actually hindered such development?

The first great principle that must guide our political action is the principle of justice. "Every man to enjoy the benefits he has earned and *not* the benefits some one else has earned"; for the wrongs, political or industrial, which we may hope to right are mostly the wrongs of injustice. There is nothing new or modern about this great wrong—injustice. It is older than authentic history and from the fact that it grows more hideous and cruel as we trace it back through past ages we are led to believe that the wrong is slowly but surely being righted. Those who look with dread upon the abuse and disregard of justice by the ruling power of to-day—the power of wealth—should take courage from the fact that the same condition has prevailed many times in the world's history. Yes, has always prevailed more or less and possibly never to a less degree than now. In our efforts to establish a more perfect justice we are apt to forget that our present idea of justice is not an ideal of the fifth century or of the tenth or even the eighteenth, but of the last decade of the nineteenth century.

And it is this higher conception of justice which is demanding (and will continue to demand with ever-increasing emphasis) that legislation have some regard for the principles of equity. 'Tis this idea incorporated into an intelligent public opinion, which is serving notice on the "powers that be" that the people are coming to know their natural rights, "and knowing, dare maintain them."

EDWIN MEAD.

ROBERT G. INGERSOLL.

BY EUGENE V. DEBS.

Good actions crown themselves with living bays.
Who well deserves needs not another's praise.

I DO not overlook the fact that to write properly of Robert G. Ingersoll would demand intellectual gifts of that high order which qualifies one to have correct and lofty conceptions of all that is good and beautiful and true in human nature, coupled with genius as inspiring and aspiring as animated a Hugo or a Raphael.

The life of Robert G. Ingersoll has been one of exceeding activity and success. I do not claim for it perfection, because to err is human, and it would be in the nature of a miracle if a man could be found in whom there is no fault—and when it is remembered how often the “Pandora box of contumely” has been opened on the head of Mr. Ingersoll, it becomes a mystery to all, except to those who have been admitted within the charmed circle of his confidence, how he has preserved that almost divine equanimity which makes him cheerful and forgiving amidst volleys of cruel criticism.

I write of Mr. Ingersoll because I have had repeated opportunities to know and to study his acts and utterances away from the glare and blare of great assemblages where his splendid oratory and magnetism compel applause—where every appearance secures an ovation and where men and women of great intellect and refinement deem it a privilege to pay him such tributes of esteem and affection as only genius commands.

It were needless to write of such occasions. The civilized world is familiar with the exuberant satisfactions which the people display when Mr. Ingersoll's oratory touches all the keys

of the heart and mind, compelling responses akin to those which the great masters extort from cathedral organs.

In the *rôle* of orator Mr. Ingersoll has

Trod the way of glory
And sounded all the depths and shoals of fame.

In that direction there is nothing left to tempt his ambition. The world has crowned him as the most daring in the flights of fancy and poetic imagery. His soarings are those of the bird of Jove, and in the domain of his imagination he

Wings his course from star to star,
From world to luminous world as far
As the universe spreads its flaming walls,

And brings back gems of truth and justice which dazzle and bewilder beholders. His are

Thoughts that breathe and words that burn.

And for the time being his audiences under the spell of his enrapturing oratory are molded and fashioned into worshipers such as the modern world has seldom been called upon to contemplate.

It may be said, and should be said, that Mr. Ingersoll's life work has been to destroy degrading shams and superstitions. In this iconoclastic crusade he has kindled the fierce furies of bigots and won the implacable hatred of hypocrites, and he would long since have worn the jeweled crown of martyrdom, except for the enlightening influence of Truth, which, here and there, along the track of centuries has redeemed men from bondage compared with which death would have been a benediction.

In this connection I introduce the testimony of Rev. Thomas Dixon, of New York, who declares that Mr. Ingersoll "has done much to rid the world of the superstitions, lies, shams, humbugs, traditions, and pretenses that used to pass current as orthodox truth." Such is the admission of an orthodox clergyman, who has published a book of ten sermons to arrest the conquering mission of Mr. Ingersoll.

If it be true that a man who makes two spears of grass grow where before but one was found, is the benefactor of his race,

what must be the estimate of a man who uproots a superstition, unshackles the immortal mind, sets the imprisoned soul at liberty, and wrests from bigotry its worse than murderous weapons? This work of wondrous good and glory the Rev. Mr. Dixon says Mr. Ingersoll has performed. Coming from an orthodox pulpit, it has startling significance. It shows that the bulwarks of superstition, bigotry, intolerance, and ignorance are tumbling down as do walls and buildings when in the grasp of an earthquake. It presents Mr. Ingersoll in his sacred mission, on the stage, with his needle of satire, stringing orthodox theologians on the thread of his masterly logic as if they were so many gnats or tarantulas. It is that refinement of torture bigots feel when one by one their superstitions take wings and fly away to return no more while the stars shine and the tides ebb and flow.

As I write of Mr. Ingersoll I am tempted to turn to his published utterances and select gems of thought which everywhere abound, with which to embellish this imperfect tribute of his well-earned fame and to show the "mighty wrongs" he has assailed and the "petty perfidies" he has overcome. In such a task I could easily find a beginning, but embarrassments would multiply when a conclusion was sought. Fortunately such a labor of love is not required since in ten thousand memories "the Niagara of gems" which has flowed from Ingersoll's brain and heart, flashes and blazes with ever-increasing luster.

To see Mr. Ingersoll on the rostrum when his aroused genius "courts the sunbeam's fire," when he wears his dagger in his mouth and the enemies of Liberty and Truth fall before him like shanties in the pathway of a cyclone, is to behold a revelation of power which bewilders the senses and in the presence of which exaggeration has no mission; but after all, it is not on the rostrum where the gifted American shines in his full-orbed splendor. To see him at his best is to see him at his home. It is a focal center where all human affections converge, where they soothe every care, hallow every desire, elevate every thought, and subdue every trial; where every look and tone opens the way for sunshine to the heart. There, four genera-

tions live in perpetual bliss, and every aspiration is for the happiness of all.

This home is where Mr. Ingersoll and his lovely and loving wife reign acknowledged sovereigns, twin stars in an earthly heaven never visited by clouds, where the good, the beautiful, and the true shed their perpetual radiance, where every longing of the heart and every aspiration of the soul brings ceaseless benedictions.

In the beautiful home of Mr. Ingersoll and his family there is neither artifice nor suspicion. High-bred disdain banishes all disguise. Childhood and advanced years, woman's smiles and manly sympathy, the music of love and the joys which are its perpetual fruits, blend in such wonderful harmony as to constitute a vision of an earthly paradise such as angels might envy.

It would be strange, indeed, if Mr. Ingersoll were not a man of boundless charity, "the noblest impulse a generous mind can feel," or a charity bounded only by the means at his command. Benevolence is one of his distinguishing traits—quick to perceive merit, once discovered, neither hesitancy nor circumlocution marks his action. His hand quickly follows the impulse of his great, throbbing, loving heart, and such aid as he can bestow promptly relieves the victims of misfortune and sends them forth rejoicing. Truly wise, he is truly generous, and the tears he has dried would astonish his detractors; and the songs of joy he has made sad hearts sing along their weary pilgrimage, could they be heard in cathedrals, would drown the deep-toned notes of organs.

What more need I say to impress the reader with the conviction that Mr. Ingersoll is worthy of loftier praise than I am capable of bestowing? Well may it be said that

He that has light within his own clear breast
May sit i' the center and enjoy bright day.

And this light, in such effulgence as falls only to the lot of the few, Mr. Ingersoll possesses. It makes him serene when others exhibit unrest. In the mature prime of his manhood, the pathway he has trod is luminous with the victories he has won and the kind and gentle acts he has performed. His conscience,

which is "the oracle of God," is not of the scorpion tribe to lash him into disquietude. In his imagination no angry gods are dreaded and no hells here or hereafter, are pictured. There are no ghosts or goblins he dare not challenge and smite down. He is forever leading men away from the jungles of superstition and despair to those highlands of vision and thought where great and good men and women live above the polluted air of the bogs and fens of ignorance and intolerance.

If fate decrees long life to Mr. Ingersoll, what he has accomplished for man's redemption from debasing superstitions is but as A in the alphabet of coming triumphs—if, however, his brilliant light is to be eclipsed by death before other victories are inscribed on his conquering banner, then let it be believed that like all the world's valiant men, "he will die but once," and that the scene will be like one "who wraps the drapery of his couch about him and lies down to pleasant dreams."

EUGENE V. DEBS.

THE VICE OF FICTITIOUS CORPORATE CAPITALIZATION.

BY JAMES A. LOGAN, LL.D.

THE increase of corporations in this country, whether considered with relation to the growth of the old or the creation of the new, may be fairly characterized as startling. That existing corporations should increase seems a necessity of their successful life. It was well said, at a late annual meeting, by the president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, that the well-known rule that the end of growth is the beginning of decay is quite as apt in application to corporate as to natural existence. We therefore find successful corporations adding to their property and to their facilities, constantly and steadily. So rapid is this growth that in some instances a decade of time brings about the doubling of the capital.

The increase in the number of corporations is, however, still more remarkable. A few years ago, when it became the policy in most of the states, enforced by legislative enactment and constitutional provision, that corporations should cease to be created by special legislation and only be organized pursuant to general laws, it was by many supposed that the increase in numbers would be checked. That this was a mistake is demonstrated by the following tables giving the aggregate of charters granted in Pennsylvania, first by special act of the legislature in the two years immediately preceding the adoption of the constitutional provision prohibiting the granting of charters by special legislation; and second, for several two year periods since then of charters granted by the governor (several periods being given to show the uniform growth in numbers):

Charters granted by legislature : 1872 and 1873, 169. Charters granted by the governor under general legislation : 1878 and 1879, 262 ; 1880 and 1881, 427 ; 1882 and 1883, 540 ; 1884

and 1885, 812 ; 1886 and 1887, 968 ; 1888 and 1889, 1,028 ; 1890 and 1891, 1,391.

The foregoing list does not include charters of railroad companies, some of which before, and all of which since 1874 were granted pursuant to general legislation, nor does it include street passenger railway corporations granted under general legislation, nor any of the vast mass of corporations not for profit, to which charters are granted by the courts.

The result above given as to Pennsylvania may, I think, be held to be substantially true as to at least the other active business states in the Union. The elements of combination and exemption from personal liability, beyond the amount invested, that are characteristic of corporate organization, seem to have been wonderfully attractive and persuasive for all lines of effort. Whilst in the earlier periods corporate effort was largely confined to the leading undertakings where quasi public duties were mainly to be discharged and generally through the necessary aid of the sovereign franchise of eminent domain, or the right to take private property for public use, to-day mere business enterprises for personal purposes, many of no great magnitude, have called to their aid a larger number of corporations employing in the aggregate more capital than those of a quasi public character.

We ascertain from the statistics of railways in the United States, published by the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1892, that the total railway capital of the United States was \$9,829,475,015. The amount of capital employed in all other corporations is impossible of exact ascertainment ; that it is vast in amount may be inferred from the fact that the Standard Oil Trust (since dissolved, but component parts preserved) represented a capitalization of \$90,000,000, the American Bell Telephone Company, \$17,000,000, the American Cotton Oil Company, \$30,500,000, the Adams Express Company, \$12,000,000, the American Express Company, \$18,000,000, the American Sugar Refining Company, \$50,000,000, the American Tobacco Company, \$35,000,000, the Chicago Gas Company, about \$45,000,000, the Metropolitan Traction Company of New York,

\$30,000,000. Add to these the so-called trusts composed largely of corporations, instances of which are the Anthracite Coal Combination, the Cordage Trust, the Match Trust, the Starch Trust, the Sugar Trust, the Umbrella Trust, the Barbed Wire Trust, the Biscuit and Cracker Trust, the Celluloid Trust, the Linseed Oil Trust, the Plate Glass Trust, the Rubber Combine, and the Gas Trust, and that almost innumerable number of other associations controlling almost every branch of transportation, manufacturing industry, and natural product available for man's necessities and we have capitalization the magnitude of which can scarcely be imagined.

Apropos of this, the New York Stock Exchange furnishes some interesting figures. During 1892 the new listings of stocks and bonds aggregated \$518,781,311, increasing the total amount listed to \$8,765,900,167. Including the unlisted, the aggregate value of all the stocks and bonds dealt in at the exchange exceeds \$10,000,000,000, enough to give every man, woman, and child in the country \$153, four times the total debt of the United States at its maximum.

We have, then, the conditions of immense and rapid increase in the number of corporations and the fact of the absorption by corporate agencies of the principal business of the country, and the consequent enormous capitalization involved. These considerations affect first the investor, large or small, who seeks a living through the use of his capital. The large holder of capital may be well trusted to take care of himself. The vast number of small holders, however, consisting of the aged, the physically incapable, the widow, the minor, the orphan, and others are mainly dependent for maintenance upon the product of a comparatively limited amount of money. These are not able to compete in business with corporations and are compelled, because of the absence of other sources occasioned in large part by the existing conditions referred to, to invest in securities based upon corporate enterprises. Such investors must depend upon the honest and successful management of their corporate projects employing their capital.

But another large portion of the public is no less, indeed, I

apprehend much more, involved in and dependent upon these enterprises, namely, those who must use the agencies and consume the products of corporations. Among these may be instanced those who use the great corporate highways, either traveling in person and paying the charge therefor or having their product carried to market and paying the freight thereon, and also that great body of citizens who consume the product of corporate creation, development, and manufacture. All these (and who is not to some extent one of them?) are dependent on the integrity, fidelity, security, and economy of corporate management.

The states have created these artificial corporations and have generously given to them of the public franchise, such grants being justifiable only on the theory that these creatures thus constituted are intended to, and will in fact, discharge valuable and useful functions to the natural citizen. All this justifies reasonable legislative regulation and a just but rugged supervising public sentiment.

It seems to me there is to-day a call for the exercise of both these last-named wholesome guards—legislation and public sentiment—in at least one noted matter of excess capitalization. That this prevails to an alarming degree is a fact well known to all familiar with corporate organizations and management. That it is inadequately legislated against, and that public sentiment is ineffectual as yet to suppress or even control it, are manifest not only from the extent to which these excess issues are carried, but also from the publicity with which they are heralded and the respectability of those who engage either in the issue or sale of the securities.

As to one branch of corporation let me again refer to the statistics prepared by the Interstate Commerce Commission for the year 1892. We are there told that the capitalization of railroads in the United States is at the rate of \$60,942 per mile of line. Does anybody believe that this amount of money, or labor and material representative of this amount of money, was used in the construction of these lines?

I may as well say here, for want of a better place, that I am

not impressed by the Interstate Commerce Commission's criticism of the disproportion of corporate bonds to stock. The public is interested in knowing that the aggregate of outstanding securities does not exceed the actual cost or value of the corporate property or plant. How much of this just aggregate shall pay an absolute interest and have a fixed time for maturing and be represented in the form of bonds; or how much shall pay a contingent interest dependent upon earnings, have an indefinite date of maturity, and be represented by stock, I do not think will ever cause much trouble if the two pieces of paper—bonds and stock—bear a reasonable relation the one to the other and have back of them, in labor or materials, the dollars named on their face.

But, returning to the proposition of actual overissue, the reader may imagine that I am magnifying the present situation in this regard, and that the truth is, that while old time stocks were watered and bonds issued in bales, that time has passed and those now issued are genuine representatives of value. If so, I commend him to his banker or broker or to any one familiar with the actual situation, for information.

It will, of course, be the struggle of the managers to make the public who use the highways or consume the product of these greatly watered corporations, pay enough therefor to make profitable the capital so inordinately issued. This much anybody, I think, will agree to offhand. But will not the thoughtful mind go much further in its reflection and if, in the struggle to make the public take care of these undue issues of securities, the public should somehow or other prevail, or if the promoters should prove to have been mistaken in the forecast of the situation with reference to probable profit under the most favorable conditions, what becomes of that portion of the public who invested their money on the faith that these securities represented dollars actually expended, or the true and fair value of plant actually existing?

You ask, is there no legislative regulation in this behalf? In several of the states there is legislation on this matter. There was a statute enacted in 1887 by the General Assembly of Penn-

sylvania which was thought to be prohibitive as to railroads. The reader will be quite as good a judge of this as I when I have given a brief sketch of its substance. It provides that no railroad or its officers shall issue capital stock for less than the full par value paid into the treasury when issued for cash ; that when issued for labor or property, not until the president and chief engineer shall file in the office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth their affidavits of the actual value of the labor and property, and stock shall only be issued for such actual value ; that no bonds at all shall be issued until after the full amount of capital stock shall have been fully paid for nor at any time in excess of the amount of capital stock actually paid for ; nor shall such bonds be issued for less than their full market value. The act further provides that stock or bonds otherwise issued shall be void, and makes the issuing of them penal.

The fact that since the passage of the act above referred to there have been one or two well-known and much heralded instances where, in corporate projects of considerable magnitude, bonds and stock in double the amount of expenditure have been issued under advice of reputable counsel, and the securities marketed by well-known brokers, leads to the conclusion that this law was not well considered. As there is no more specific legislation, to my knowledge, in the other states, probably none so thorough in any, it must be manifest that we are without legislation in this country of practical value on this subject. We must have precise drastic legislation backed by an aroused and asserted public opinion, to insure a radical cure of this evil.

So long as corporate managers and bankers and brokers are enabled, from positions of absolute security as far as liability for loss when calamity comes to the public is concerned, to foist with their approval, express or implied, upon the community these fictitious securities, so long will the investing public be induced to take them ; so long will the using and consuming public be required to pay the excess price that will be necessary to earn an interest return on the fictitious issue of capital ; and so long will the confiding small investor have in his bureau drawer an inflated piece of paper which may or may not be

paid, and at his door an inflated bill for the necessities of life which must be paid. This position of managerial and stock-broking security, under conditions such as we have enumerated, must, I repeat, be disturbed by legislatures and courts inspired by a wholesome public sentiment.

It should be kept in mind that outraged public sentiment, even when justly aroused, itself often becomes outrageous in both purpose and act, and to prevent the destructive result which I seriously apprehend will come if the practice referred to continues, it should be stopped now. No corporation manager or banker can find a better field for the employment of substantial philanthropy fruitful of good result, than by discouraging and refusing to have part in the issue of paper in excess of the number of dollars actually paid, or honest value of property actually owned.

The proposition that there is no sentiment in business is often, but not always, sound in application to affairs; but the difference between sentiment and fiction is wide and their characteristics discordant. Fiction has its harmless field and innocent fancy; business, however, must rest on truth, and fiction is not truthful.

The seller who misrepresents willfully, that is to say knowingly, the value of his wares, has tainted his transaction with a vice which it will be the glad office of a court of equity to correct by striking down the bargain and holding the wrongful seller in damages. Whether such misrepresentation consists in words used or in writings exhibited, is quite indifferent,—the transaction is equally tainted. To cause to be written in a conveyance evidencing the ownership of property, personal or real, a consideration in double the amount of the price paid, with the purpose of thereby influencing the judgment of one to whom such a taker means to make a re-sale, is, in the eyes of the law, a fraudulent act.

All this, I fancy, will seem as of course when associated with the instances given. Do not these suggestions, however commonplace they may seem, have direct application to corporate officers who cause to be issued securities for double the value of the price paid for them; particularly when it is considered that

such securities are issued for the purpose of barter and the price named on their face is an inducement to purchase? Is it too harsh to call this action fraudulent? But why try to prove by logic, or to make apparent by rhetoric, a conclusion the statement of which is itself a demonstration?

I am a believer in both the necessity and value of corporate agencies, and am not convinced that their growth in numbers or extent is in itself either abnormal or dangerous; but rather hold this to be a healthful sign of the times. Corporations are safe and fruitful methods of utilizing capital, accomplishing public enterprises, and working public economies, and as such they should be nurtured and encouraged. It is only insisted that they shall be governed with reference to the public by the same safe and salutary principles which all experience has demonstrated to be the wisest and safest, that is to say, by frank statement and common honesty.

It is a pleasure to know, as I can testify from abundant observation, that the large majority of the corporations of this country have originated in correct principles, are inspired by honest motives, and are administered with high rectitude. It is in behalf of this large number that I want to suggest to the others, and those mainly of modern instance, that the growing practice to which I have attempted to address this paper should be discountenanced and made subject to legal control.

Hostile criticisms of corporations abound; unjust influences with hostile purposes are assailing them from many points, generally based on misinformation and untruthful allegation, sometimes honestly maintained, but more frequently malevolently conceived. This character of attack gives a thoughtful friend of corporations no serious uneasiness, because the American public can in the long run be relied on to shield proper enterprise from unjust assault. The public will not, however, protect against a self-administered taint except by repression or a rigorous control. The avoidance of this result is in the control of the corporations themselves. The threatening peril, therefore, is the wounds which may be received in the house of their friends.

JAMES A. LOGAN.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

Socialism: From Genesis to Revelation. By the Rev. F. M. Sprague. 12mo, 493 pp. Boston : Lee & Shepard.

We doubt whether any clearer exposition of the principles and purposes of socialism or any stronger argument in its favor has been given to the public than that set forth in this volume. The author tells us in the preface that the work was begun as an investigation, continued as a study, and completed as a conviction. He considers it a favorable omen that wise and good men all over the world are devoting themselves to the study of sociology and thinks that the social dangers that threaten us can no longer be ignored.

On the socialistic hand he places five fingers : 1, economic ; 2, social ; 3, moral ; 4, political ; 5, religious. The index finger points to a more equal and just distribution of wealth ; the next points out labor rather than birth or wealth as the condition of social recognition ; the moral finger points to the principles of justice and brotherhood, for socialism bases its demands upon simple justice ; the political finger points out the state as the only power capable of introducing and sustaining the new order of things ; the fifth finger is the religious, which our author sees pointing directly to literal transcripts from the New Testament as the sure foundation upon which socialism rests.

He defends socialism from the stigma that clings to it on account of the utterances of some unprincipled leaders and affirms that modern socialism as believed and taught by good and able men exalts the home and marriage as divine institutions. He draws a strong contrast between capitalism and socialism, in which the former appears in a very unfavorable light.

Among the many causes of the rapid growth of socialism, Mr. Sprague mentions :

1. The introduction of machinery. He quotes from competent authorities to show that the introduction of machinery has so changed economic conditions as to make socialism a necessity. He asserts that under capitalism the workman exists for the machine, while socialism demands that the machine shall exist for the workman.

2. The concentration of capital. By uniting their capital manufacturers now enable a few immense establishments in the cities to do the work formerly done in villages and hamlets, thus throwing people who had heretofore been industrious into idleness. He declares that more than 850 woolen mills have been closed since 1860, while a similar condition is true of other industries.

3. Division and consequent degradation of labor. The author dilates on this topic which has before been the subject of thoughtful comment by some of our magazine writers. It is maintained that the laborer who makes an article entire has demands upon his judgment and skill which tend to his improvement mentally as well as physically, while under the prevailing plan of dividing and subdividing the labor in our factories a man is simply a human machine feeding a labor-saving machine—doing work that requires no exercise of mind and very little of body—and that this continued from day to day, and year to year, must dwarf the mind and belittle the man.

4. The separation of industrial classes. Dr. Ely says, "It is maintained that democracy to be real must be economic as well as political," and, using this as a text, Mr. Sprague makes a strong argument against the present capitalistic or wage system. The inequality between the manager who receives \$10,000 a year and the operative who may in most respects be the superior of the manager but who gets barely enough to keep body and soul from parting company is not conducive to a friendly feeling on the part of one toward the other. He says, "Political equality, the ripe fruit of Christianity, implies all other kinds of equality that Christian ethics demand."

5. Competition. He regards this as the cause pre-eminent of socialism, around which work, wages, and prices revolve. He shows very clearly, as Dr. Gladden and others have done before, that in our competitive method of doing business the most grasping, unfeeling, and unscrupulous manufacturers are the ones that fix the price of labor. Buyers simply ask for the price, and if the manufacturer has so little soul as to do business on starvation wages, and thus be able to make a low price, other manufacturers must either follow suit or quit business.

6. Monopoly. Our author is particularly interesting in discussing this topic. An extract will give an idea of his argument.

Monopolies force small industries out of business and small traders and manufacturers into the ranks of laborers. Monopoly is therefore the industrial "slaughter of the innocents." Against these powerful combinations the complaint is widespread and bitter.

Labor is oppressed. When a poor man seeks employment in a great cotton mill or railroad corporation, he has absolutely nothing to say in the matter; the work is fixed, the wages are fixed, the time of payment is fixed by the more powerful party and he must accept them or starve. All talk about freedom of contract to such a man is exasperating. Helpless as a child, he might as well undertake to negotiate with a cyclone. What then? Is the corporation at fault? No; but the capitalistic system.

If the great mill can produce cheaper than the small one, it will and ought to survive. Socialism says this principle of combination or co-operation is sound; the greater the plant, the less the cost of production. Let the principle, therefore, be extended to the whole social body. Put the mill and the railroad into the hands of the state and we shall have industrial freedom. Private monopoly in any trade or industry is the enemy of industrial freedom and of the public good. Public monopolies such as post service, highways, etc., benefit all people and are a public good.

7. Overproduction. Contrary to some modern political economists who claim that there has never been any overproduction, but rather under consumption or lack of distribution, Mr. Sprague takes the position that overproduction under our present system is, in many cases, unavoidable. So long as each individual acts simply for himself without reference to what others are doing, there is no way of adjusting the supply to the demand, and there is danger either of scarcity or overproduction. As an example, there were \$6,500,000 worth of cotton in

the South on the first of January, 1892, that nobody seemed to want. Under socialism a central bureau would estimate the amount needed, and regulate the acreage to be planted.

Among other causes of socialism which the author ably discusses are commercial crises, pauperism, class legislation, spread of the democratic principle, the dissemination of knowledge, and the decay of religion.

Profit sharing, which has received unlimited praise from many writers of a socialistic tendency, finds but little favor with Mr. Sprague. He regards it as altogether one-sided, the employer sharing just as much or as little of the profits as he may see fit. In fact, he knocks profit sharing out in a single sentence, so far as benefiting the workingman is concerned, when he says that ninety per cent of employers cannot share profits for the very good reason that they have no profits to share.

No review can do the book justice. The writer uses good language and good logic. He quotes freely and aptly from the ablest writers on the subject both pro and con, and makes the most of them to strengthen his cause. All students of sociology should read this book. Those who are in the line of the author's thought should read it to gain strength to help the cause he so ably champions, while those who are opposed should hasten to read it in order to refute what they may consider dangerous fallacies.

Epochs of American History. By Prof. Albert Bushnell Hart. 16mo., 280 pp.

This is the second volume of the series of three volumes being issued by the enterprising house of Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. Volume I. which we noticed some time ago, was written by Reuben Gold Thwaites and treated of "The Colonies" from 1492 to 1750. The present volume treats of "The Formation of the Union" covering the period from 1750 to 1829.

We do not recall any book of the same size that contains so much valuable historical information as Professor Hart has given us in this little work. It is written in an interesting connected

style and not in the "jerky" fashion so frequently found in books that aim to give much in little space. There are but few "waste words" in the book.

One very commendable feature of the book is the fact that battles and bloody heroes are not magnified to an inordinate degree. He disposes of the fighting period of the Revolutionary War in about twenty pages, and yet the novice who reads his narrative will have a clearer idea of the great struggle than he could acquire by wading through the large volumes that seem to be written on the principle that the fighting is in itself of more importance than the causes that lead to it or the results that grow out of it.

This book will be found interesting and profitable to the general reader and especially valuable to the live teacher who wishes to make his subject interesting.

Papers in Penology.

This is the second series of papers compiled by the editor of *The Summary*. The paper is edited and printed by the inmates of the New York Reformatory at Elmira. The work on this book editorially and mechanically was all done by the inmates of the reformatory and its quality would be creditable to any publishing house in the country.

It includes seven papers, four of which may be called historical and three scientific. The historical are *The Prisons of Great Britain*, by Jay S. Butler; *New York's Prison Laws*, by Eugene Smith; *Prison Labor Systems*, and *The Elmira Reformatory of To-Day*, by the editor of *The Summary*. The scientific papers are, *Leading principles of Modern Prison Science*, *The Philosophy of Crime and Punishment*, by Dr. Wm. T. Harris, and *Criminal Anthropology*, by Dr. Hamilton D. Wey. Mr. Smith's article combines so much of the scientific with the historic that it might be classed as a thoroughly scientific paper. They are all able papers by able men and contain a large fund of valuable information.

If we may be permitted to criticise the utterances of so prominent a man as Dr. Harris, we will say that while his philosophy

of crime may be good as far as it goes, the little he has to offer on philosophy of punishment is hardly up to the standard of modern scientific thought on the subject. For example, he says:

"In the course of the ages of human history the state has learned how to secure justice—that is to say, how to measure crime and inflict punishment. It has discovered that this can be done by returning the deed on the head of the doer. It does this symbolically rather than literally. It says to the murderer, 'you have taken the life of a fellow man; your act shall come home to you, shall take your own life either on the scaffold or in prison unto a life sentence.' Or it says to a thief, 'your act was to take away property which is man's means of independence—you shall lose your independence as a consequence of the deed coming home to you, and you shall sit in a gaol.'"

Unless we have misread history it did not take many ages for the human race to reach this height of the philosophy of punishment, and it has for ages been trying to unlearn it and learn something better in its place. There is little, so far as we are able to see, in this view of punishment above that taken by the antediluvians.

Penological and Preventive Principles. By William Tallack, Secretary of the Howard Association. 8vo, 408 pp. Price, 8s. London: Wertheimer, Lea & Co.

The Howard Association was organized in London in 1866 and has come to be one of the best known societies in the world in its line of work. Naturally the work of a man who has been secretary of such a society for twenty years will receive careful consideration.

Mr. Tallack, like all true prison reformers, puts more stress on preventive than punitive measures, and devotes the first chapter to the discussion of the "First Principles in Diminishing Crime and Pauperism." Among much sound advice, he offers cautionary suggestions regarding the distribution of charity, believing that mere almsgiving without assisting those upon whom it is bestowed to help themselves, may work injury both to its objects and to the community. He sees a danger in the tendency of universal suffrage to increase pauperization by voting away other people's money, and intimates that there is danger even in running to free schools, free libraries, liberal out-

door relief, and free dinners. The idea that there is any danger of pauperizing either those who found free libraries and free schools or those who patronize them is not likely to find much favor, at least in the United States.

In order to deal with crime successfully, he advocates as necessary the threefold combination of prevention, repression, and reformation. Among the causes of crime to which prevention may be applied with good results he names intemperance, overcrowding, ignorance, idleness, and ungodliness. He regards repression as a minor influence in comparison with prevention and points to the fact that the freedom of Great Britain, America, Holland, and Scandinavia has been more effective in dealing with nihilism and other forms of anarchy than has the guillotine or dungeon of other countries. In fact, he seems to have but little faith in physical force as a moral power. In speaking of prostitution, he says :

It would appear that more than a few of the professed advocates of public morality have the least faith in the power of moral suasion, if one may judge by their clamor for the enforcement of social virtue mainly by the help of police, penalties, and prisons. As to prostitution, for example, many persons seek to deal with it chiefly by driving the unfortunate women "from pillar to post" and by urging the police to keep them moving on, and to shut up their lodgings. In Berlin this kind of policy has been carried out with special rigor. Thousands of wretched girls have been locked up ; many of them have been arrested repeatedly, and brothels have been suppressed by the score. And with what result ? With this : that Berlin remains one of the most immoral cities in Europe,—a place where prostitution is, perhaps, more generally diffused amongst the households, and scattered over the whole town than anywhere else, and for the very simple and sufficient reason that the causes and sources of this vice have there been left comparatively untouched. It is as impossible for any police to suppress or extinguish vice by mere force, as it is for a quack doctor to cure leprosy by covering the diseased limbs with sticking plaster.

Like most men who make a study of crime and criminals, Mr. Tallack is inclined to look rather leniently upon evil doers as a class. He says :

Whilst much poverty is self-created, a large proportion of it is the inevitable result of social and hereditary causes uncontrolled by the sufferer. . . . How much of the vice and crime of Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other crowded cities arises almost by sheer irresistible

necessity, from the shocking crowding of whole families into *single rooms* or houses of a *single room*,—the sole scene of birth, wedlock, and death, feeding, living, and sleeping. Yet near some of these cities, thousands of fair acres are permanently kept waste for the enjoyment of a few sportsmen. Is not this a grave injustice toward man and toward God? When will Scotland, in particular, rouse herself and deliver her poorest population from such terrible evils of criminal overcrowding and cruelly locked land?

The second chapter is devoted to prison systems, which he says are generally unsatisfactory. While he regards English prisons as better than those of most other countries, he considers them far from what they should be. He condemns the jails as commonly managed both in Europe and America, as demoralizing, and quotes from the report of the Ohio Board of Charities in 1888, in which it is declared, "With half a dozen excepted, every jail in Ohio is a moral pest house and a school of crime."

The author displays a familiarity with the prison systems all over the civilized world, and describes those of France, Germany, Russia, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, and Egypt, while he devotes fully as much space to the United States as to England. What he says of us is true in the main, though he has evidently at times mistaken for fact the fiction of some disordered imagination. The quotation that he gives from William Saunders, M. P., who in describing his visit to this country speaks of the great danger of highway robbery in the United States and of the great number of ladies to be seen driving, mostly on the way to jail to see their friends, is the veriest bosh.

He regards the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia as the best prison in America. He discusses the Elmira Reformatory at considerable length, and evidently would be better pleased if he could find some tenable grounds for criticism. While Mr. Tallack does not belong to the number of those who believe in keeping convicts in filth and permitting them to freeze and starve, he has not yet been able to free his mind entirely from the barbarian idea still clinging to civilization, that punishment should be inflicted, if not as a help to reformation at least as a supposed religious duty. In speaking of

Elmira he seems to have the same forebodings that have wrought so heavily upon the mind of Mr. William P. Andrews, of Massachusetts, who seems to think that prisons have been made so comfortable and the condition of criminals so delightful that honest men hasten to do evil in order to enjoy the luxuries of a prison life.

He says in reference to the claim that eighty per cent of the inmates of Elmira go out prepared to become law-abiding citizens :

Even if it be so, such a result, however good in itself, is quite compatible with an absolute increase of criminals being produced among the outside community by the knowledge that the discipline of so large an establishment furnishes so many advantages to the evil doers and is in so small a degree calculated to deter.

This argument leads to the conclusion that the one who made it, with all his experience and knowledge, is still ignorant regarding one of the universal and predominating characteristics of human nature ; for all the talk about prison comforts and the danger that men will commit crime simply to enjoy the pleasures of a prison home is the sheerest nonsense. If the doors of the most comfortable, and most humanely conducted prison in the world were to be thrown open to-morrow morning and the inmates told to go or remain as they might elect, not two per cent would be found within the prison walls an hour after the order was promulgated, and those that remained would be fit subjects either for the hospital or the insane asylum. What Mr. Tallack alludes to and what may be a fact, that the inmates of Elmira are better fed and clothed than some honest people outside, does not argue that the condition of the one is too good but that the lot of the other is too poor.

On the subject of corporal punishment Mr. Tallack argues both sides and then in the face of his strongest argument decides that a moderate amount of an evil thing may be a good thing. He falls into the popular idea that the state should pattern after the lawbreaker and allow its dealings with him to be influenced by what he may have done. That is if a man has been endowed with so little manhood and feeling as to torture a helpless child,

the state should take on to some extent the condition of the human monster and in turn torture him.

In the discussion of capital punishment he is very reasonable and conservative. He is of the opinion that the difficulty and uncertainty of enforcing the death penalty renders it of little deterring influence. Life imprisonment is, however, even more horrible to him than prompt execution, for he is convinced that in a majority of cases absolute life imprisonment is not so much a substitute for capital punishment as a slower and more disadvantageous way of inflicting it. He considers cellular imprisonment for life a most cruel mode of killing by protracted torture.

He takes the humane and sensible view, that life sentences might well be abolished even for the worst of crimes, and by substituting long but definite terms of imprisonment leave some faint glimmer of hope even for the worst criminals. This view has been held by a few American penologists, prominent among them being the great Wendell Phillips. While such a step would be looked upon as extremely dangerous to the average man, it is dictated by the growing spirit of humanity as well as justified by the lessons of experience. It is almost the unanimous testimony of prison officials that the convicts for murder are as a rule more obedient and more susceptible to reformatory influences than any other class of prisoners. Mr. Tallack thinks that, in view of the large number of murderers that have been liberated in England and other countries without serious results to the public, twenty years might safely be fixed as the maximum sentence for the worst criminals, with some conditions in certain cases as to their residence after release.

The book is valuable not so much for its philosophy as for its history, facts, and statistics, and as it has been published some time it has, no doubt, found its way to the libraries of most of those interested in the study of "man's inhumanity to man."

White Slaves. By the Rev. Louis Albert Banks, D.D. 12mo, 327 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

A Boston clergyman made a thorough and systematic investigation into the condition of the poor in his city and details his

experience in this book. It is a powerful arraignment of those heartless creatures who have come to be designated as "sweaters," concerning which he says:

That word sweater is not in the old dictionary. It is a foul word, born of the greed and infernal lust for gold which pervade the most reckless and wicked financial circles of our time. The sweater takes large contracts and divides them out among the very poor, reducing the price to starvation limits and reserving the profits for himself.

The tumble-down tenements, rickety stairs, mouldy walls, foul air, dirt, filth, vermin, stench, and disease are the same forbidding creatures that most readers have met time and time again in descriptions of city life. He makes out a case against the sweater and the grasping, heartless landlord strong enough to consign them to eternal infamy. The following is one of his strong word pictures :

For every one who is hoarding up his millions and who is dominated by the love of gold for its very shine and glitter, there are hundreds and thousands who are toiling for insufficient wages, and are suffering in poverty and want that this lordly worshiper may pay his devotions to the money god. If some of these money kings who have made their millions by the oppression of the poor in mines, and mills, and factories, were suddenly called to face the bones of the dead who have gone to their graves from weary unrequited slavery, in order for their financial triumph, they would stand back aghast at the price of their own success.

It is this worship of the gold god which is at the bottom of all the wrongs which have been pointed out in these discourses. The wealthy merchant who pays the poor widows one cent apiece for making white aprons, and by his avarice and lust induces the young women who sell them to eke out their scanty wages by the sale of their honor, is a worshiper of the gold god. The sweater who parcels out his work through the miserable tenement houses, grinding the face of the poor to the very last degree possible with physical existence,—indeed many times beyond the possibility of physical existence, except when helped by charity,—is an obsequious devotee at the altar of Mammon. The chattel-mortgage shark, who watches all the necessities of the poor as anxiously as ever a hawk watched over a helpless or a crippled bird, and the liquor seller, who fills his coffers by a traffic which injures and destroys the health, the intelligence, and the morality of all the people whom he can draw into his net, are only brothers to the others who gather to pay their devotions to the god of gold.

Mr. Banks and others have done their duty well in calling attention to the terrible condition of thousands of working poor

in our large cities. What is now needed more particularly is some philanthropic genius to suggest a prompt and effective remedy and put it into good working order.

The Golden Calf. By Hjalmar Hjorth Boyesen. 12mo, 230 pp. Meadville, Pa.: Flood & Vincent.

This is a novel by the well-known Norwegian who has become by adoption one of the best of Americans. It deals about equally with love, and the corrupt practices common in business and political life. The hero of the story, Oliver Tappan, was a country boy who had the good fortune or perhaps more properly the misfortune to secure a clerkship in the city, from which he rose or descended, according to the view one may take of it, until he became a railroad and a bank president, a millionaire, and finally a boodle member of Congress, elected for the special purpose of getting the government franchise for a transcontinental railway.

The author describes in fine language the different steps in his hero's life, and finely illustrates the powerful influence of wealth, ambition, and associations over the natural and better characteristics of the individual. By nature Oliver Tappan was a young man of good impulses, but under the influences that surround men who devote all their energies to money getting his conscience lost its power to guide, and he acted on the principle that he was not responsible for congressional corruption but only profited by its existence. His marriage, too, as might be expected, was a sad failure for the reason that he broke off the engagement with the girl to whom he was betrothed in boyhood, to marry the daughter of his employer, who was entirely devoid of all true womanly instincts and lived only to make a display of wealth.

The corrupt practices in business and politics are portrayed in strong colors, though perhaps no stronger than the facts intended to be represented will warrant, for there is undoubtedly a great deal of disreputable work excused on the ground that it is done in politics. As our hero is made to say: "Many things have to be done in politics which in his private affairs no gentleman

would think of doing. This is a necessary concession to the depravity of human nature."

The Tobacco Problem. By Margaret Woods Laurence. 12mo, 309 pp. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

This useful book has reached the fifth edition and has been revised and enlarged. The authoress has made a long and careful study of the tobacco habit and makes a vigorous onslaught upon it from all sides. It must be admitted even by the most confirmed tobacco user that any one who may choose to direct his efforts against the filthy weed has a wide field and need have no difficulty in finding strong arguments. Indeed, if tobacco has one single redeeming quality to commend it to a cleanly, healthy, and reasonable man or woman, its friends should hasten to proclaim it. If the filthy use of this harmful weed were confined to some tribe of Indians or some horde in Central Africa, the so-called civilized portion of humanity would look upon the habit with disgust, but as Pope puts it, "Vice is a monster of so frightful mien," etc.

Mrs. Laurence attacks the vice on account of its expense, its injury to body and mind, and of its filthy character or interference with the rights of non tobacco users. According to her investigations the annual cost of tobacco throughout the world is not less than one thousand million dollars or enough to build two railways to reach around the earth. Two million tons of the filthy stuff have been smoked, chewed, snuffed, and rubbed, while hands have everywhere been stretched out imploringly for bread. New York City alone is said to consume over seventy million cigars.

The fact that tobacco culture destroys the fertility of the soil is used as an argument against it. Gen. John H. Cooke, of Virginia, is quoted as saying that tobacco exhausts the land beyond all other crops, and as a proof, he says that every homestead from the Atlantic border to the head of tidewater is a mournful monument of the fact that tobacco has been the besom of destruction that has swept over this once fertile region. As to the moral effects of the business, some one has said that a re-

vival of religion need not be expected where everybody is raising tobacco.

The author declares that the question as to whether the use of tobacco is right depends more upon its effects on the body and mind than upon anything else, and taking this view of the case, she has the evidence overwhelmingly on her side. It would indicate stupid ignorance as well as egotistic assumption for one to assert that tobacco has no deleterious effect upon the physical and mental powers in face of the fact that the highest medical authority all over the world declares that tobacco is a poison and that its use as a whole is productive of widespread evil. Even physicians, who are themselves the slaves of the dirty practice of tobacco using, are generally willing to admit that the habit is a harmful one—no one has ever questioned its being a filthy one.

As before remarked, Mrs. Lawrence had an abundance of material at hand to serve her purpose and she has made good use of it. We have simply indicated the character of her work and would commend it to mothers, teachers, librarians, and all who may be interested in placing before our boys the truth concerning this vile and universal habit. If some such book were to be used in every public school, it would not be long before its influence would be manifest and boys would not be imbued with the idea that it is manly to be able to smoke or chew.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

MARCH, 1893.

THE NICARAGUA CANAL.

BY JOHN R. PROCTOR.

IT IS in the power of the incoming administration, by a stroke of statecraft, to make the United States the future mistress of the seas ; to bring about conditions that will cause the manufacturing interests to clamor for free trade, and to inaugurate a period of prosperity rivaling that following the discovery of gold in California and Australia. The greatest undertaking remaining for man's accomplishment, measured by the results to follow, will be the completion of the interoceanic waterway through the San Juan River and Lake Nicaragua, uniting the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. That this, the crowning work of the nineteenth century, will be pushed to completion there now remains no doubt in the minds of those who have studied the problem involved and understood the obstacles to be overcome and the manifold advantages to accrue. Without government aid this work may languish for a time, to be completed finally at a greatly increased cost, thus entailing burdens on the millions of tons of freight that must yearly pass through the canal. Should, however, the United States take advantage of this, the crowning opportunity in the lifetime of the republic, and push this work to a speedy completion, at a minimum cost, and as one of the conditions for this aid stipulate that all ships built in the United States and Nicaragua, and carrying the flags of those countries, shall pass through the canal free of toll, all of the results claimed above will speedily follow. This will become the great shipbuilding nation, and we will carry the bulk

of the world's commerce. Our Atlantic and Gulf ports thus brought nearer to the ports of the Pacific by 10,000 miles, new markets will be opened to our products. The world's commerce will then pass our doors, giving cheaper freights to the products of our farms, our mines, and our factories. Liverpool is now nearer by sea to all the ports of the Pacific from Valparaiso to Puget Sound than are New York and New Orleans. Through the canal New York will have an advantage of 2,740 miles, and New Orleans of 3,480 miles over Liverpool, and be nearer to Sidney, Auckland, Shanghai, and Yokohama than Liverpool will then be. Add to the advantage in distance that of free passage of American ships, and with a proper adjustment of our tariff laws no country can compete with the United States for the commerce of the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean. The foreign commerce of the United States amounted to \$1,047,139,693 in 1890, and that of Great Britain to three times as much. It is estimated that the Nicaragua Canal will save to the people of this country \$80,000,000 per annum on the present basis of commerce.

The saving of distance by the Suez Canal over the route around the Cape of Good Hope amounts to from 1,200 to 4,400 miles to the commerce of Europe, and sailing vessels yet take the longer voyage around the cape, on account of the adverse winds of the Red Sea. The Nicaragua Canal will make a saving of from 4,000 to 12,000 miles to the commerce of the United States and from 1,000 to 6,000 miles to the commerce of Europe bound for Pacific ports, and as many of the steam and most of the sailing vessels from Europe would take this route to the Pacific, and as the capacity of this canal will be greater than that of the Suez, the income from tolls should be greater. The canal is estimated to cost from \$65,000,000 to \$87,000,000. If the United States would issue \$100,000,000 2½ per cent bonds for this purpose, these bonds would form the basis for additional bank note circulation, now much needed, and the annual cost of \$3,000,000 would be small in comparison with the millions expended each year on river and harbor improvements and far more effective in building up both internal and foreign commerce. This

canal, if controlled by the United States, would more than double the effectiveness of our navy. It is twice as far from our Atlantic naval stations to San Francisco around the Horn from the foreign naval stations on the China seas or on the western coast of South America to that point, and in case of war our Atlantic fleet could give no aid or protection to our Pacific coast. The beautiful fresh water lake of Nicaragua, with its salubrious climate, will become the most valuable military and naval station in the world, on account of its strategic importance and the ease by which it may be defended. A few ships like the *Miantonomoh* stationed in this lake, and supported by a land force, could prevent the combined navies of the world from passing through the canal. If we had the constitutional right to acquire California, Oregon, and Alaska, we have the right to acquire the means of defending them.

What a change in the future history of the world ; how altered the destiny of this great republic, if France had made good her hold upon Mexico and completed the Panama Canal !

If this country delays action, English capitalists will see the advantages of the investment. The Suez Canal pays 18 per cent, and the controlling shares purchased by the brilliant stroke of Disraeli are worth over five times the price paid for them by Great Britain. What will be the action of England should her people invest their millions in this canal, and one of the periodical Central American revolutions follow ? Let the bombardment of Alexandria answer the question.

But it is of the bearing this canal will have on the commerce and industries of this country, rather than its importance as a strategic point in the protection of our coast, that I would speak, and I will confine myself to its effects on three of our great staples : breadstuffs, cotton, and iron.

About 80 per cent of the total exports from this country is derived from the products of the soil. In 1890 over 78 per cent of all the exports from the United States went to Europe, whilst but 51 per cent of our total imports came from Europe. As the exports consisted mainly of agricultural and forest products they greatly exceeded in bulk and weight the imports.

For every ton brought westward, two tons are sent eastward, consequently the outgoing freights must pay for the greater part of the round trip, and incoming freights are cheaper per class than are the outgoing. This burden on east bound freights may account in part for the fact that imports of wheat and flour from the United States into Great Britain were not so great by nearly one half in 1888-9 and '90 as they were in 1880; while for the same time the imports of these articles into Great Britain increased fourfold from British India, and eightfold from Russia. Give ships coming to our shores full cargoes and we lessen the freight charges on the return cargoes. Bring the commerce of the world past our shores, the ships stopping to coal at our Atlantic and Gulf ports, and at the same time diminishing distances, and we widen the markets for our food products. This is fast becoming a necessity. From 1865 to 1885 the population of the United States increased 69 per cent, while for the same period the grain crop increased 167 per cent; and with improved tillage and the improvements yearly made in agricultural machinery the proportion of agricultural products to population must increase more and more. Already we produce bread enough to feed nearly twice the present population of this country, with only 2 per cent of our arable land in wheat.

The cotton production of the Southern States increased from 3,000,000 bales in 1870 to 9,000,000 bales in 1891—out of all proportion to the increase of population in the cotton states for the same time. We produce 80 per cent of all the cotton grown in the world, and while the production is stationary elsewhere, the Southern States are making the remarkable increase noted above; and yet less than 1 per cent of the tillable area of the Southern States can produce all the cotton required by all of the spindles in the world. We have cheaper power, and it is estimated by competent authorities that the cost of labor per yard of product is less in this country than in Great Britain. Yet the United States has but 14,781,000 spindles, whilst Great Britain has 44,750,000, and the Continent 25,150,000. We exported unmanufactured cotton in 1891 to the value of \$200,712,808, whilst our exports of manufactured cotton amounted to but

\$13,604,857. Europe takes the bulk of our raw cotton, and, after clothing her own people, sells the manufactured articles to all the world. Great Britain sells \$14 worth of cotton goods to our neighbors in South America for every dollar's worth sold there by the United States. We are making rapid strides in the manufacture of cotton. Our people use thirteen pounds of cotton per head, while in the rest of the world only two and one half pounds per head are used. Over five hundred millions of people now using handsome fabrics are yet to be clothed with our machine-made cottons. The manufacturer and the grower of cotton in this country are equally interested in the advantages that will come to each from the construction of the canal.

The relative importance of Great Britain and the United States as iron-producing countries has been rapidly changing in late years. In 1867 Great Britain produced 52 per cent of all the iron made in the world, while the United States produced but 14 per cent. In 1891 the United States produced 34 per cent and Great Britain but 30 per cent of the world's product. The latter country does not make so much iron as it did eight years ago, whilst this country has doubled its production for the same time.

As with breadstuffs and cotton, so also is the production of iron in this country increasing faster than the increase in population. Between 1830 and 1860 the production of iron increased twice as fast as the population, and between 1870 and 1890 it increased four times as rapidly, and the ratio is an increasing one governed by what Mr. Atkinson calls the "law of accelerating demand."

From 1880 to 1890 the population of the United States increased 28 per cent, and the production of pig iron increased 130 per cent. The world's consumption of pig iron will not be less than 35,000,000 tons in 1900, and it may reach 50,000,000 tons; and it is estimated by competent authorities that the United States must produce 45 per cent of the world's demand.

Although this country is now the largest producer of iron, we as yet make only enough for home consumption. The cost of production is declining faster in this country than in Europe,

and our production is rapidly encroaching upon home demands, and we must look to foreign markets for the disposition of our surplus. The stock of pig iron is now unusually small in Great Britain—not enough to meet an increased home demand, whilst the stock on hand in this country is large. In 1890 Great Britain exported 73 per cent of her total make of pig iron, while the United States exported but 3 per cent of her product. What an impetus to the commerce and industries of this country if we could supply our home demand and export 73 per cent of our total product !

The Southern States can produce iron at a low enough cost for export and the remarkable progress made in the last few years in the South in the manufacture of iron justifies the belief that this section will become a large exporter of iron and steel. The manufacture of coke iron was only begun in the South some years after the close of the Civil War, and so slow was the progress for a time that there were only four coke furnaces in the entire South Appalachian region, extending from Harper's Ferry to Birmingham, at the beginning of 1880, with an annual capacity of 100,000 tons. Since January 1, 1880, there have been erected in that district seventy-three furnaces of the most modern and approved construction, with an aggregate annual capacity of 2,670,000 tons; and of these, sixteen, with a capacity of 630,000 tons, have been built since January 1, 1890, in spite of dull times and the exceptionally low price of iron. Sir Lowthian Bell, as the result of three visits to this country to study our iron resources and industries says: "If we are to meet American iron in Europe, Asia, and Australia, it will be that produced in the Southern States of the Union."

Mr. William Colquhoun, of Wales, in his recently published "Notes on the Iron and Steel Industries of the United States," written after a thorough personal inspection, says:

To fully appreciate the position and future of the South, we have to imagine a coal field yielding ten times as much coal as the whole of the United Kingdom, unmeasured deposits of iron ore, and that both coal and ore are being won for say 4s per ton. We must grasp the facts that pig iron can be produced at 40s per ton, and the cost of long-distance railway carriage is one farthing per ton per mile, and that the

bulk of the produce of pig iron is already delivered to the northern district. Having these things in their minds, we can arrive at no other conclusion than that in the future the southern district will develop an export trade which will hit the United Kingdom more severely than any other competition has done. Our four million tons of coal exported to South America, the East and West Indies, and China will fall away to nothing; we cannot hope to compete in the future railway development of those countries, and the close trade connections between the States and Australia will surely strengthen.

We have built in this new land of ours 40,000 more miles of railroad than the 356,000,000 of Europeans have built on that continent. We have built here more than one half of the entire railway mileage of the world. Asia, with a population of over seven hundred millions, has only 18,000 miles of railways. Here is a field beyond our borders awaiting American and English enterprise. With the Nicaragua Canal open free to American commerce, and the fetters of our restricted tariff laws removed, America enters the contest with the odds greatly in her favor. Minneapolis will then be nearer by an all water route to the ports of the Pacific than is Odessa; Lowell nearer than Manchester, and Pittsburg nearer than Middlesborough or Essen.

Thirty-eight millions of Britons from their little island home govern an empire nine millions of square miles in extent, and aggregating a population of 343,000,000. Shall we, their descendants, now numbering 65,000,000, and doubling in population every thirty years, have our energies bounded by our 3,000,000 square miles of territory? Here came the most adventurous, the most restless descendants of that hardy rover race; else would they not have migrated and braved the dangers of the sea and the perils and privations of an unknown land. Will not the same spirit that brought the Norse sea rovers to that beautiful Britain and sent their descendants worldward from that island home, carry the aggressive Anglo-Saxons of this Greater Britain, inheriting the same Teutonic greed for land, with the aggressive colonization instincts and assimilating forces intensified; with a love of adventure and of gain, and an adaptability to commerce—will not these forces, more potent than written laws, force American enterprise to look

more and more, as we grow stronger and richer, beyond the limits of our own territorial restrictions? Was not the verdict of the people in the recent presidential election a protest against such restrictions?

The restless western march of Anglo-Saxon civilization encountering a temporary check on reaching the shores of the Pacific, turns southward, and such progress has it made in the past few years that now vestibule trains run from New York, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco to the City of Mexico. A few years more and these roads will extend to the shores of Lake Nicaragua, and a commercial confederation embracing the republics of North and Central America will result.

It should not be the wish, it is not to the interest of the people of this country in this contest for commercial supremacy to injure the industries of Great Britain. A large majority of our people derive their support directly from the products of agriculture, a yearly increasing amount of which must seek foreign markets. Great Britain imported food in 1890 to the value of \$675,000,000. Many things needed by our people can be manufactured cheaper in England than in this country, and there should be an increasing exchange of commodities between the two countries to the advantage of each. Great Britain, controlling Gibraltar, the Suez Canal, the entrance to the Red Sea, the Straits of Malacca, and the vast empire to the east, will have the bulk of the commerce along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean; while the United States, controlling the short route uniting the Atlantic and Pacific, will extend her commerce to the south and west. Wishing for no injurious rivalry between these great English-speaking peoples, let us rather hope that with their masterful hold upon the great strategic and commercial points, America and England will shape the destinies of the world for the good of mankind; that England will find in this Newer England an enlarged field for the profitable investment of her increasing wealth, and that the two nations, drawn together by the bonds of mutual commercial interests and the ties of kinship, will form a confederation girdling the world.

JOHN R. PROCTOR.

A NATIONAL LIMITED LIABILITY ACT.

BY F. J. S.

WHAT is wealth? The influence of government in the formation of that which we call wealth is one of the things which is lost sight of by those who attempt a definition of this subject. It is easy to say wealth is made up of those things which have an exchangeable value, but it must be admitted that at times many things have an exchangeable value which do not afford much wealth. Whilst at another time, after the magical touch of the government has been felt, those same articles are a source of great wealth. Take diamonds for instance. They seem to have an exchangeable value among certain tribes even where little, if any, government exists. But it can scarcely be said that they constitute much wealth. The holding of a precious stone under such circumstances depends largely upon personal prowess. As this is a variable quantity, and is accompanied by risks and discomforts at best, the value of the diamond suffers in consequence. But let the same stone pass into the hands of one who is favored with better governmental protection and its exchangeable value is enormously increased. To the same extent the wealth of the community is increased, and whatever aggregate wealth exists under such circumstances is the result partly of natural product it is true, but much more largely of governmental influence.

Other things in the same striking way show the important influence of the government in the make-up of that which we call wealth. An intangible thing which is frequently spoken of when the subject of wealth comes up is that which is called the lawyer's advice. There is no question about its exchangeable value. The interesting thing about it is its complete dependence upon governmental action. Before a lawyer's advice has

any exchangeable value the government must step in, and organize courts, provide for judges, and provide a retinue of court officials. As long as these remain in a properly organized state the advice of the lawyer is an element of wealth. If the government withdraws its support from the courts in any way this wealth is decreased to that same extent, and an entire withdrawal utterly destroys the exchangeable value of a lawyer's advice.

The mistake which many persons make is in supposing that because the government can increase wealth it can also create it. Almost every government at some period of its career endeavors to create wealth. As soon as a government gets in good working order an almost irresistible pressure is brought to bear upon it to enter into some scheme looking to the actual creation of wealth. But what is the result? The government in such cases ceases to be a government, and becomes an individual. Liability for losses is incurred. It meets with competition, and to protect itself corrupts its courts. Other evils appear, and multiply until perhaps the government itself is destroyed. Such a result is particularly unfortunate, as it makes governments timid and prevents their doing that which they can do, namely, increasing wealth.

An opportunity is offered to the government at the present time where it can largely increase the wealth of the nation. There is, of course, a large amount of wealth in this country represented by stock held in corporations. It is an exceedingly variable amount. The holders of such stock are scarcely classed among our solid men, as their riches by skillful stock manipulations are liable at any time to be taken from them. Their position is not much better than that of the holder of a diamond in a country where there is no law. It requires a certain amount of personal prowess to hold stock at the present time successfully. I am not talking now about bonds. The courts have succeeded in making the holding of bonds somewhat safer, but all their efforts toward the protection of stockholders have been but partial successes at best. Something more than judicial protection is evidently required if we are to have a

large middle class of well-to-do stockholders, instead of having, as at present, simply a class of immensely rich bondholders, or real-estate owners.

Now what this article advocates, is the passage by Congress of a National Limited Liability Act, which will allow corporations to organize under a national law. Such an act can be made a complete protection to stockholders. The idea is to have the government exercise a supervisory influence over all corporations that organize under it. We already have this supervisory power exercised by the government in the case of national banks. Other corporations might require slightly different treatment, but the same general features would remain. It will readily be perceived that if the present and prospective floating stock of the country can be made as stable as our present bank stock our general wealth will be stupendously increased. On the basis of our present population it can safely be said there will be enough to go round.

What are the objections to the passage by Congress of such an act as this? There are no constitutional objections. That elastic provision in the Constitution allowing the general government to regulate commerce between the states permits of such an act, as I shall attempt to show that one of the main objects of the act is to permit citizens of different states to be interested in the same corporations. A more difficult objection to meet arises from its conflict with the various state acts at present in force, and under which our present corporations are organized. It would not, of course, be intended to repeal or supersede these. A large field would necessarily be left to the present state laws. The fact is that whilst many corporations could not properly be organized under the national act, many corporations at present are very imperfectly organized under state acts. Entire freedom should be allowed in this respect. Anything like coercion in either direction would well-nigh have a disastrous result. It only remains to say that for state officials to oppose the passage of such an act would be in the nature of coercion toward the present state acts.

Of course the cry of centralization will rear its hydra head.

It always does when a national law is proposed, and not always, it must be admitted, without advantage to the country. Still we have got to a point where we expect something of the general government besides collecting taxes and making war. Many things in the way of our civilization can be accomplished by the general government, and by the general government alone. Where this is plainly apparent the simple cry of centralization should have no weight. There may be other objections, and if there are, it is better to call attention to these, and not rely alone upon the old-time slogan of centralization.

A much more practical question is, Will such an act make the general government cumbersome? There is danger of a multitude of duties being thrown upon the government until it becomes top-heavy, and perhaps topples over upon us. Almost every session of Congress sees some act passed adding to its duties. At the last session we had the Interstate Railway Act. This year it is the Force Bill. At a previous session a Labor Bureau was established. The National Banking Act added other duties. There is no telling where the passing of these acts will stop unless we can get to some general law which will include them all. The trouble is they all seem necessary, and there is little hope of preventing a multitude of such acts unless general laws are promptly provided. Some damage has already been done by tardiness in this respect, as several bureaus have got into operation which cannot now be superseded.

A National Limited Liability Act is a general law. It is not solely in the interest of the banking class or the laboring class. It would be intended that all classes could organize under it, and be protected by it. Other bureaus might possibly still be required, but unquestionably many projects could be pointed to such an act, and shown that they could get all necessary relief in it.

I have already referred to the possible effect which a National Limited Liability Act might have on competition. In some quarters this effect is likely to be exaggerated, and we are likely to be told that under such an act large corporations would organize, completely shutting out smaller concerns. This statement

is only partially true. There would be corporations formed under such an act larger than any existing at present, but they would mostly be the uniting of many smaller corporations, which, in some form or other, are compelled to get under one head. As affairs are now, when they do get under the control of a single individual there is no way provided for resisting them, and they really can do about as they choose. A national act would put an effectual quietus on all this. In any line of business where a corporation plainly abuses its trust, a plethora of capital can always be found to resist it if the government will only say it will have an eye to the management. Here really is the people's safety. There is a guarantee here against the inordinate selfishness of any class of our citizens which cannot be got outside of the passage by Congress of a National Limited Liability Act.

I have endeavored to consider some of the objections which may be raised against a National Limited Liability Act. It remains to consider the advantages which such an act would afford. Foremost among these is the effect it would have upon the land question. A ripple of excitement has once or twice gone over parts, at least, of this country when certain eloquent gentlemen have called attention to the dangers which lay lurking in the land question. It has been quickly allayed, I will admit, because, owing to our comparatively sparse population, there still is land enough for all. But are we as secure in this respect as we try to make ourselves believe? European writers tell us our form of government, after all, is not a vast improvement upon theirs. The difference, they say, is mainly in our having at present a large amount of unoccupied land. Wait, they tell us, until we have a population of two hundred millions, and then see if we do not have a landed aristocracy as bad as theirs.

What is the matter with land, anyway? As a matter of fact, nothing is the matter with land. The government, both state and national, protects ownership in land. It provides everything necessary to make the holding and transfer of real estate secure. At great cost it provides land offices, conveyance offices, mortgage offices, all with a paraphernalia of books,

clerks, and other necessary adjuncts. Public surveyors are appointed, trespassers are driven off, and the courts are especially instructed to maintain the rights of the landowner. This is as it should be. There is no sane man who would have governments change this policy. On the contrary, if additional facilities are required, the proper policy would be to at once afford them. Under this policy the wealth of the country has enormously increased. To take these facilities away would reduce the wealth of the country to almost nothing.

But why should the government make land the only recipient of its beneficent legislation? Why provide all facilities for it and nothing for anything else? Such a policy makes land the only secure investment, whereas all investments should be secure. There is bound to come a time when there will not be enough land to go round. When this happens, those who have failed to secure any portion of the land necessarily will be paupers, unless other investments are provided, while those who have secured corner lots will pose as the favored few.

It is just as easy to make other things secure for investment purposes as it has been to make land thus secure. All that is wanted is governmental facilities and supervision. Corporation stocks afford a wonderful opportunity in this respect. Let the government once adopt the policy of having a care for them, and I venture to say few of us at the present time are fully able to foresee the far-reaching beneficial results. Land will have what it never had before—a competitor as a secure investment. It will not pay to hold land for speculative purposes. To a much larger extent than at present, the owners of land will thus become the actual users of land. The *bête noir* of a landed aristocracy will disappear. There will be such a thing as happiness to those who, whilst possessed of many traits of character valuable to the world, are yet unable to master the intricacies attending the acquisition of choice parcels of real estate.

The labor question would be favorably affected by a National Limited Liability Act. There has been very little legislation really favorable to labor, and if anything can be done favorable to it, it is the duty of Congress to do it. The trouble with labor

is that under the present system it cannot be made interested in results. The best laborer is the unselfish one. In starting enterprises sacrifices have to be made. Pay-day occasionally has to go round without the usual dividend. My experience with labor is that in many cases these sacrifices would cheerfully be made if any chance was offered of participating in the ultimate result. At present the ultimate result in every instance is greater arrogance on the part of proprietors as their enterprises approach nearer success, and a correspondingly greater dependence on the part of the laborer. Their interests are not identical. The laborer feels his position each day getting more and more precarious, whilst the proprietor each day gets more and more independent. The ultimate result in most cases is the complete dependence of the laborer, whilst the proprietor finds himself without any restraint whatever.

Now, a great deal will be accomplished by having the government act as a master over the master. Employees would feel differently if they thought employers were subject to some control. The supervisory power which a national act should give to the government would allow governmental officials to examine the pay-rolls, the hours of labor, and other internal workings of all corporations organized under it. The broad survey which this system would allow the government to take of the labor of the whole country could not fail to be beneficial to the country as well as to labor. The questions, What is truth? What is proper pay? are always coming up. They are not so difficult of solution as many suppose. The very moment we get in a position where a broad survey can be taken, the truth of any question plainly appears.

Of course, the opportunity which in many cases would be offered to laborers of investing their earnings in the corporations where they were laboring would be an important consideration. They cannot do this now, because where they do it they are always swamped. No proprietor is going to part with the control of his establishment, particularly where it is a paying one. Labor money invested under such circumstances is seldom heard of afterwards. The case would be different where the in-

fluence of the government was felt. Absolute control in such a case would not be so important as strict compliance with law and the favor of stockholders, whoever they might be. Possibly, the ideal would not be reached even under a National Limited Liability Act, where every laborer was interested in the profits, but I believe it would be much more the case than at present. Eventually this feature might become very important.

Another question which is attracting some attention would be favorably affected by a National Limited Liability Act. This is the question of foreign investment of capital in this country. There is at this time a strong disposition on the part of foreign capitalists to make investments in the United States. This disposition is not confined to any single country in Europe, but is felt in all of them where surplus wealth exists. I have never heard any substantial objection to foreign investments being made here. Certainly if foreign immigration is allowed to go on unchecked foreign capital should be allowed to come in. The one is a necessary adjunct of the other, as foreign capital in many cases is the means of giving the immigrant something to do. It would be very easy to bring about a large amount of distress among the poorer classes if immigrants continued to pour in at a time when capital suddenly became scarce. Hence the bringing of foreign capital to this country has usually been looked upon with favor, and in some sections has been greatly encouraged. But it has been difficult to get foreign capital to go just where we want it. What has been invested in railroad building has benefited the country greatly. The taking of a large amount of United States bonds at one time had an important effect. But the investment which foreigners have made in land has not been beneficial. In fact the government has always discouraged it, and lately has positively prohibited it. The government would have done better if, instead of putting itself on record in this odd way, it had provided another investment in the right direction which would be more sought after than land. With a guarantee that the government would exercise a supervisory influence over certain stocks, they would certainly recommend themselves to European investors. It is the

very thing a foreigner wants. If a foreigner's investment turns out badly now, the nation gets the blame for it. Individuals are lost sight of in a sweeping denunciation of us all. As a nation careful of its reputation we should adopt some plan for protecting our good name. I can think of no better plan than governmental supervision over such corporations as choose to organize under a national law. It would be very easy to disclaim all responsibility as to all corporations organized outside of such a law. Probably disasters would still occur, but they would be greatly lessened, and total losses would be unknown.

What effect would a National Limited Liability Act have upon the inventive faculty of the nation? In my opinion inventors are poorly paid for their labor. This is particularly true of the valuable inventions. Some of the minor ones may give better returns. The trouble with a man who has a valuable invention usually comes from his utter lack of capital. It is the raising of this capital which generally swamps him. Present laws do not aid him in appealing to the public for subscriptions to his stock. He is compelled to hunt around among a limited few who make a business of looking into such matters. Such persons look at an investment in an invention in a way which both surprises and disgusts the ordinary inventor. The question which presents itself to them is not as to the merit of the invention, but it is, How cheap can they get control of it? I submit this, to an inventor, is a very discouraging view to take. His statement always is that at such and such a figure his invention will pay such and such a dividend, and what he looks for is capital which will be satisfied with a reasonable return. Experience certainly proves that individual capitalists cannot be found who will invest on such a basis. But large popular subscriptions have been got on this basis, and in the history of the world have accomplished some fine results. However, governmental supervision is clamored for whenever such subscriptions are started. In the absence of a general law on the subject the government sometimes comes in by special enactments. But this mode of procedure is very unsatisfactory. Usually the government looks into the affairs of a corporation

under such circumstances after the damage is all done. In any case trained officials are lacking, and the element of comparison with other corporations is totally wanting. What inventors, brainy, suggestive men, want is a general law under which they can quickly organize ; where trained officials can examine their projects, and give them a certain standing in court if they comply with certain conditions. When this preliminary work has been done, and done, I will mention, at the smallest possible expense, they want popular subscriptions in many cases, although of course in many cases the large individual capitalist would still be in demand.

It is not every one who appreciates the importance of helping the inventors along. They are the salt of the earth. Congress can well go out of its way to consider any law which to any extent will assist them in getting a fair return for their ideas. If a system of laws could finally be enacted giving full and fair compensation to each inventor promptly, as one by one he discovered the secrets of nature, there would not be, as there are at present, so many of nature's secrets hidden from us. We might find that, instead of this world being one of incessant toil, nature intended it to be one of comparative ease, and instead of being a world of incessant worry, perhaps we should find nature intended it to be one of comparative contentment.

The question of loyalty to the government is no longer prominent in national affairs. It seems almost superfluous to urge the passage of a law now on the ground that it would help to hold the states together. And yet in legislation this idea must not be lost sight of. The well-known axiom, "In peace prepare for war," applies to this country as well as to others, with the single exception that we should do so by wise legislation instead of by the accumulation of vast quantities of war material.

There can be no better way devised for keeping this country together than that of interweaving their commercial interests. It is the moneyed men of a nation who declare war. When their investments are centered in certain localities, and those localities are threatened, they begin talking war. Let their investments be scattered, however ; let them feel that a loss in one

locality means a gain in another, and the war feeling is supplanted by one of indifference. The government should provide a means by which the southern cotton-planter could invest his surplus earnings in northern cotton-mills, and in doing so feel that the government stood between him and anything like sharp stock-jobbing operations. The same idea should prevail with reference to other sections of the country. With such a system in full force our commercial interests would be knit together in the most effective manner. There would be little danger of little unpleasantnesses in the future. The country would remain thoroughly united, as, perhaps, it is at present. Who can say it will remain united unless something of this kind is done?

The enactment of a National Limited Liability Act, as far as I can see, is favorable in all its aspects. Its main recommendation, of course, is that it will add to our general wealth. In addition to this, its effect upon any of the prominent questions at present attracting attention seems to be in the right direction. I have considered it with reference to other questions than those discussed here, and in every instance I find every prospect of the best results. This can seldom be said of proposed legislation. Usually, laws trample upon some interests in order to benefit others. Such laws naturally receive active and persistent support in Congress, and for that reason constitute the bulk of congressional legislation. It is difficult to get a champion for a law, however beneficial it may be, unless there are some positive pecuniary results in sight; and it is this very thing which is building up immensely rich classes on the one hand, and making the miserably poor on the other. I am sure the country will hail with delight legislation which promises large and long-continued benefits to all its citizens, instead of to favored sections or individuals.

Perhaps some one will say the scheme is impracticable; the government cannot manage a department which will work in any such way as is here proposed. The government has managed departments which have worked successfully. A majority of the experiments made by the government surpass expectations. The whole scheme of the government was an experiment,

and seemed of doubtful success to all other than Hamilton. Some chances in such matters have to be taken. In the present instance it is not wholly an experiment, as governmental supervision in several departments is practiced by the government to-day. To enlarge this idea so as to make it include the bulk of our industrial establishments at first blush seems to be a large undertaking, but some of us may look back to regard it as in fact easy of accomplishment.

F. J. S.

DID SHAKESPEARE WRITE SHAKESPEARE?

BY A. B. FARQUHAR.

THERE can be no fair, broad or effective treatment of this subject, without pointing out that on one side the argument is mostly the product of ignoramuses, falsifiers, or their dupes, mingled occasionally with enough honest insanity to consign the scribblers to an asylum for incurables.

Only the blindest can fail to see, and the most obstinate refuse to admit, that it is as certain that Shakespeare wrote Hamlet and other plays ascribed to him, as that Goethe was the author of Faust. There is not *so much* evidence, but what there is, is just as convincing.

Most of this trash pretending to show that another than Shakespeare wrote the plays ascribed to him deserves silent and contemptuous disdain, but as we are situated, there may be a sort of compulsion on us to meet such questions, however disagreeable the task. I have read some of the twaddle of Donnelly and others upon the subject, and a more utterly shapeless, senseless, worthless lot of rubbish I never saw. The best of these discussions may be likened to a thin sample of patchery cobbled up and strung together, ready to fall to pieces at first touch. Their alleged facts are either manifest falsehoods, or are wholly unsupported, and their vaporing teems with impertinence, ignorance, or undraped absurdity. The only good thing to be found is an occasional quotation from Shakespeare, when they feed from his platter. Occasionally they publish a whole paragraph, a long roll of mighty lines, and then compare it to thin, feeble imitations by authors who could no more approach Shakespeare's heights and depths of manly and womanly emotion than could an ass soar to the flights of Pegasus.

We need only to contrast the grace, freshness, and lyric charm of the words of the immortal poet, that come down to us over the

tide of time, with the feeble, crude, inartistic, intangible pretension to which it is compared, to consign their assumptions to the bottomless pit of oblivion.

No human being of the slightest authority in such things has ever taken up the question seriously or referred to it otherwise than as a sort of hook to hang the actual upon more conspicuously. The falsehood that the intelligent public are willing to have their ideas disturbed, or to hear anything that may be true, is in perfect keeping with all the rest, and indicates quite accurately the scale of mind from which it proceeds. Intelligent people do not like falsehoods and gabbling ignorance concerning well-known facts. That is what they do not like about Donnelly and his followers. Not one valid reason has ever been suggested for thinking that Shakespeare did not write the plays popularly ascribed to him or that anyone else did write them. A thousand points, which may agree with such suppositions when once entertained, weigh nothing at all.

Darwin observes, with great wisdom, that falsehoods of fact are more harmful than falsehoods of judgment. The latter we all can combat upon equal terms: but the bold statement of fact is apt to pass unexamined. The *opinions* of all the misguided zealots in this case have imposed on scarcely anybody but themselves. The only harm of any effect has been perpetual falsehood as to fact, generally included under one head, the obscurity and insignificance of the man and his ancestry, and consequent unlikelihood of his authorship.

Shakespeare is just as obscure as Napoleon, Luther, or Aristotle, and there is as much sense in talking of obscurity in the one case as in the others. Any cultivated person ought now to be ashamed of spreading such mendacity; though, indeed, literary people are partly responsible for it, through inveterate love of paradox—thus Carlyle allows himself to style Shakespeare a “peasant,” by which he means, if he means anything, that the poet was not born in London.

It seems we are called upon to pay the penalty for this kind of loose literary paradox in the scab and mange of such vulgar speculations as we have now before us. But it may do good in

giving an opportunity for bringing out the peculiarly perfect historical character of William Shakespeare.

By all we know about him, he was, of all men who have ever lived in the world, the one to write those plays. No doubt we would like to know more of him outwardly than we do—this is true of Plato, and the supremely great everywhere who are consecrated to the highest work of spiritual rather than external nature. The very brightness of the light coming from them surrounds their external biography with a haze, or dazzles the eye with its brilliancy. But we know more of Shakespeare than we do of many others who were related with him, whether as peers or contemporaries. He stands amidst the astonishing group of eminent gifted dramatists, living in that golden age of literature; we know more of him than of any one among all these, unless it be Ben Jonson. Many of them we cannot date as to birth or death. Of how many private persons then living, do we know the ancestry on both sides for centuries, as we do of the Shakespeares and the Ardens? He belongs to the upper middle class; was at the right center of the *true* English aristocracy; for the best people of England were the upper middle class then as now; he was a "gentleman" in the old specific sense, as his mother and wife were ladies; his father had held nearly every office known to Stratford, up to that of "high bailiff" or mayor. No one thinks Milton too humbly classed for his learned work; Shakespeare was higher classed in family than Milton. He had almost every opportunity a man could have, for his proper making.

It was the custom of all the theatrical companies visiting Stratford, to give a complimentary entertainment to the mayor, his father. He thus had an early opportunity for mingling with dramatists and actors, and becoming conversant with the best plays of the time.

Certainly we know less of him than we do of Goethe, or the great authors of modern times. There were then no closely defined literary guilds, no magazines, book reviewers, or newspapers.

Shakespeare sometimes worked in concert with others. He

revamped old work, by all stages from a touch to a transfiguration ; finally a number of counterfeit plays were printed under his name, during his lifetime, to gain sale by his great popularity and fame which began while he was a young man, and have never ended. In a book, written when Shakespeare was little over thirty, he is ranked with the great ancient classics. No one in London was better known or more popular ; we find more than fifty notices of him written during his lifetime, in the main speaking of him as the author he was ; and literary notices in that day were rare.

Pilgrimages to his grave are recorded, from very shortly after his death down to the present time. Sir William Davenant, poet laureate of England, endeavored, even in the stern Puritanic days of the Commonwealth, to pass himself off for the natural son of Shakespeare, in order to gain fame. The old gossip, Aubrey, who is responsible for the story, admitted that he "never attempted to raise a scandal against William Shakespeare during his lifetime, since no one would have given it credit ; that Shakespeare was too much esteemed and loved, being sought by the nobility and the literary circles, and petted by the court"—in spite of his liberalism and independence.

Shakespeare was noted, during his life, for his courtesy, gentlemanly manners, unexceptionable character, industry, and wealth. His plays, in that age of coarse ribaldry, were remarkable for their high tone and purity.

"Aim at large souls, and you are sure not to miss," is the apostrophe to Envy in Sophocles, who, of all the world is most like to Shakespeare in his glory of divine sincerity and completeness.

The weak continually endeavor to raise themselves by pulling down the strong, and since Shakespeare's mind is the ablest we have record of, an unusual amount of calumny has been poured around him. He has been called "the son of a pauper," "a pot-house broiler, vilely born and reared" ; "a butcher's apprentice, living a low life amid loose companions, and dying in obscurity" ; while the facts are that he was the son of John Shakespeare, Esquire, or "Gentleman," as he is called in the

records. His mother, Mary Arden, was a lady of "high worship": her father a squire, and her ancestors gentle famed in arms and affairs of state. John Shakespeare was Mayor of Stratford, and a large landholder; he was granted a coat of arms by the king in consideration of his father, who was a soldier as well as courtier, and "did great work on Bosworth field"; and in further consideration of his being the chief officer of Stratford and owning "much land and tenements."

Shakespeare was well educated. He is recorded to have had five years' schooling and to have been versed in reading and writing before he entered school. How many of our eminent men have had better advantages? He taught school for a while, and may possibly have looked after the wool store, slaughter house, or other enterprises belonging to his father. His conduct was, for that age, unexceptionable. When he went to London he kept good company, and during his lifetime, there was not an authenticated scandal connected with his name. He was a temperate man, although convivial at times, as was too much the custom then and now.

A good deal is made out of the deer stealing episode, as the only thing ever approaching a scandal proved against Shakespeare; but this was evidently merely an escapade of a lot of well-born youngsters, and is certainly no worse than many of the college pranks of our boys. Shakespeare's lampoons in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* and elsewhere, made Sir Thomas Lucy bitterly rue his crustiness. Although the descendants of the Lucy family still live in Warwickshire, they are chiefly known because Shakespeare stole a deer from their forest three centuries ago.

We are told that Shakespeare, when a boy, held horses for gentlemen who attended the theater. There were few wheeled vehicles then; everyone came on horseback, and the young poet organized a band of youngsters who were known as "the Shakespeare boys," who, for a consideration, held horses for the men and women who came to witness the play. This was probably the beginning of his fortune; he afterwards became a rich man. His house, New Place, was the finest in Stratford. He

"possessed many lands, tenements, and tithes," and was next to largest owner in Blackfriar's, and proprietor of the Globe theater.

A contemporary describes Shakespeare as "gentle, honest, frank, generous, courteous, honorable, and handsome, of ready wit, not likely to incur obligations, and never a debtor." His companions were the best people in all England, the Earls of Southampton, Pembroke, Rutland, and Montgomery were his friends. Jonson and Marlowe "loved and honored him this side of idolatry," to quote Jonson's recorded words.

We are told that Shakespeare must not be judged by his works, but Jonson said that any one knowing Shakespeare would know his works. In speaking of Shakespeare's writings, he said: "Look how the father's face is reproduced in his issue." Queen Elizabeth sometimes sent for Shakespeare. It was at her request, it is said, that he changed the name "Sir John Oldcastle" to "Sir John Falstaff." But he hated toadyism and pedantry, and when Elizabeth put his friend Essex to death and imprisoned Southampton, he avoided the court and would only visit the Queen when ordered to do so.

As we grow older, great things become greater but as a part of that very growth, the littleness of the little grows more pitiable. The suppositions that the greatest ought to be in some striking pose before the public world; that stealth and intricate contrivances are their element rather than directness, that they must grimace and duck in starting-holes or ciphers rather than hide in their own serene traceless depth, are perfect types of human smallness. The "research" in such cases is marvelous. You want the topography of some region; an investigator is produced who is alleged to surpass all others. It proves to be a mole; who has indeed, out-burrowed every one, but is not, on that account, an authority on topography, since he never goes five inches below the surface.

It is perfectly conclusive that there is no possibility that Bacon wrote Shakespeare's plays, for the reason that it was no more in him than in you or me. The nearest approach he ever made to a play was a dialogue in which he produced something

fairly witty and wise, as far as it went, but he could never finish it, the form seeming wholly unnatural to him. Bacon was ambitious, and loved fame. Is it likely that any one capable of writing *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *The Tempest*, *As You Like It*, and *Cymbeline* should not be able to appreciate the worth of such work well enough to know that it would bring him everlasting honor? That Shakespeare did know the value of his own work is shown by the following quotation: "Not marble, nor monuments of princes shall outlive my rhymes." I appeal to you, if you had invented a mouse trap and the steam engine, which would you have inscribed on your monument?

Nothing worthy of the name of argument has ever been offered in behalf of Bacon any more than Jonson, or a dozen others. So much has been said about the matter that it implies that there might be some doubt where there is none.

The first suggestion that I recollect of doubt as to Shakespeare's authorship of the plays began with an article in *Putnam's Monthly* of January, 1856, written by Delia Bacon,* which I remember reading at the time. Hawthorne is accountable for the popular interest in this singular character. But it was expressly and avowedly as a piece of morbid psychology that he studied her so tenderly, and obtained for her, through Emerson, an introduction to Carlyle; who, after inspection responded in the characteristic and exhaustive summary: "Dear Emerson:—Your woman is mad. T. C." She has absolutely nothing to build her theory upon. There is every reason to know that Shakespeare wrote the plays and that Bacon did not, and I shall proceed to prove it.

Shakespeare was actor to Queen Elizabeth and to King James, repeating his plays to them. There were one hundred and eighty-five references to him during the century in which he lived; more notices than we are likely to find of any author in this

* Prof. W. J. Rolfe reminds me that Delia Bacon was anticipated in 1818 by Joseph C. Hartt and in 1852 by an article in *Chamber's Journal* (August 7th). Also *Notes and Queries*, November 5, 1853, and August 15, 1854.

Prof. Rolfe adds: "For a full account of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy see Mr. W. H. Wyman's *Bibliography* of that subject, published by Peter S. Thompson, Cincinnati. A concise account of most of the books, pamphlets, etc., is given by him."

century, if we omit magazines, newspapers, and book reviews which did not then exist. A monument was erected in Stratford Church to Shakespeare, shortly after his death, but his thirty-seven wonderful plays are his chief monument; wonderful for the acceptance they met with during his lifetime. A contemporary says that Shakespeare's plays were more read and better printed than the Bible. Feltham speaks of him as the chief gem in the crown of the stage, and of Stratford as being noted for being the birthplace of Shakespeare. On a copy of Shakespeare's plays printed during his life, *are notations*, "corrected" or "augmented" "by William Shakespeare."

The first folio of his works, published by his literary executors and friends, was dedicated to Pembroke and Montgomery, in the following words: "Herein is described to your highnesses the work of the happiest imitator of nature. He uttered his thoughts so easily that there was scarce even a blot or correction on a page."

After what Jonson, Milton and other contemporaries have said of Shakespeare, we must lose all faith in the word of man to doubt his identity; a poet that all true poets recognize as of the highest degree of excellence, we are surely not in a position to question.

Francis Meres, in his discourse on poets, published in 1598, wrote: "The sweet soul of Ovid lives in the mellifluous honeyed tongue of Shakespeare." And further on: "As Plautus and Seneca are accepted the best in comedy and tragedy among the Latins, so is our Shakespeare among the English. He is the translator of the Muses. If you wish to know Virgil, read Shakespeare." Remember this was spoken of Shakespeare by a contemporary poet, while he was still a young man.

There are recorded thirty-four requests from Shakespeare for copyrights. There are thirty-eight records in the courts of real estate transfers to or from him, and twenty theatrical notices. We must bear in mind that the first English newspaper was published in 1622, six years after Shakespeare's death, and that there were no periodicals or magazines until long afterwards.

The Lord Chancellor Ellsmere, noted for his purity of character,

was a friend of the great poet, and both Queen Elizabeth and King James spoke of Shakespeare as their friend. He numbered, as we have seen, among his friends many authors and gentlemen of high degree.

Warwickshire, around Stratford, is the most beautiful part of the world, at least that I have seen, and Shakespeare's plays are filled with allusions to his early life there, its woods, flowers, streams, meadows, and rural inhabitants. His grandfather filled his mind with recitals of Bosworth field, and stirring incidents in which he was an actor or eye witness.

Shakespeare loved his native English. He is authority for words used by us to-day; never used a foreign word where he could employ English, and Anglicized many Latin words. Bacon was known for his contempt of English; saying that he "did not believe in the immortality of the English language," and therefore hired Jonson to translate his works into Latin.

Shakespeare was a man of the people, interested in their liberty and happiness; Bacon was an aristocrat. He claimed advance on the ancients in the practical, and therefore humanitarian character of his philosophy. But he addressed only the few. You can never imagine humanity getting anywhere near Bacon. Yet Bacon was a great man of his kind,—when his wit did not run away with him, and no one can part with him in a bad humor. His peculiar faculty of imposing on all manner of half students, in various ways and ages, is not altogether his own fault, but arises from the abounding suggestiveness and general brightness of mind; what he says only wants due sifting. To use one of his own specious figures: "The stream of time lets fall weighty things to the bottom, and carries the froth and rubbish to future ages." This would indeed be applicable, if such a controversy should be lasting.

Shakespeare's plays teemed with incidents of his life at Stratford. In "The Taming of the Shrew," for instance, Sly, Naps, Turf, Pimpernell, etc., are Warwickshire names; and several localities in that region, Wincot, Barton, etc., are mentioned by the poet. Sly was a servant of William Combes, from whom Shakespeare purchased one hundred acres of land. Now, while

it is quite natural that Shakespeare should know his neighbors, and equally natural that he should be acquainted with the prominent persons and places around London, it is wholly unlikely that the lordly Bacon should have known these rustics in Warwickshire, or that he would have stopped for days at ale houses to study their character and habits. Would Shakespeare, who refused to write a eulogy on Queen Elizabeth because she murdered his friend Essex, have served the purpose of Bacon, who betrayed and prosecuted the Earl?

Donnelly deserves special mention only as the prince of Baconian humbugs. His cipher has been used by his own method to prove that Poe wrote the "Psalm of Life," by a writer who offers to prove similarly that George the Third wrote our Declaration of Independence, and Bob Ingersoll the Lord's Prayer. How much is such a contrivance worth? We may dismiss it without another word.

That no one living during the time of Shakespeare ever doubted that he was the author of the plays, you may judge from the estimate placed upon him by his contemporaries. Ben Jonson spoke of him as "The sweet swan of Avon; not of an age but for all time."

Soul of the age !
 The applause, delight, and wonder of our stage !
 My Shakespeare, rise ! I will not lodge thee by
 Chaucer, or Spenser, or bid Beaumont lie
 A little further to make thee a room ;
 Thou art a monument, without a tomb,
 And art still living, while thy book doth live
 And we have wits to read and praise to give.

Milton was contemporary with Shakespeare for seven years, and his first printed verses contain the following lines :

What needs my Shakespeare for his honored bones,
 The labor of an age in piled stones?
 Or that his hallowed relics should be hid
 Under the star-y-pointing pyramid?
 Dear son of memory, great heir of fame,
 What need'st thou such weak witness of thy name?
 Thou, in our wonder and astonishment,
 Hast built thyself a livelong monument.
 And so sepulchred in such pomp dost lie,
 That kings for such a tomb would wish to die,

In another poem, Milton speaks of "Sweetest Shakespeare, fancy's child."

Leonard Diggs, another contemporary poet, wrote :

Shakespeare's magic could not copied be ;
Within that circle none durst walk but he.

And again speaking of the "never-dying Shakespeare," he exclaims :

Poets are born, not made.
Pattern of all wit, art without art, unparalleled as yet.
All that he doth write is pure his own,
Plot, language, exquisite.
Like old coined gold his lines in every page,
Shall pass true current to succeeding age.
But why do I, dead Shakespeare's praise recite ?
Some second Shakespeare must of Shakespeare write.

Davies called Shakespeare the "English Terence." Cowper speaks of him as one of the most pregnant wits of the time.

Dryden, who came but a few years after Shakespeare, said that he "tried to imitate the divine Shakespeare, who, of all moderns, had the largest and most comprehensive soul ; that he had written better than any poet in any age." Another contemporary writes, speaking of Shakespeare's plays,

His works shall find their due, a deathless date,
Scorning the teeth of time or force of fate.

Among the authors living in the time of Shakespeare, or shortly afterwards, who referred to him, are Warren, Browne, Harvey, Benson, Spenser, author of the *Faery Queen*, Hanill, Samuel Pepys, who refers to Shakespeare twenty-one times in his diary, Phillips, who speaks of him as first of dramatic writers, Scrope, Shadwell, Rymer, Harringman, Marrot, Sir William Temple, Raynesford, Mulgrave, Crown, Tate, Davies, Webster, Holland, Freeman, and Francis Meres. They speak either of their high appreciation and knowledge of the author, or of his plays. Nineteen spurious plays were published, with his name forged, to give them character. Humbugs are not often counterfeited. And Shakespeare's hand is seen in many of the plays of contemporary writers.

But I might go on indefinitely, quoting panegyrics upon

Shakespeare, from the great writers of that golden age. I have but given a few specimens of what was thought of him by the men who knew him.

Among the thousands who have borne testimony to Shakespeare's exalted and exceptional genius, since his death, I quote from Churchill :

Nature listening stood, while Shakespeare played,
And wondered at the work herself had made.
A loose he gave to his unbounded soul,
And taught new lands to rise, new seas to roll.
Called into being, scenes unknown before,
And passing nature's bounds, was something more.

Schlegel, the great German philosopher, wrote : "In strength of intellect he was a demigod ; in profundity of view, a prophet ; in all-seeing wisdom, a guardian spirit."

Dr. Johnson said : "The stream of time, which is constantly washing the dissoluble fabrics of other poets, passes without injury, by the adamant of Shakespeare." And Gray, "To him the mighty mother did unveil her awful face."

I would add that he wrote as the wind blows, as the brook runs, as the bird sings, or the child plays.

Shakespeare must have known Latin. His Comedy of Errors is founded on an old play of Plautus, which had not then been translated. And it is thought that his Roman plays show a closer knowledge of the manners and customs of the people than he could have obtained from the very limited amount of translations then in existence. Contemporary writers say that he knew even more of French and Italian than he did of Latin. Much account is made of Jonson's taunt, in poetical paradox, before their personal friendship began, that "Shakespeare knew small Latin and less Greek." But Latin scholars say that Shakespeare's usage of the Latin element in our language is more striking in its nicety of Latinism than that of Milton himself and that his coloring of the Roman plays was marvelously perfect.

He left a number of manuscripts behind, but they were probably destroyed by fire at Stratford and in the theater where they were stored. We have left only *part* of the preface to

Lucrece and Venus and Adonis. The doom of fire on the outward remains of Shakespeare is, indeed, a curious one, not only in regard to buildings immediately associated with him, but more besides in which records of him might have been found. Indeed, there is scarcely a room or building in England, connected with Shakespeare, that has not perished. But his memory is as fresh and green with us to-day as ever, and his name will live while language lasts. He was a piece of the universe made alive, sent to the world to become a growing and exhaustless force. He drank at all the fountains, from the book of nature, and the best that man has given. His eloquence sprang from events and great actions. His manhood was centered in power, not pretension. In volume, depth, and compass, Shakespeare has been compared to the sea. Man may navigate the sea; sound, measure, and weigh it, but the mysteries of Shakespeare, no man can sound or gauge. The spirit of that deep cannot be uncovered unless by divine apocalypse.

Had Shakespeare lived in classic days, we would be told that he obtained from the gods the power to grapple with the mighty passions, to make us acquainted with our greatness and meanness, and to spiritualize into a mortal god, that poor but rich, august but abject, great, wonderful, crowning marvel and glory, but scandal of God's creation, so limited in nature, infinite in desires; so full of unisons and discords, as this complicated angel and devil called man.

Shakespeare was the supreme genius of all time, laying bare the mysteries of character and its infinite varieties; harmonizing its discords; dropping his plummet, as it were, more deeply than ever before into the sea of the spirit of man, and fathoming the heretofore unfathomable depths of spiritual nature.

Patriotism runs like a thread of living fire through all his works. His instincts were righteous. We shall always find his hero a true hero; his soldier, brave; his priest, good; his woman, wife, mother, and maid alike genuine. He has been called the *Æschylus* of modern drama. In tragic omnipotence, the *Agamemnon* of *Æschylus* only can weigh against *King Lear*, as in intellectual abyss the *Prometheus* can against *Hamlet*.

Upward and downward, inward and outward, his genius probes the depths of human passions; its springs and sorrows. He lifts the veil of the temple of humanity. We find all the varieties of love portrayed in Antony, Romeo, Cleopatra, Juliet, and Imogen. In that deepest, most pathetic, and tragic play ever written, Othello stands forth as the noblest type of man, Desdemona, the loveliest woman, and Iago the vilest scamp.

The superiority of Shakespeare's writings to those of any other modern dramatist can readily be appreciated by any one who has the capacity to be moved by contact with great things, just as passages from our Bible might be picked from among the sacred books of Confucius, Zoroaster, and Buddha, because of their infinitely higher tone.

We can picture him before us, writing, with grave lips and laughing eyes, as easily and naturally as the waters run, or the winds blow, with an imagination as high as Heaven, breathing such music! sweet, fresh, pure, rich, deep, clear, and heavenly as we have in the Tempest, Cymbeline, Romeo and Juliet, and Mid-Summer's Night's Dream.

But I will close with his own words, since, as a great contemporary remarked, "A description of Shakespeare could only properly be given by a Shakespeare."

His life was gentle, and the elements
So mixed in him, that nature might stand up
And say to all the world, "This was a man!"

He was a man, take him for all in all,
We shall not look upon his like again."

A combination and a form indeed,
Where every god did seem to set his seal,
And give the world assurance of a man.

"What a piece of work! How noble in reason! How infinite in faculties! In form and moving how express and admirable! In action, how like an angel! In apprehension, how like a god!"

A. B. FARQUHAR.

IS PROHIBITION OF THE LIQUOR TRAFFIC PRACTICABLE?

BY G. B. WINSLOW, OF PROHIBITION STATE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF KENTUCKY.

THE article appearing in the December (1892) number of this magazine upon the above subject by M. Fillmore Brown, is both interesting and entertaining; furthermore, it is perhaps as good an argument against the Prohibition party as any that can be made. But, as is frequently said, "there are two sides to every question," and I desire to lay the other side before you. In order to do this briefly and intelligently, I will take the liberty of quoting some of his main arguments and answering each separately. He says (page 570):

When a river captain proposes to float his steamer down an unknown river he does not ecstatically dance about and say, "I will float her whether there is water or not; God will float her, she will float in some way." He knows very well that he cannot float his craft unless there is sufficient depth and width of water; so the first inquiry he makes is as to the amount of water, the current, and the draft of his vessel.

I can most certainly agree with Mr. Brown on that proposition. Nothing is truer. He makes his mistake in assuming that the Prohibitionists have not made these inquiries. They have made explorations and have found that the question has sufficient depth and width; that the political stream upon which they now ride is the proper route—the water of great depth; that the moral tide will assist in bearing them on; and that the great draft made by the liquor traffic upon the finances of the country will help to carry them safely through.

A thing which is morally, politically, and financially right is almost certain to succeed in the end.

That the Prohibition principle is morally right, there can be

no doubt. That the policy is politically right, I reserve to show in another part of this article. I proceed now to show that it is financially sound.

Mr. Brown states (page 571) that there is annually spent for liquor in this country \$900,000,000. This was a true statement three or four years ago. But this amount is increasing at the alarming rate of almost \$100,000,000 per annum. In 1891 it had increased to \$1,200,000,000. Pardon me for putting in here some statistics for the year ending June, 1891, which will show you just how Prohibitionists figure this amount. They are based chiefly upon the internal revenue report for that year :

In the year 1891 there were made in the United States	
91,157,565 gallons of distilled spirits ; at ten cents per	
drink with sixty drinks to the gallon this would	
amount to	\$546,945,390
Also 977,479,760 gallons of fermented liquors ; at five	
cents a drink, with twelve drinks to the gallon . . .	586,487,856
Total expenditure for liquors in the United States	
for 1891,	\$1,133,433,246
Spent for same purposes in 1890	1,040,452,773
Increase of trade in the traffic for one year	\$92,980,473

REVENUES FROM THE TRAFFIC.

Total amount received by the United States from it, .	\$111,901,093
Total amount received from it by the various states in	
license, etc.,	41,272,000
Grand total of revenue from it,	\$153,173,093
Amount spent for liquor for industrial, artistical, me-	
chanical, and medicinal purposes,	\$114,229,655
Total POSSIBLE GOOD derived from the liquor traffic,	\$267,402,748
Subtract this last amount from the "total expenditure	
for liquor," as given above, and there is left, . . .	\$866,030,498

This last amount is the amount which we actually waste every year by allowing the liquor traffic to exist. Take notice that this is only the direct cost of the liquor as it is retailed over our bars. No account has been taken of the cost to prosecute and support criminals or to support paupers caused by the traffic or to pay the value of the 100,000 lives destroyed by it each year.

This amount would build one million houses worth \$860 each. One million houses would give comfortable homes to at least three million people. Mind you that this is not what the liquor traffic has cost us since the foundation of our government or for one hundred years or fifty years or twenty-five years or ten years or even two years, but what it cost us in the one year of 1891, and that the traffic is increasing at the rate of nearly one hundred million dollars each year. Is there any business sense in allowing such to continue?

Compare it with the following :

The total collection of tariff revenue for 1891 was . . .	\$219,522,205
Total expenses of the United States government for all purposes in 1891 were	437,436,368
Aggregate loss of property by fire in the United States, same year,	131,260,400
Grand total,	\$788,218,973

Which is to say that the amount of money uselessly spent for liquors in the United States simply to satisfy the appetite (leaving off the revenue derived from the traffic and the good results from the use for industrial, artistical, mechanical, and medicinal purposes) would, each year, pay all the expenses of the United States government, and all the collections made on account of tariff, and for all property destroyed by fire in the United States, and leave the nice little sum of \$77,811,525 for "pin money." Is it not, then, a financial question? It is almost four times greater than the great tariff question.

Now to show that it is especially a political question.

Mr. Brown says (page 571) :

The day is past when one man or a few men assuming to themselves a divine superiority of opinion over all other men can say that a principle is right and must be law.

Why men will insist that the success of Prohibition will result in a small minority ruling a large majority is a thing which I have never been able to understand. The Prohibitionists are not using any underhand methods. They are making a plain, open fight, and the only way in which the party can obtain control of this government is to get *more votes* than any other party.

This is the only way in which any party can get into power. Then why say that the success of the Prohibition party would be the success of "one man or a few men assuming to themselves a divine superiority of opinion over all other men"? The party is small now but it wages "a campaign of education," just like all others.

But let us take Mr. Brown's own statement in another part of his article in regard to the number of votes required to pass an amendment to the federal Constitution (which is the aim of the Prohibition party). He says (page 573) :

Before such an amendment can become a part of the Constitution such an amendment must receive the assent of three fourths of the states. There are now forty-four states ; thirty-three states must pass a prohibitory amendment. Can the consent of these thirty-three states be obtained ?

Surely when this is the case, it cannot be properly said that the success of the Prohibition party would result in the minority governing the majority. It not only requires a majority in the United States but a majority in three fourths of all the states.

Again, on page 571, the following is found :

A law is a dead letter, when the people of such community are not ready to receive the law, yield obedience to it, and be governed by it.

Since what time has this come to be true ? If true at all, it must have come to pass since the settlement of the slavery question. Mr. Brown himself says (page 573) :

Slavery was local ; it was confined to a minority of the states south of Mason and Dixon's line. The liquor traffic is not local ; like the grip—it is everywhere.

The sentiment in the states where it existed was overwhelmingly in favor of it ; but the United States government said that it must cease and it has ceased. As said above, the Prohibition party cannot get into power until it gets a majority of the votes ; it cannot get a majority of the votes until it educates Prohibition sentiment into a majority of the voters. When this is accomplished the law can be easily enforced. Furthermore, if a local question, such as slavery, could be made a question of national politics, then why may we not make a national political ques-

tion out of the liquor traffic which exists throughout our whole country ? This is one of the main elements which go to make the liquor question a political one. The meaning of the word "political" is "affecting the whole body politic."

On page 571, Mr. Brown shows that the liquor traffic has been increasing enormously "in spite of the most wonderful condemnation and opposition." In elegant language on page 572, he shows that moral suasion is an absolute failure. On page 574, he shows that local option is worse than nothing. On page 578, he shows that a state amendment is of practically the same value as local option. I do not think that he is entirely correct in all three of these conclusions, or in either of them (he is in a very great degree). But admit that he is absolutely correct ; the question then arises, what shall we do about it ?

Mr. Brown's answer to this question is found in the closing paragraph of his article :

Not until the moral tone of society has been completely changed with reference to the sale and drinking of intoxicating liquors, and it becomes disreputable to be seen going into a saloon, just as disreputable as it is to go into a house of ill-fame, can a prohibitory law be passed and enforced. A prohibitory law passed in such a condition of society only puts a free rum sale in the place of our present excise system. Therefore, just as long as society continues to regard the drinking of intoxicating liquors as respectable, barring no man from any public position of emolument, I am in favor of a strong, clean excise system that makes the business pay into the treasury just as large a sum of money as possible, and at the same time controls and limits the traffic just as much as possible.

A more illogical statement could scarcely be penned. If, in order to drive the traffic out of the country, the business must become more disreputable than at present, why should we keep constantly trying to make it more respectable by controlling and limiting it as much as possible ? The great argument generally used in favor of a high license is that it makes the business more respectable. The Prohibitionists have an entirely different answer to the question. If the traffic has grown to such enormous proportions "in spite of the most wonderful condemnation and opposition," what will become of our country if the opposition ceases ? We are willing to acknowledge that

the remedies used up to the present time have been more or less failures. But the remedy now offered by the Prohibitionists is more extensive and sweeping than any that has yet been tried. And, strange to say, the article referred to has not touched the radical idea of *Prohibition*—which is the suppression of the *manufacture*, as well as the sale, of liquor. I have yet to see the first case cited where a distillery or brewery has been run in full blast in a Prohibition state. It may have been done, but I have never seen it charged. A man may carry a small saloon in his pocket or his boot-leg, but a distillery or brewery is not so portable. There are to-day some few illicit distilleries, but where are they?—always in the mountain fastnesses, and not in the cities or towns. A national prohibitory law could be enforced with as much ease as our present revenue laws.

Lastly, Mr. Brown (page 573) speaks as follows :

The Supreme Court of the United States has already held that the matter of the sale of intoxicating liquors is a police regulation, a part of the sovereign power of the state, and the general government has no more to do with the business of manufacturing and selling liquor in a state than it has to regulate how streets shall be paved in a city.

Grant that this statement is entirely true, and still the federal government has a duty to perform. It must prohibit both the sale and manufacture of it in the places in which it has jurisdiction; but above all it must prohibit the *transportation* of it into a Prohibition state, for the Supreme Court has held that such transportation is lawful. A state can prohibit the sale and manufacture within its own borders, but it cannot prohibit the importation from another state. If it can be imported into a state, then for all practical purposes it may as well be manufactured there.

With this federal law in existence, if forty-three of the forty-four states were to pass state amendments all the distilleries and breweries could be moved into the one remaining state and enough liquor be made and shipped into the other states to supply them all, and thus the will of a small minority defeat a large majority. If all the states were to pass amendments, liquor could still be imported into them from foreign countries.

On the other hand, a proper amendment could be made to the United States Constitution with the approval of thirty-three states.

High license is like pruning a tree—it makes it more luxuriant and prolific. Moral suasion is like killing it by plucking off its leaves—exceedingly slow and impracticable. Local option trims off a few branches, but they soon grow out again. State amendments cut off some of the larger limbs—that stunts it. Dig the tree up by the roots—that kills it, and that is National Prohibition.

For these reasons Prohibitionists believe a national constitutional amendment to be the most feasible and practicable plan of destroying the liquor traffic.

G. B. WINSLOW.

MANHATTAN; A PROPOSED NEW STATE.

BY ALFRED H. PETERS.

ARGUMENTS in favor of a consolidation of the cities of New York and Brooklyn have lately been set forth by divers well-known citizens in public meetings and through the newspaper press. While considering these arguments it has doubtless been to many a matter of wonderment that the consolidation movement did not include the other cities contiguous to New York, inasmuch as the same arguments apply in their case as in the case of Brooklyn. Moreover it is probably believed by others besides the present writer that the consolidation with New York of the cities adjacent thereto, how desirable soever as a single end, is still more desirable as the initiative toward another and greater end, namely : a constitutional separation of the consolidated city from the states whereof its existing divisions now form a part. It is therefore proposed that the territory contained within the ellipse which, roughly speaking, would be formed by a line of flexion passing through Mount Vernon on the north, Jamaica on the east, Perth Amboy on the south, and Llewellyn Park on the west, that is to say, the cities of New York, Brooklyn, Long Island City, Jersey City, Elizabeth, Newark, and Orange, together with their suburbs, shall be set off by the states of New York and New Jersey to be incorporated into a single municipality, which shall constitute a new member of the Federal Union to be known as the city and state of Manhattan or Mannahatta. Many reasons may be adduced for such a separation, however startling the proposal shall appear to those who think of it for the first time.

The proposed new state would obtain what its component parts have never been able to obtain—the right of home government. They have, to be sure, every one a delegation in the

legislature of the state to which it belongs, but these delegations, besides often being counter to one another, must work in conjunction with a company of legislators whose constituents have separate and perhaps opposite interests from their own constituents ; who are often ignorant of what legislation they do or do not require, but who are at the same time jealous of their prerogative and eager to use it for personal or partisan ends if for no other. From the very beginning, New York, and the adjacent cities as well, have had always some cause of grievance against the governments of the states to which they belong. Either their taxation is more or their representation less in proportion to the vote of the state, or else their enterprises are obstructed, their ordinances over-ridden, or their administration in part usurped. Unsatisfactory laws are forced upon them through the effort to make one statute apply to the entire state. A densely populated and cosmopolitan community must of needs require different laws from a sparsely-settled and comparatively homogeneous community. To force upon a great metropolis the same laws that are accepted by a rural community is to keep its citizens in a constant state of irritation and to render such laws more honored in the breach than in the observance.

If the cities which it is proposed to unite under one jurisdiction have cause to complain of their country legislators, so also has the country cause to complain of its city legislators. There is a mutual feeling of distrust arising from a lack of common interests. The country regards many of its city legislators either as representatives of special interests—lobbyists rather than legislators—or as demagogues of the baser sort. Moreover the influence of the delegations from New York and Brooklyn, or Newark and Jersey City, being exerted almost as a unit at Albany or Trenton often overweighs at those capitals the influence of all the other legislators combined. The immense financial and commercial interests concentrated in the city of New York draw away the attention of legislators from the agricultural and inland trade interests. In every legislative session the most part of the time at Albany is taken up with affairs at the mouth of the Hudson. Considering the forces which organized

capital often employs to shape legislation in its favor, the country legislator at Albany is subjected to perpetual temptation, insomuch that he is many times charged by his constituents with yielding thereto whether he does so or not. If he vote for a measure whereby any metropolitan enterprise is supposed to gain at the expense of the country, he is, regardless of the equities which may obtain, straightway accused of having sold out to New York.

The fact that the cities of New York and Brooklyn are opposed to the remainder of the state in general politics is another cause of discontent. In every state or national election it is always New York and Brooklyn against that part of the state lying above the Harlem. Hence often arise opportunities for all manner of political "deals" between the faction-leaders of the state and those of these cities; wherein the latter are always ready to trade state or national ballots for municipal ballots if the local contest be any wise close. So immense has become the political patronage of the city of New York that it is regarded by those who aspire to dispense it as of more consequence than the direction of state legislation or even of the national government.

The state of New York, by reason of the extraordinary growth of its great seaport and the number of other cities which it contains, has acquired an influence in national affairs altogether disproportionate to that of the other states of the Union. The whole country, in every question of national importance, begins to inquire how it is regarded by New York. That state is the quadrennial battle ground of national politics wherein all the forms of political artifice and corruption are exerted to obtain its thirty-six presidential electors, or its seventy-two conventional delegates. Its political leaders have forced terms from more than one federal administration. Either its governor or one of its senators is generally a leading presidential candidate; and a cabinet minister from New York is regarded as a matter of course. So great preponderance of one state in the common Union is naturally a cause of jealousy and dissatisfaction on the part of the other states, hardly one of which does not chafe against the supremacy of New York. This feeling is little

affected by the fact that the least important state in the Union counts for the same as New York in one branch of the federal Congress. The Congress in either House is becoming less and less a dominant political factor with every year of our history. The verdict is made up outside of Washington and they who assemble there must either confirm that verdict or give place to those who will. And in that great extra legislative body whose session never adjourns, the fate of all opinions, sentiments, and interests depends very largely upon the action of the state of New York.

Neither of the two great political parties as they now exist would derive any considerable advantage from the creation of the proposed new state. The principal change which would result therefrom of partisan significance would be the addition of two members to the federal Senate as well as to the electoral college. The new senators and electors would be Democrats, but they would be offset by two Republican senators and the same number of electors from what would then constitute the state of New York ; the political position of the present state, in spite of the last two elections always doubtful, being succeeded to by New Jersey which would then become a doubtful state. The admission of two new senators from the denser settled part of the Union would in some measure repair the injustice lately done to that section in the matter of numerical representation by the admission of so many sparsely settled states.

The reasons thus far urged in favor of the proposed new state appeal only to the cities which would constitute it, the states from whence it would be set off, and the remaining states of the American Union. There is however one other reason which might be urged by the whole of western civilization. It would be a crucial test of democracy. Whilst popular government, in form at least, was never more widely distributed than at the present time, the fear thereof continues an active and persistent force in all modern politics. Democracy limps most in its application to municipal government, the evil therein being attributed by its friends to the checks imposed upon the free working of the democratic principle, and by its enemies to the

inherent weakness of the principle itself. Many observers hold that the evils of democratic municipal government arise principally from a neglect of the duties of citizenship on the part of the so-called better class. Be this as it may, nothing would cause this class to bestir itself politically so much as to force it into a position where it must act in order to protect itself. So long as this class may appeal for protection to an authority above the municipal authority, it will do so rather than take the work into its own hands. Upon every citizen should be laid the necessity of proving the virtue of democracy, and if democracy be unequal to certain conditions of civilization the sooner the world is assured of it the better.

ALFRED H. PETERS.

THE SCIENCE OF DEMAGOGY.

BY THOMAS NIXON CARVER.

IT IS probable that, on the subject of individual independence of judgment, human nature is so sensitive that no one who cares to practice the art of demagoguery will ever dare to profess any knowledge of it. This is probably the most serious objection to the recognition of demagoguery, or something equivalent to it, as a legitimate subject for scientific study.

The term by which the study should be technically known would be hard to decide. Etymologically, nothing could possibly be better than demagoguery, but this name is probably covered with too many centuries of obliquity ever to become respectable enough for such a purpose. Leaving the problem of naming the study to solve itself let us try to find out what that which we, for the present, term demagoguery signifies for modern politics.

In the first place, it must be regarded as a social phenomenon, older and deeper than modern political campaigns, resting on principles deep in human society, always and inevitably the accompaniment of popular government. Wherever any question of great moment calls for popular decision, there are influences, other than argument, brought to bear to affect that decision. Such has always been the case, and such will continue to be the case, at least so long as human nature is so constructed that the majority of men prefer to have their religious and political thinking done for them and to be led by ways they know not. It will take a long time to effect such a reconstruction, for few principles are more deeply imbedded than that upon which leadership is based. This principle lies very near to the foundation of all government and every religious organization, and runs parallel with the gregarious instinct of the human species. Those governments and those

religious organizations which harmonize most completely with this principle are the most powerful in all ages. Democracy is essentially demagogocracy (though of demagogues there are many species, good, bad, indifferent), but fortunately it is not a hereditary dominion. If we assume that popular government is to survive all other forms, have we not reason to expect, aye, even to hope, that the problem of gaining the popular will shall become a study worthy of the attention of every one who would serve his fellow-men just as it has long been the study of those who would be served by their fellow-men.

Economic and social reformers have wasted a vast deal of mental energy in the solution of economic and social problems because they have left unsolved the great problem of getting the people to adopt their measures. Few of them are willing to leave the regeneration of society to chance or to the blind workings of an undirected evolution, but that is precisely what they are doing so long as they leave to chance or to the spontaneous action of society, the question of embodying reform measures in legislative form.

The fact that people must be led rather than convinced, and the scholar's failure to appreciate that fact, are the chief reasons for the scholar's disaffection for party politics. But the practical politician is keenly alive to the fact, and knows how to adapt himself to it. When the scholar shall also recognize it, and compensate for his lack of practical insight by careful study, he may hope to exert a controlling influence in politics. It was because the clergy "had learned in the schools to manage words and at the confessional to manage hearts" that they were the politicians of the old *régime*, and it is because attorneys have learned the same arts before the bar that they have hitherto played so important a part in American politics. Let the specialist in political science learn the same things and he will become a power in practical politics.

It was scarcely anticipated, at one time, that the subject of methods of imparting knowledge would develop into a science. Yet comparatively few years of popular education have given us the science of pedagogy—an inductive science, based upon

observation and experiment. Popular government, in an extensive form, is a thing too recent as yet to afford sufficient material for an inductive science of demagogy. But there has been enough experience to prove that men, as other gregarious animals, follow leaders, and there ought already to be sufficient data to begin a study of why one leader is followed rather than another. Practice, which always precedes theory, has not been lacking. Did theory with the same certainty succeed practice we might safely predict the birth of the science of demagogy.

The demagogue has flourished in this country as he has in no other, but like many of our products, he is not indigenous. Almost three thousand years ago, Absalom is recorded * to have placed himself before the gate to greet such as came to the king with a suit. Greeting each man with a kiss, and assuring him that his cause was just, Absalom exclaimed, "Oh that I were made judge in the land, that every man which hath any suit or cause might come unto me and I would do him justice." From a similar practice among the Romans we have the word "ambition." The Greeks made a decided advance in the art, when a class of orators arose, to whom the name demagogue was first applied. These orators sought to win the favor of the *demos* by harangues and rhetorical flattery. Somewhat later the popular favor was sought by means of free entertainments and shows. The Romans carried this method still further, and added to it the feature of the free lunch, until "bread and circuses" became the established means of political grace.

Demagogy, especially in its higher form as political tactics, is in many ways analogous to military science. Military leaders know the effect of a stirring battle cry upon soldiers. The idea of a political rallying cry seems to have developed from the battle cry. Thus in the battle of Weinsberg in 1140, Welf and Waibling were the battle cries of the papal and imperial parties respectively, Welf being the name of the papal leader and Waibling the name of one of the Hohenstaufen castles. During the long contest between the popes and the Hohenstaufens these names continued to distinguish the two parties. A more effective

* 2 Samuel XV. : 1-6

demagogical weapon was soon found in derisive and reproachful nicknames bestowed upon the opposition. Thus Whig, a Scotch word used in driving horses, and later applied to a religiously fanatical insurrection, was bestowed upon that English party, which, as successor to the Roundheads, opposed the court, while Tory, the name applied to the court party was an Irish word meaning a robber or a bully.

Every one knows of the prevalence of nicknames among boys. The inherent boyishness and frolicsomeness of Americans has made the use of political nicknames of special importance here. They really furnish an excellent index to our national character. What other people, for instance, would think of bestowing the name "Long Tom" upon a political hero? Among no other people would the title "Old Hickory" be accepted as a testimonial of statesmanlike breadth and wisdom, especially when applied to a perverse, bigoted, and querulous old man, nor would "Tippecanoe" or "Old Tip" be regarded as carrying with it qualifications for the office of Chief Executive, did not the people regard politics as a great joke. Yet these very names have had much to do with the political preferences of many a voter. No one who has not studied it can conceive of the effect of such ridiculous and opprobrious names as "Locofoco," "Black Republican," "Copperhead," or "Mugwump." But at least one wise and shrewd party leader has had cause to regret the impolitic attempt of one of his friends to formulate a reproachful, alliterative appellation* for the opposing party. Those who dubbed a sincere measure for the purification of elections by the unpopular name "Force Bill" knew perfectly well what was in a name. A large number of men ask no more questions when they hear that name. A similar effect is produced by the term "Sumptuary Laws." "Protection to American Industries" appeals to a certain national feeling, and a great many never go back of that feeling to see whether the term is suited to the policy to which it is applied.

The candidate who, to make his calling and election sure, kissed the babies of his constituency, survives only in extremely

* Rev. Mr. Burchard's "Rum, Romanism and Rebellion."

mild form in the effusively polite candidate of to-day. But the governor of a western state proved the efficiency of the good old way of Absalom in this last decade of the nineteenth century, by spending days of his candidacy in the railway shops and other large establishments of his state, shaking the employees by the hand, deploring the lowness of their wages, and assuring them that the administration was to blame for it all.

The stump speech, which may be regarded as a descendant of the harangues of the Athenian demagogues, has, until quite recently, been the favorite field of the American demagogue. Here he has had abundant room for the exercise of his powers. Here he has lashed himself into a fury over the wrongs of the "dear people," and shed tears over their oppression by bad and tyrannical politicians, monopolists, bloated bondholders, etc., etc. Here he has poured forth his lamentations over the dire, and multiplex calamities in store for the country should his ticket be defeated, and, in case of its success, promised riches and blessing without end. But even the stump speech is losing its charm, and can only be depended upon in extremely primitive localities.

We have never had anything in this country so magnificently spectacular nor, happily, so vicious, as some of the Roman games. Yet, in the days of so-called political simplicity, when, at inaugurations, the presidential mansion was overrun by a festive mob for whose refreshment great tubs of punch were carried to different parts of the ground, or in the famous hard cider campaign of 1840, and the torchlight processions that still survive, we have every essential principle of the "*panem et circenses*" of the Romans.

The use of printing has vastly augmented the power of the demagogue. Without its pamphleteers, the French Revolution could not have become what it did. And in this country the newspaper is the most powerful demagogical weapon. But on the other hand the educating power of the press is rendering the work of the demagogue more and more difficult. The press and other means for the rapid spread of intelligence have made, not only possible, but necessary, that American institution, the cam-

paign committee. It has made it possible, as it has made centralization possible in other lines, by bringing all parts of the field of operation into close communication with the central office. It has made it necessary because the growth of intelligence and independence has made more difficult the work of keeping the party in line. It can no longer be intrusted to scattered individual leaders. The work of conducting a political campaign is becoming analogous to that of conducting a military campaign, in that it requires centralized authority and responsibility. Thus the campaign committee has become a more fundamentally important institution than is usually supposed. With its strong party organization, based upon the soundest principles of administrative science, it probably means the perpetuation of the two great parties of the present. But this stern view of the case is relieved by the certainty that whenever any reform movement acquires considerable strength, it will be incorporated into the platform of one or the other of the parties.

Though the campaign committee is simply organized and centralized demagogy, and though demagogy is repugnant to our spirit of independence, yet the appearance of the campaign committee furnishes reasons for congratulation rather than condolence. It is in one sense an indication of advancing intelligence and earnestness on the part of the people. This earnestness makes them less willing to be led. We may not approve of the "Blocks of Five" method, but we may thank our stars that it is no longer possible to lead men in blocks of five hundred, that we have so far outgrown the days of hard cider campaigns that even the worst of whiskey must be judiciously administered to be efficacious, and that even the most spectacular torchlight procession cannot always be relied upon to demonstrate the superiority of the party's policy. If it be true that vast quantities of money are collected and expended in the dark for partisan purposes, it is also true that, to-day, no Davy Crockett can purchase enough whiskey with a coonskin to openly purchase a score of votes. So far have we degenerated from early simplicity. We are at least free from the dangers that continually threaten the Spanish-American republics from the

presence of jealous demagogues among an adolescent people. Nations, as well in their adolescence as in their dotage, too often repeat King Lear's mistake.

Moreover, the concentration of power and responsibility in the hands of a committee will ultimately prove of great assistance to the cause of political reform. When we have adjusted our ideas to the situation the strong party organization will make possible the practical carrying out of the proposal to require the publication of an itemized account of receipts and expenditures of money for campaign purposes. Such a plan would be unthinkable without this concentration of party power and responsibility.

Taking human nature as we find it in real life, with its many-sidedness, and its idiosyncrasies, and assuming that popular government is to be the government of the future, may we not expect to see a more thorough study of the question of how to guide the popular will, in short, of demagoguery—a study based upon psychology, the science of administration, history, and anthropology, and bringing to its aid all the social sciences?

T. N. CARVER.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

BY AN EX-UNITED STATES SENATOR.

THE offices of the government—those involving neither political power nor the choice of policies, but routine administration only—touch at some point and in some degree the material interest of every one of our fifty millions of people. To say that the men best fitted for the work should be appointed to these offices and should hold them until men still better fitted should appear is to utter a truism which not one of these fifty millions will controvert. And yet it has come to pass that the unanimity in admitting this truth in words is only equaled by the unanimity in disregarding it in action. It has come to pass that the offices are dealt with as the prizes of partisan activity ; as the rewards to be distributed to active faithful henchmen by party chiefs of high or low degree, to be held until the salary or emolument or honor shall have furnished a sufficient compensation, and then to be given to another partisan worker who has performed later or greater service. This practice has permeated every part of our government, federal, state, county, township, and municipal. It reaches every appointive office. It involves every officer, almost every man supposed to have influence with the appointing power. It affects the appointment and tenure as well of the laborers on the streets as of the members of the Cabinet.

It is not necessary to particularize. The universal rule—if there be any exception, it only emphasizes the rule—is service and office, partisan work and official salary as pay, and change in the office-holder as soon as the salary shall have paid for the work or a better or newer worker appears.

This is the spoils system. The name explains it. The name opens up to every thoughtful man, nay, to every man who will

see even without thinking, a vision of wrong, injustice, brutality, wastefulness, recklessness, fraud, speculation, degradation of persons and of parties, which has driven from public life much of the cultivated intellect and refined morality of the country and fills even the most hopeful mind with sadness for much in the present and grave anxiety for the future.

The idea that one hundred thousand offices, purely administrative, almost absolutely clerical in their nature, paying \$100,000,000 a year are to be distributed by the President and his appointees, after every election and as often during his term as the rapacity of place-hunters can persuade or force him, as the rewards of partisan service to be earned by mere personal activity or contribution of money, is a crime against the civilization of the age. It is the prolific parent of fraud, and corruption and brutality. It sets up the emoluments of office as the prize of party struggles, and the stimulant of partisan effort; and the love of money induces a ferocious activity in the pursuit of party success, which is the condition of getting office.

Necessarily, by the logic of the system, which is stronger than the determination of good men, however strong they may be, in its farthest ramification, it awards the highest comparative prizes to those who have done the most of the dirtiest work of our lowest politics. It makes our presidents and our secretaries peddlers of office and diverts their time and attention from a wise and faithful discharge of the high duties with which they are charged. President Garfield in his delirium exclaimed in a tone of agony: "Do tell that crowd of office seekers I cannot see them to-day—I am so sick." This incident was exquisitely touching—it was a burning reproach to the system.

This system drives senators and representatives into such position that they not only neglect the chief duty of legislation, but too often they are tempted by their friends and supporters, and are almost coerced, to make support of administration conditional upon obtaining offices for their friends. But this is not all nor even the worst. This appeal to love of money and love of patronage as the stimulus to exertion creates a fierce and brutal party spirit which stops at no wrong in the accomplishment of

its end. It makes an intelligent exercise of the elective franchise impossible. It makes a free election and a fair count impossible. It levies contributions on all the offices and expends the vast sums thus collected in corrupting the voters. It lowers the tone and degrades the sentiment not only of public men, but, more important still, of the whole people behind them. Of the former class under this system Josiah Quincy said :

There are creatures who under pretense of serving the people are in fact serving themselves ; creatures who in truth are spending their time mousing at the doors of the palace or the crannies of the departments, and laying low snares to catch for themselves or their relatives every stray office that flits by them ; who openly abandon their duties and put their places and their consciences for sale in defiance of the multiplied, strong, and tender ties by which they are bound to their country, Why, sir, the clamor of the craving animals at the Treasury trough is heard in this Capitol. Such running, such jostling, such climbing over one another's backs, such squealing because the trough is so narrow and the company is so crowded !

Mr. Quincy's description was true to the letter and has been true ever since. The spoils system has impaired the efficiency of the service. A single example will illustrate. During 1,565 consecutive secular days prior to 1871, the removals in the custom house at New York numbered 1,678 ; more than at the rate of one for every day for nearly five years. The aggregate was nearly equal to the removal of every man on the force twice in that time. This office has nothing to do with party politics. It is an office where duties on merchandise and other imports of the value of \$600,000,000 yearly are to be estimated and collected, and where half a million dollars are daily collected. At no other port in the world is the business so large. The result was such as might have been expected. Bribes were accepted. Elections were coerced. Money was extorted from merchants. Smuggling and undervaluation took place. In 1874 it cost the United States nearly \$7,000,000 to collect duties on less than \$700,000,000 of imports, while in the same year it cost Great Britain only \$5,000,000 to collect the duties on \$1,000,000,000 of imports. The collection of revenue at that time cost in the United States three times as much as in France, four times as much as in Germany, and five times as much as in Great Brit-

ain. I refer to the excellent work of Mr. Eaton on this subject.

The late Secretary Windom made this statement :

One of the most obvious objections to the present mode of appointment is that it tends to convert the departments into mere charitable institutions for the purpose of supporting people who are unable to support themselves. Of the numerous applications made at the Treasury Department, I would be safe in saying that five sixths are based upon the inability of the person applying to support himself. . . . The best services are not secured and the appointments are not properly distributed.

The system of appointment and removals has prevented the most worthy from entering the service ; has kept those within it in ceaseless anxiety ; has discouraged fidelity and has invited the disreputable and incompetent to press for places. It has degraded the tone of the service. It has debauched the public morals and disturbed the public peace. It made Guiteau a possible aspirant for office, and assassination a possible vengeance for his disappointment.

These are the fruits of the spoils system. If good and true and faithful men are found in the public service, as they certainly are in the departments and elsewhere, it is in spite of all these tendencies.

We must supplant this system : we must chase it out with hue and cry. In its place we must put another and better system founded on the idea that public offices are public trusts to be administered solely for the public good ; that the fittest men shall administer them until still fitter and better men shall be found ; that offices have no right to exist, except for the reason that the faithful execution of the duties attached to them is necessary to the public welfare and the maximum of efficiency and minimum of cost constitute the only condition on which they should exist. We must establish the idea that the business of fifty millions of people must be transacted by business men on business principles, and all the more rigidly and faithfully because it is the business of the people.

If vacancies were to be filled only by the one man whom proper intelligent comparison, based on competition, should show to be the fittest, irrespective of personal influence or

action, how little would be the demand for removals. If removals were only for causes of inefficiency or unfaithfulness or because another was shown to be fitter and better, how little would be the scramble for office. This is the merit system, the only true system. It appoints men who are honest, capable, and faithful. It keeps in service those who are proved to have such qualifications. It would open the civil service to all who choose to aspire. It would fill that service with the men proven to be the best by fair competition. It would elevate the tone of all aspirants by making them feel that they owe nothing to patronage, but all to merit. It would make that service tenfold more efficient and reduce the expenses. It would set up principle and not emolument as the prize of party struggle. It would destroy the dangerous quality, even if it did not sensibly modify the zeal, of party spirit. It would consign politics to men of higher aspirations and nobler aims. It would elevate the motives, and therefore the tone, of party strife. It would raise the temper and style of public partisan discussion. It would eliminate the brutality of our politics. It would leave to our presidents and secretaries and congressmen time and heart for their high duties.

The merit system would do all this and more. Its beneficent spirit would give to merit the highest rewards, and would therefore stimulate excellences into competition. It would demand and stimulate a higher grade of intellectual and political education. It would in time reach popular elections and appointments to the offices which dictate policies. It would have the sanction of public opinion and through it stamp out all interference with a free ballot and a fair count, whether by fraud or force or intimidation of voters. It would put an end to political assessments and the expenditure of immense corruption funds. Like Jacob's ladder, its foot would be on the earth, its top in the heavens, and angels, bearing its blessings would descend upon it. It would realize the aspiration of the convention of Massachusetts which far back in the olden times ordained the provisions of its constitution "to the end that it may be a government of the laws, and not of men."

Are we to believe that the spoils system is so strongly entrenched in the affections or the prejudices or the habits of our people that we cannot eradicate it? I refer to our early history. This was not the system of the Constitution nor our fathers and is but sixty years old. I refer to the history of England. The spoils system had been carried to perfection there. Its evils had been aggravated by the fact that it had entered the church and the army, as well as the civil service, and by the further fact that the nobility and hierarchy monopolized the spoils. If we read Trevelyan's life of Charles James Fox or Macaulay's history from the accession of William, we wonder at the unparalleled robbery of the government and the people; and yet after one hundred and fifty years of luxuriant growth, while the nobility and the ministry and the members of Parliament were in the full enjoyment of the patronage in church and state in face of an adverse Parliament, in 1855 Lord Palmerston by an order in council cut up the system, root and branch, and introduced competitive examinations. Parliament by direct vote condemned the change, but the ministry persevered, enforced the order in council, made examinations and appointed according to merit. In less than one year Parliament reversed its condemnation and volunteered to make any appropriation which should be found necessary and in less than two years Parliament, by a unanimous vote, declared that the system ought to be extended to the whole civil service. It has been so extended and Gladstone a few years ago in his place in the House of Commons declared amidst applauding cheers that the full extent of his patronage was the appointment of his own private secretary. The British system may not be entirely suited to our conditions. The tenure of office, the age of entrance, the retiring pension, the establishment of an official class by encouraging young men to enter and providing for them for life perhaps cannot and ought not to be transplanted here; but the history of this change of system in the British Empire presents to us a splendid example of self-denial and courage and power in eradicating an acknowledged abuse. Must we believe that our people, our government, our Executive cannot do so much in this direction

as the Parliament and ministry of Great Britain have so successfully accomplished in the last thirty-five years?

The importance of the subject, the imperative demand for some improvement should secure the most earnest attention on the part of every good citizen. It should be regarded in no spirit of narrow partisanship, but in a feeling of devotion to right principles.

The fundamental idea of a wholesome civil service system is that whenever a new appointment or promotion is necessary to be made, such appointment or promotion shall be given to the man who is best fitted to discharge the duties of the position, and that such fitness shall be ascertained by an open, fair, honest, and impartial competitive examination. The impartiality of these examinations should be secured by every safeguard which the wit of man can devise. They should be open to all who present themselves, and should be tests of the fitness of the applicant for the particular place to which he aspires. A copying clerk should not be examined in astronomy, a mail distributor in mineralogy, nor a weigher or gauger in ancient history. The suggestion to the contrary accompanied by a sneer, which we so often hear savors rather of ignorance in the objector than defect in the system.

There are many cases to which the civil service is not yet applicable. In cases of election by the people the choice must be left to the discretion and judgment of the people. In cases where the officer exercises political power and contributes to the formulation and success of policies, it is essential that the party to which the people have confided the administration, and on which they have reposed the responsibility, should have its chosen and confidential agents. In cases where the Constitution has confided the appointment and confirmation to the discretion of the President and Senate, it may well be doubted whether Congress has the power to limit that discretion. In this matter no doubtful power should be exercised.

There are, however, more than one hundred thousand offices not included in the classes named. Their salaries alone—not including expenditures under their control—reach more than one

hundred millions of dollars. They conduct absolutely the entire routine civil service. At some point they come in contact with every one of our fifty million people. If civil service can deal successfully with this great number ; if it can fill these hundred offices with the men most capable to discharge the duties ; if this hundred million dollars of salaries can be eliminated from the prizes for which hundreds of thousands of men contend with such unscrupulous ferocity at every presidential election, a public opinion irresistible as the tornado or earthquake will demand that a reform alike in quality, though not by the same methods, shall be made in appointments by the President and even in elections by the people.

Never was there a more favorable opportunity for a great party to rise above the plane of partisanship and take a stand upon the broad principles of statesmanship and patriotism than the present. We are now in the majority and the offices will soon be within our grasp. Let us declare that we will have none of these offices except those that may be won by merit. Let us give proof of our past pretended sincerity in this great reform. Let us make the coming administration one of purity and patriotism and statesmanship and convince even our opponents that we contend for power not that we may enjoy the emoluments of office but that we may lead the country in the pathways of advancement and beneficence under the inspiration of a true democracy. This patronage, however pleasant for the moment, is a snare and a curse to any man or any party. Let us put it behind us now and destroy it as Lord Palmerston crushed it in England. Let us stand upon the right, no matter what our opponents may have done or what we may have done in the past, and we will in the future reap our inestimable reward in having disengaged our party and our President from influences which will surely plant the seeds of early defeat for present victory, and in having saved our country from the perils which now environ it.

CURRENCY OBJECT LESSONS.

BY WILLIAM KNAPP, ESQ.

DURING the last two decades frequent business depressions have taken place, originating in Black Friday, the Northern Pacific failure, the recent suspension of the old house of Baring Bros., and other causes, and many are of the opinion that unless there is some financial relief soon, the people will lose all conception of the blessings of good times.

Perhaps the most unexpected financial disaster ever witnessed in this country, existed from the time when silver was demonetized in 1873, to the time when it was partially restored, as standard money, in 1878. It was a great industrial revolution and time of general financial distress caused, no doubt, by the change in the monetary standard of values, and from which we shall not fully recover till silver is fully remonetized. It is not within the scope of this article to show any specific results growing out of that great and far-reaching monetary revolution.

It will be necessary to speak of the causes which have operated in bringing about the adoption of the single gold standard, and its general effects upon the creditor and debtor classes, before coming to the subject of silver purchases and some proposed remedies for the present condition of our industrial affairs.

Some writers are not fair in giving the reasons for the demonetization of silver. The reasons are stated in the interest of the creditor classes wholly, claiming that it was because silver was cheaper as a result of the increased production, and not that the dearth of gold and its continual appreciation were the causes. Now it may be admitted that silver is subject to fluctuations in value, to which it would not be if fully remonetized, but it has been clearly demonstrated that gold has been continually becoming more and more dear, at the average rate of one per cent

every year for the past thirty years, as recently estimated by a celebrated member of the British Parliament. This is one reason given by President Andrews, a delegate to the Brussels conference, for a bimetallic standard, from the fear that in the future, gold being too precious, must give place to silver for monetary purposes. If gold and silver are thus diverging in value—silver growing cheaper and gold dearer—what shall we do for money in the future? Bring them together by bimetallism and the intrinsic value of one will be equal to that of the other.

The whole world is debtor to England, France, Germany, Holland, and Belgium, and it is for their interest to maintain the single gold standard. The bimetallic nations could, as it is claimed in England, pour large quantities of silver upon the London market in payment of their debts, and trade in all necessary productions might become so *restricted*, because of this inclination to pay in *bad money*, that many of these countries would suffer by being required to settle upon a gold basis. But this would not be the case with the United States. A foreign restricted trade would benefit us, if we were under a bimetallic standard. Under a protective tariff we have produced most of the manufactured goods we need, and, if the double standard is restored, we can continue to do so.

England demonetized silver in 1816, when a large trade was carried on with her vast possessions in Asia, where ten or twelve ounces of silver would purchase one ounce of gold, while in Europe it took from fourteen to fifteen ounces of silver to buy one ounce of gold, thus making a profit of from three to four per cent on her silver. She also had an enormous debt as a result of her long wars.

When silver was demonetized in the United States and the other creditor nations of Europe, our war debt was very large, and we did not fully realize the motives of foreign financiers in calling the international conference held in Paris in 1867, for the purpose of securing the demonetization of silver. But the effect became apparent when we discovered that a large part of our bonds were held in Europe, and that nearly \$490 more interest was received every day on fifty million four per cent

United States bonds, by the holders, under a gold standard, than under our former bimetallic standard, ten per cent being the difference in the value of the silver dollar as reckoned under the silver standard instead of the gold standard.

Many plans have been tried for maintaining the gold standard here. The 5-20 bonds, before silver was cut down, were sold to redeem the greenback circulation and were but partially restored by national bank circulation; and since 1882 the national bank circulation has been contracted about \$191,000,000. At the close of the war in 1865, our currency amounted to \$2,242,000,000, in round numbers, and the total amount of this contraction to the present time has been about \$600,000,000, without reference to the *per capita* amount in actual circulation from time to time, which has at times amounted to only one half of the full volume.

We have been compelled, in connection with the other monometallic countries, to submit to the scramble for gold which is continually going on, because of the limited quantities of gold to meet the demands; and we have generally been used as a cat's-paw to satisfy the requirements and greed of other gold standard nations. When the Bank of England finds it necessary to increase its amount of gold, discounts are raised sufficient for that purpose and the gold flows into her vaults. For the past two years the banks of Europe have increased their reserves at the expense of the United States. The Bank of France recently, to get our gold, credited our gold coin at a slightly higher figure approximating the value of gold bars. The larger banks of Europe allow interest upon consignments of coin from the time the specie leaves New York, which we formerly lost while it was in transit, thus causing our gold to flow to Europe.

The silver bullion purchase act of 1890 has added to the total volume of our currency more than \$114,000,000 in the best of money—treasury notes payable in coin—looking decidedly toward the ultimate free coinage of silver, which has no doubt very greatly relieved our people from the full effects of the present industrial depression throughout the world. The plan of the friends of gold is to stop silver purchases under this act

first, and settle banking and currency questions afterwards. The plan of the friends of silver is to continue silver purchases until the free coinage of silver is secured equal with gold and to adjust the currency and banking with that end in view. So the great question before the people—more important than tariffs or any other subject of legislation is, shall the bimetallic standard be restored or shall the single gold standard be permanently established?

It is claimed that by continuing silver purchases foreign holders of American securities will sell at every moderate advance; that foreign capital invested in lands, cattle companies, manufacturing and other industries here, will be withdrawn and withheld in the future, and that the currency will be further debased and brought to a silver basis; but similar objections were made in 1885, on the incoming of the new administration, to secure the stoppage of the annual coinage of twenty-four million silver dollars under the Bland Act. I believe, however, that to contract the currency now by stopping the annual supply of about fifty-two million dollars under the Sherman Act of 1890 would very greatly increase the present stringency, and perhaps be a road to the free coinage of silver, but one which it would not be safe to try.

Most of the industrial evils of which the people are making universal complaints, spring from the dear gold standard of values and a largely contracted non-legal tender currency which is very good for the creditor but very bad for the debtor classes. And now I ask why these industrial depressions occur so often and last so long? The answer to the first part of the question is, that all business must adjust itself to the volume of the currency available to carry it on, when in fact the currency should always be sufficient in volume and free for use at all times to meet the needs of development and trade, so that when times *would* be better under right currency conditions they *could* be better. When the trades and industries become successful and prosperous a check must necessarily happen, because of inadequacy of the currency, and labor and everything a man has to sell are undergoing a shrinking process. Debtors are unable to meet

their obligations, their lands, stocks of goods, corporate shares, and like property are absorbed by the creditor classes. Is it any wonder that, under this squeezing process to which the people are continually subjected, wealth is accumulating rapidly in the hands of the few?

Much is said about the cheap dollar, but we hear nothing about a bad currency. The standard dollar or money is that fixed unit of value which a debtor can compel a creditor to take in payment of his debt, or it is whatever is, by law, made a legal tender in discharge of obligations. The term currency is more extensive in its meaning, and may be defined to be whatever is intended to pass current as money. Bank bills are a part of our currency but they are not money, and bank checks run a short race as currency but they are not money. The old state bank circulation is a good representation of a bad currency. The present bank notes may be somewhat better because redeemable when the government gets around to them, but if a universal suspension of the banks should take place, as some fear, that kind of currency would be nearly as bad, because not redeemable in time to do any good—on demand.

We have, as it seems to me, for a long time been drifting away from correct theories of the functions of money, and the duties of the government in reference to the currency. We have lost sight of an important truth, which is that all the money and the currency belong to the people, and not to the government nor to any favored class; and that all the government has to do is to provide a good, flexible, and sufficient currency, and not limit its volume, but leave it free to be regulated by the great law of supply and demand. It would be found that we never would have more money in circulation than the demands of trade and business require. With an increase in population of over twenty-seven million in nearly thirty years and the consequent increase in business and a continually contracted currency, how could our government officials know how much currency is needed or how much would be absorbed in business.

The present system of banking in this country and, in fact, in the world, plays a very important part in continuing hard times.

This currency is used for reserves, and that not needed for reserves is, to a great extent, locked up for years and kept from circulation. They practice discriminations, and by such methods, reduce the circulation of our currency to a very small *per capita* sum. The great world-bank—the clearing house—having its center in London, has created a vast system of credit, through which a volume of trade was done in this country alone during the past year, amounting to over \$6,100,000,000 upon ninety-two per cent of credit using only eight per cent cash in settling balances. This becomes a pretext for contracting the currency and materially aids in carrying on vast speculations.

The assistance extended to the Baring Bros. by the Bank of England, though considered by financiers to be an evidence of modern banking skill, is causing a long period of depression in which none are injured but the debtor classes. I firmly believe it would be better for the people—the great middle classes—to have a complete collapse and be over with it, than to have chronic hard times. If the attack is acute there will be a longer period of health after recovery. A good illustration is at hand. An Ohio Life and Trust Company failed, August 24, 1857, for about \$7,000,000, causing a sharp panic. Soon the banks of New York, Boston, and most other large cities suspended payments and failures were numerous. The reaction was rapid. In a few months the banks resumed and in the following spring money was easy and business good, and such would always be the case if our currency was properly adjusted.

This is a most critical time in our financial history. The banks naturally desire to become perpetual and are seeking legislation to that end. But it must be remembered that they were a war necessity and, being based on the public debt, and brought into existence by the imposition of a ten per cent tax upon state circulation, which merely *suspended* the state banks, they were intended to be *temporary*. The people desire to pay off this debt and it would have been easily discharged before this time had it not been for the demonetization of silver and the appreciation of gold on an average of twenty per cent since

that time, the contraction of the currency and its continual manipulations to sustain the gold standard.

One plan to perpetuate the present system is to refund the debt for a long time at a low rate of interest, that these bonds may be used for the redemption of its circulating notes as at present, but the friends of the measure fear the people will not approve this.

Another is to allow posterity to assist in the payment of the pension claims now amounting to nearly \$200,000,000 annually. The proposed plan is to issue bonds for one half of this debt, to run fifty years, to be used by the banks as under the present debt to replenish the currency. But this large pension debt is liable to be cut down as it is considered by many of all political parties to be unreasonable and the party coming into power will not be likely to favor such a project.

There are those who propose to unite the railroad companies with the banks and the government in a grand communistic partnership by allowing the national banks to purchase railroad bonds as well as government bonds for the purpose of securing their circulation, as under the old plan. It is needless to say that this contrivance of basing the banks upon railroad company debts and thus creating a strong community of interest between these corporations would be much more objectionable than the old method.

It is also proposed to repeal the state bank tax on circulation, assuming it to be unconstitutional, and revive the state banks, and, in connection with the national banks, form a dual system of rivalry between them in the banking business. For this system it is claimed that the state bank would have to be made as good as the national or the people would not use it, and that if as good, it would meet with no opposition in any locality or state and would not be subjected to the discount rates of exchange of the old state notes.

But the people will not be satisfied with a single gold standard and silver entirely eliminated from use as standard money under such a system. The currency would then comprise gold, subsidiary coins for small change, and state and national bank bills,

the great mass of which would be non-legal tender. This money not being good we would not have a sound currency.

The people ought not to be dependent upon a currency issued by banks, any more than if issued by a railroad or manufacturing corporation. The great need of the people is the bimetallic standard restored, and government promissory notes, made a legal tender, for use by banking institutions on the same terms as by individuals, and on no other or different conditions. They should be limited in amount, approximating somewhat the minimum amount required, be it \$10,000,000 or \$1,200,000,000. The amount necessary above that would be supplied by gold and silver in the form of specie or certificates, which would give the currency all the flexibility needed under the varying conditions of business. This government money would come into circulation gradually until the limited volume would be reached.

In this way it could be determined how much currency is needed to meet the necessities of all trades and industries; and, for the first time in our history, we would have a good, sufficient, and flexible currency, which it is the duty of the government to supply. Panics might occur, but they would be of short duration, and chronic hard times would cease.

There need be no fears of the disappearance of gold or that we shall come to a silver basis. If gold should cross the ocean for a short time it would soon come back under the laws of supply and demand. Trade would be restricted in single gold standard countries, which would result in our benefit. By adding to the money stock of the world a volume of standard money, equal to one half that set free by the adoption of bimetallism in this country, the scramble for gold would cease, and all values and labor would be stimulated to that extent throughout the world.

WILLIAM KNAPP.

MUST THE CORPORATION GO?

BY LIVY S. RICHARD.

SOCIETY, in any phase, is simply a grand illustration of the survival of the fittest. The strongest thrive ; the weaker are crushed. There exists among the masses a firm if not always well-informed opposition to what is called state supremacy, or that form of socialism which exalts the government above and beyond all exaltation of the governed. In any company mention of this accentuated paternalism will be greeted with warm debate, ending at times in unusual impetuosity of argument. Yet who of these ready opponents of centralization, except the vote seeker, lifts his voice against the corporation, that fertile parent of economic misery ?

Before corporate privileges became the common gifts of states, there were turmoil and envy and strife, no doubt, but they took the individual form. Men were considered simply and singly as men ; some weak—they were beaten in life's race ; some strong—they became both rich and great. Inequalities in capacities begat inequalities in opportunities and we had in miniature the tangle which now confronts us, but with this important difference—the victors won their battles alone, the vanquished accepted defeat alone ; things were on their normal basis, each tub standing on its proper bottom.

But by and by some shrewd man, already able to cope with any rival upon an individual footing, already a giant among a mass of comparative pigmies, bethought him of a scheme. To a dozen of such as he, each potent far in excess of the average in the potentialities of the struggle for existence, he said : " Let us combine our talents. In union is not only strength and economy of forces but in such a union as you and I shall try to legalize there shall be something greater even than those : there

shall be business life eternal, a prolongation of powers, a direction of united energies which shall continue after each of us has gone to his final sleep." So they organized, applied for a charter, and in due course of time became a corporation, a thing impersonal, intangible, everlasting, which pain cannot reach, death overthrow, nor common human sympathies move.

In all the ages it has been the voice of prudence that legislation by class for class is both unjust and unwise. Yet where in the history of American legislation was the far-seeing councillor to warn the several states against falling into that aggravated pitfall of partiality and favoritism which confers upon associations of men powers which are impossible of exercise by the individual citizen? And when, in the armory of cunning devices to stifle republican rule was there forged a more effective weapon against honest government than that which created bodies of men with powers against which the single citizen has ever been unarmed? Knowing little and caring less for the technicalities of the laws relating to corporations, I contend that on general principles, measured only by the trustworthy rule of homely, common sense, corporations and the arrogation by the state of the right to create corporations have done more to complicate our social system than any other single agency in the history of economics.

Having formulated this general proposition as to the premise of my argument, let us see whether in many contemporary facts and movements not to go farther back, I cannot find proofs to bear me out. It will not be doubted, I fancy, that our affairs as a people are in a somewhat deplorable state. Only the gracious bounty of a Providence that endowed us with inestimable natural resources has prevented the repetition among us, in one short century, of conditions of extreme wealth made vivid by contrast with extreme poverty which, in less energetic nations, have required for their development from a dozen to a score of centuries. The great army of the unemployed is as much of a fact in degree in New York as it is in London; the difference in numbers is not marked by the proportional difference in extent of history or age of pauperizing forces. Nor do I need to prove

what is everywhere conceded, that this rapid massing of the few against the many, this electric multiplication of the millionaire and the tramp, the plutocrat and the pauper, has been chiefly accomplished during the past three decades, when by a coincidence that is striking if nothing more, there has been the greatest call for corporate charters as invaluable aids in the accumulation of fortunes.

I am no pessimist and my interpretation of the many murmurs of social unrest among the people has not led me to despair of the future of our race. But it would be idle and vain to shut our ears to the noises of the hour, in the foolish fancy that thereby would the clamor be subdued. What is it that in the past few years, years within the easy memory of men still living, has transformed a contented and peaceful nation, crude perhaps and surrounded by many natural obstacles strangers to the children of to-day, yet quaint, quiet, and full of homely virtues, into one seething, struggling mass into which the leaven of discontent is daily making more manifest inroads? Why is it that ever and anon there is heard an especially loud roar as some new economical teacher mounts to the pedestal of popularity bearing aloft a unique prescription for tranquillity and prosperity and carrying the multitude with him until his successor, more fluent in pretenses, wrests the leadership from his relaxing grasp? What do all these changes mean? Whence comes all this turmoil? What is the secret of this great unrest?

Is it not that we, as a generous and all too confiding people, have begotten a child which is growing up and devouring us? Is it not that the multiplication of corporate privileges—I will not call them rights—has proceeded until in sheer defense there must be combination of those that remain; until in the very nature of things we are presenting the spectacle, each day more clearly defined, not, as in the olden time, of knight against knight, when the good stout arm wrought out its own fair record, with none to cry it shame; but, instead, of slinking and cowardly centralizations of effort, yeleft corporations or unions or assemblies or whatsoever else it may be, each striving to

escheat the other through some trick of erratic or venal legislation or by dint of reptilian cunning?

I ask my reader to survey in a casual fashion—for I confess to no deeper preparation myself—some of the surface signs which appear to indicate this abnormal condition. There was introduced at Albany not many months ago a bill which sought to regulate the price of coal and likewise to determine, through an already established commission, by whom it should be hauled and sold. Was there ever in all our history a more immediate clamor against a socialistic proposition than that which greeted the McMahon coal bill? “If the state dare affix the price of coal,” said the ready chorus of the *Bombastes Furioso* press, “who shall say that it may not come into my store and regulate the selling price of my boots and shoes, or go into your factory and say who shall haul and sell your woven cloth?” Such street corner logic as this found many believers. But what if the shoe shop be a chartered one, or the factory a corporation; has the state no right to regulate its own? Is there any principle in common sense, however it may read in the statute books, why a legislative body which uses its delegated authority to confer special opportunities of possible blackmail upon favored classes may not when the people so will it, interpose that same authority to put a stop to the blackmail when it is apparent that the favor has been intolerably abused? Yet, strong as this McMahon bill is in principle, if we accept the assertions of its framers as to the recent fluctuations in the prices of anthracite coal, its enactment would serve only to add perplexity to perplexity; to crown complication with complication. For, if we begin putting restrictions about the business of an unpopular corporation, who dare say that we may not suppress it altogether and substitute in its place state ownership and management of the industry at first hand?

And this brings me around to the Donnelly bill in Wisconsin, which seeks to apply the logic of events by ordering the confiscation and conduct by the government of this same industry of mining and transportation because, out in Wisconsin, it is the popular belief that fuel is too dear. We cannot combat this

bill by any appeal to argument. The state has created these corporations which it now finds, or thinks it finds, a menace to the popular welfare ; and it is a law above all other statutes that a parent should have authority over his own child. The practical difficulties of so hedging that child about by technical restrictions and imperfect statutes would be found, upon trial, to be more productive of trouble than the original evil itself, but that evil, too, having proved intolerable, hence would arise, in due time, the alleged need of complete confiscation. This is paternalism's logical culmination. There is no secure middle ground.

But, what would confiscation involve ? We cannot well say that the mines and the railroads shall be seized by the state and yet permit the banks and the limited commercial companies to go on. True, they may at present be less productive of complaint than the former. There is no assurance, however, that in due process of time a popular outcry may not go out against them, too, similar to that which now urges seizure of mines and cars ; and, having taken the first step, how shall we in consistency refuse to take the second ? Already discontent mounts high against banks incorporated under federal generosity. We shall doubtless see the end of national banks in rapid order as a result of the recent western rural revolt. But the evils of which national banks are accused can be traced in nearly, if not quite, equal degree in banks which owe their corporate form to state authority. A few collapses, one or two periods of financial depression and, the initiative having been taken in the manner heretofore indicated, it would seem to be a reasonable prophecy that state banks, too, would have to go. And thus the movement of seizure and paternal assumption of control would progress. We should have state or municipal gas works, water companies, newspapers, printing shops, shoe and drug and general supply stores, this, that, and the other industry until the commercial if not the beatific social dreams of Edward Bellamy and his fellow-nationalists would be in a fair way of substantial realization. The individual citizen would be completely lost in the maze of spreading paternalism and the worst

of it is that those of us who now cry out against the centralizing tendency would have it cast in our teeth as an argument which we could not meet that when the state, our state, the government before "*Looking Backward*" was written or any similar modern Utopia conceived, granted its first corporate charter it took the step and established the precedent which led by inexorable logic to the revolutionary sequences that followed.

It is in the light of these real and potential perplexities, not less than in view of their own intrinsic unfairness and injustice, that I condemn corporations. There was waged in this country at a time within easy recall a formidable battle against the "robbery of the many for the benefit of the few" and upon such a platform—the sincerity of which I shall leave to the reader to decide—Grover Cleveland was elected President and the Democratic party received a vindication in Congress by majorities at the amazing size of which the friends of tariff protection are still reeling and gasping. Opinion may well differ as to whether the propagation of home industries by reasonable and moderate protective duties falls within the proper scope of revenue legislation. But I venture to predict that in the reaction which will follow the accumulated and arrogant abuse of the corporate franchise in the speeding day when great wealth, won through the complaisance of easily influenced legislators rather than by individual honesty, integrity, and fairness, will be deprived of its favorite weapon of extortion by the wrath of reasserted manhood, there will be bred a leadership and born a revolution beside which that of Grover Cleveland and the tariff reform triumph of 1892 will be as some child's legend dwarfed by the larger knowledge of the listening adult.

LIVY S. RICHARD.

A CONSTITUTIONAL RESTRICTION.

BY WILLIAM W. PHELPS, MEMBER OF THE MONTANA BAR.

THE second article of the Federal Constitution is devoted exclusively to the executive branch of our government. Here the duties, powers, and qualifications of "the chief magistrate of the nation" are laid down as a part of the fundamental law of the land.

Among the qualifications we find that "no person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President."

This qualification is characterized as a disfiguration of that Constitution in the January number of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS, in an article entitled "An American Birthright."

Let us inquire into the object of this clause.

Inasmuch as it is the cardinal purpose of all interpretation to ascertain the real legislative intent, and because this can only be done by at least taking a sentence in its entirety, the remainder of that blemish (!) on the Constitution will be quoted, "Neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States."

As there is a possibility of the Vice-President becoming President, a like restriction applies to that office. What were our forefathers guarding against when this provision was inserted? Is it not perfectly plain. Were they not trying to make age, ability, experience, and patriotism requisite to presidential aspiration?

The American citizen is required to be a resident within the United States fourteen years, and he must have attained the age of thirty-five years. Do natural born American citizens com-

plain because they can't be President at the age of fourteen or thirty-four ?

Civilized freedom does not consist in the absence of all restriction. If, as Mr. Hertwig declares, without this "discrimination against the present naturalized American citizens" our Constitution "would be, as to freedom, the most perfect fundamental law in the world," we can as natural born or naturalized citizens, credit to the framers of that Constitution, the immortal glory of having conceived the most divine of human law.

Within its scope come the poor and rich, people and President, law and courts ; it is enthroned above all. It is the most faithful echo of the voice of God which human ears have ever caught. But when it gives the right to one man to worship God where, when, and how he pleases, it says to another you must not molest him. He may give for religious objects as little or as much as he wishes, and no man or church or state can exercise any compulsion over him in that particular whatever. He may enter any calling he pleases, may go to what country he desires, may vote for whom he selects as his ruler ; but we cannot prevent his choice of calling, nor hinder his going or coming, nor enforce our will as to whom he shall vote for.

Some southern politician might say, "I would like to be able, by legal proceeding, to compel all the negroes to vote as I might indicate, instead of having that last amendment disfigure the Constitution of the United States which, without this error or defect, would be, as to freedom, the most perfect fundamental law in the world."

There is room for a difference of opinion as to whether or not a foreigner should come over here—get his naturalization papers—and be elected our chief magistrate, who "shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into actual service of the United States" ; whether such a man should be empowered "to grant reprieves and pardon for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment" ; whether the veto and appointing power, in short the entire executive branch of the government, should be intrusted in his hands.

Let us see what reasons are advanced in the previously mentioned article in support of the view that this is not a wise provision in the Constitution.

In the first place there is said to be no apparent reason for including American citizens at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, and excluding naturalized citizens now. The reason is so very apparent that an apology is due the reader for inserting it here. We had just finished a seven years' war, and about all we had was our independence.

The confederation under which the colonies had carried on the revolution could scarcely be called a government, and a firmer bond of union was required.

The greatest and most learned of those who had fought together gathered in convention, and, after several months' deliberation, conceived the present Federal Constitution. Though small in numbers they dedicated their giant hearts and intellects "to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

This body of men, perhaps as able as the world has ever seen, who, not a decade ago, had placed "a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence" and mutually pledged to each other, their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor; were they not, and each and every one of them, entitled to the highest honor the nation could bestow?

Is there no difference between the man who raised his arm, with sword in hand and said, "Give me liberty, or give me death," and those who raise their hands and say, "Give me liberty, or comfortable quarters in jail"?

Certainly there are those who come here to become citizens who could, as far as intellect is concerned, adorn any position within the power of the United States to give, but it is not less fair to take the general rule, than the very notable exception as the criterion.

Mr. Hertwig states that constitutional naturalization invests an alien with all the rights and privileges of native born citizens.

Of course if this were so, the "birthright" which occasions his article would not exist. And then he reminds us that a foreigner takes the oath of choice which binds him to support the very provision that works such a hardship.

A foreigner should feel it a privilege to be allowed to take this oath, and as a rule he does so feel. In nine cases out of ten, he comes from a country, the laws and customs of which would keep him and all his descendants in a certain class to the end of time. Few of the foreigners come over here, perhaps, with the idea of being President anyway, but if they did, it would satisfy the average immigrant's ambitions to tell him that he could be the father of the king of America !

No ! no ! we want our Presidents born on American soil, we want them imbued with American principles of government, we want their first impressions to be American, and we want their mother tongue to be the legal language of the country. And for the reasons so well given in the article mentioned. "The Declaration of Independence is in English, and so are the various Constitutions, and so are the laws and charters and official documents and decisions of the courts."

It is next said that because naturalized citizens are not exempt from taxation they should be eligible to the offices of President and Vice-President of the United States. This carries the woman suffrage argument a step further than do the women themselves. But if a certain purposed change is wrong, tax-paying does not make it right, and if right, it does not become wrong because a given individual does not pay taxes. Subjects of foreign countries owning property here are not exempt from taxes, but that fact entitles them to no political privileges.

This is a small matter but it shows which way the wind is blowing. Would such a thought as a foreign born President have even been suggested to the American people fifty years ago ? But now, who can say that some demagogue will not, in the near future, strongly urge an amendment of the Constitution in this particular, for the sake of gaining a hold on the foreign vote.

Let us hope that the immigration peril, which is responsible

for the possibility of the coming of such a time, will be abated by some wise legislation.

And when this question comes, then the life of free and independent American states will be arraigned for trial and all loyal citizens should take their stand, as they have heretofore when the mad waves of anarchy, socialism, insurrection, and nullification have swept over the country. It would be a combat of principles, intertwined with prejudices; the winning side would have to be most emphatically victorious before the end could even be distinguished in the dim future.

It would probably result in the changing of our famous and generous saying, "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people" (of the whole earth) to a government of Americans, by Americans, and for Americans.

WILLIAM W. PHELPS.

ONE WAY TO AVOID A DEFICIT.

BY JAY E. KLOCK.

ALTHOUGH the last report of Secretary Foster showed that the United States treasury was still solvent, it contained no statement calculated to allay the general fear that a deficit is not far away. So expectant is the public of such a deficit that one of the most taking arguments advanced in favor of the calling of an extra session of Congress by President Cleveland is the alleged necessity of prompt legislation calculated to replenish the treasury. But before this idea receives general indorsement it may be well to inquire whether there is not a simpler and better way of preventing any possible embarrassment regarding our national finances.

In 1836, during President Jackson's administration, the United States was entirely out of debt and a surplus had accumulated which frightened the statesmen of that frugal era. After a vast amount of discussion, the money was disposed of in about the worst way which could possibly have been devised. Twenty-eight millions of dollars were taken from the treasury and deposited with the twenty-five states then in existence. The apportionment was made according to population, which was hardly equitable, since the money had been derived from taxes upon articles the consumption of which in different sections of the country was not in proportion to the population. That original act of injustice has been magnified and added to by time. Nineteen new states have since been added to the Union, and citizens have removed from the old to the new by tens of thousands. The result is that the people of twenty-five states are deriving a revenue from money which belongs to the whole nation. If a proposition were to be made now to loan national funds to certain states, excluding others, the scheme would be

roundly denounced from one end of the country to the other. Is an abuse any less flagrant because it has existed for sixty years?

This ancient surplus is still subject to the demand of the United States, and there is no good reason why that demand should not be made now. The full amount could not be secured immediately, as the states have sub-loaned part of it, but enough of it is available to remove all danger of a treasury deficit, and thus enable President Cleveland to consider the question of tariff revision without being either hurried or worried.

The recalling of this money by the United States would not be of advantage to the nineteen newer states alone. It would be a good thing in more ways than one for the states which hold the money. This observation is justified by the part that this deposit has played in the history of New York, which had a share of the fund slightly in excess of four million dollars. The state Constitution declares that this sum must be kept intact, all losses of principal to be made good from the interest, the remainder of the latter being devoted chiefly to common school purposes. The money is loaned by commissioners, two of whom are appointed from each county in the state, and who are recompensed by a fee of from one fourth to three fourths of one per cent upon all moneys loaned. There have been many honest men among these commissioners, it is true, but their general record has been bad. The legislature has enacted statute after statute to prevent them from being dishonest, but they have found ways to evade all restrictions. It would require an exhaustive search of the records to determine what percentage of them have been sent to prison, but I am convinced from personal knowledge of such cases that the result of such a calculation would be startling. Yet even this large number of convictions does not represent the full amount of rascality committed. The office of commissioner has in nearly every case been prostituted to the meanest kind of political schemes, and more than one man who would resent the appellation of "floater" has sold himself as well as his vote in consideration of a loan in excess of the value of his real estate given in security. The state has constantly been compelled to foreclose on such mortgages, the

aggregate loss being very great. The opportunities offered by this fund for dishonesty are so great that every good citizen would be glad to see the temptation removed.

Wherever this money is offered to be loaned it comes into competition with bankers and local investors, thus making the state an unfair competitor with individuals. Especially is this disadvantageous for savings banks, which have an exceedingly limited field for investing their surplus funds. Taking all these things into consideration, the recall of the money into the national treasury would prove an unmixed blessing to the states and the people, collectively and individually.

JAY E. KLOCK.

LOW WAGES VS. CHEAP PRODUCTION.

BY HENRY KINGERLY.

HISTORY makes no mention of a time when it was not all but universally believed that a low rate of wages was necessary to the cheap production of wealth and, oppositely, that when and where wages are highest the cost of the products of labor must be greatest.

Human slavery, born of conquest and fostered by cupidity, long commanded the support of enlightened and Christian people because of this belief. Who in middle life in the United States does not recall that many of our best people at the North once held that slavery was an ordinance of God instituted in order that free men might have leisure to invent new processes and labor saving methods and thus enable all to live better and easier than if all were free?

This was the general opinion at the South and though we now clearly see that the kind of leisure which slavery provides does not tend to encourage the use of new and improved processes, but, upon the contrary, by obviating the need for them operates to retard their adoption, we yet adhere to the doctrine that lowest wages must result in the cheapest production of goods.

To say this is to say, in substance, that under a system of slavery wealth could be produced more cheaply than under a condition of industrial freedom with high wages, for slavery is but another term for lowest wages. It gives to the laborer (the slave) but a bare living.

It was this belief—the idea that a country paying high wages cannot compete in production with a country paying low wages—that led England for so many years to deny itself free bread and to condemn its laboring classes to a condition but little better than involuntary servitude. The corner stone of the so-called

"American system of protection" is this belief. It is the text from which the arguments of all its advocates proceed, it forms the basis of all their literature, the foundation of all their thought upon the subject and, from its general acceptance, protection gets all its strength from workingmen and those who sympathize with them. No other argument in support of the tariff is ever used to laboring men than the one that "with our high-priced labor we cannot compete with foreign countries employing pauper laborers," and the accompanying threat that if free trade is adopted wages in the United States must be reduced to a level with wages in foreign countries.

This opinion—that increase in wages will result in higher cost of commodities—is the chief cause of all the resistance to proposals for shorter hours of labor and trade-unionism. It is the one pretext used by corporations in justification before the public of unjust reductions of wages.

The general adherence to this doctrine makes it possible for monopolists to maintain exorbitant prices upon the ground that it is necessary in order to pay good wages and because of this belief we witness the remarkable spectacle of employees petitioning legislatures to permit railroad companies and other monopolists to continue to plunder the public in outrageous charges and discriminations in favor of the strong at the expense of the weak. Now, so far from the truth is this pseudo-economic tenet that the very reverse is true and the most cursory examination of admitted facts will show that :

Whenever and wherever wages are highest production is cheapest, and, oppositely, whenever and wherever wages are lowest production is dearest.

Forty years ago the journeyman wagon-maker received less than half his present wages and his employer sold the product of his labor at two or three times the present cost of wagons. When the wages of a carpenter were less than fifty per cent of the pay he now receives, the cost of the construction of a dwelling or other building was two or three times the present cost. When the pay of the watchmaker afforded him but a bare living only the rich were able to own timepieces, while now that

his wages have risen the poorest section-hand sports a watch and chain. When the tailor worked all the day to eke out a scanty subsistence, the cost of such a suit of clothes as the laborer now wears on Sunday was within the reach of only the well-to-do, and when the cabinetmaker paid his helpers the lowest wages the cost of furniture, except of the rudest kinds, was beyond the reach of the poor man.

These are only suggestions. Look where we may the indisputable evidence confronts us that whenever wages have been lowest production has been most costly, and whenever wages have risen cost of production has fallen.

And what is true regarding the cheapening of products by the increase of wages in respect to different times is true in respect to different localities—the places where wages are highest being invariably the places where production is cheapest.

The farmer of the United States pays fifty per cent higher wages than the English farmer and, after transporting his products across the sea undersells his English competitor. That this is not due to any difference in the price of land is shown by the fact that he is also able to meet the competition of India where land is yet cheaper than in the United States and wages even lower than in England. It is owing solely to the fact that wages are higher in the United States.

American manufacturers of patent leather pay much higher wages than those of England, France, or Germany and we see an American firm selling patent leather to the municipality of London at lower prices than those fixed by any of its competitors in response to an invitation to bid. The American manufacturer of axes, paying twice the wages of the English manufacturer, undersells him in the markets of the world, while the producers of axes in still lower wage countries make no pretensions to compete for the trade. The American producers of rubber goods, of brass goods, of iron wares, of wooden wares, of leather goods, of saws, planes, hammers, files, household furniture, and in short of all articles which they attempt to make for sale in a foreign market pay higher wages than those of any other country and sell their products in the open markets

of the world lower than their strongest competitor, the Englishman.

It is high wage America that sends sewing machines and agricultural implements to the uttermost parts of the civilized world against the competition of the lowest wage countries, and if it be said that this is due to some special skill in their manufacture, it is sufficient to reply that Maine granite is dug from the quarry, shipped across the ocean, and sold at Aberdeen, where wages are much lower, cheaper than the Scotch article !

Here in the United States we have had a practical demonstration of the encouraging truth that a high and not a low rate of wages is more advantageous to the cheap production of wealth. Here one people with identical interests united by the same government were divided by a striking difference in rates of wages. In the North wages were higher than in any other country in the world. At the South they were the lowest, yielding the laborer but a mere subsistence. According to the time-worn delusion that low wages mean cheap production the South would have offered the greater advantages for the manufacturer. It would have been there that the mill, the factory, and the shop would have first been established. The South had the advantage in climate, mineral wealth, and other natural opportunities, and certainly it had "cheap labor." But the reverse occurred. It was the high wage North that advanced in the arts and sciences, it was there that the loom and the spindle were first employed to transform raw material into wealth, it was there that the factory hands congregated, and the clash of huge machinery was first heard.

Nor is this all. When slavery had been crushed out and wages began to rise in the South, that portion of our wonderful country sprang forward with a new impetus and as they have continued to rise, the South has in the same proportion increased in ability to produce more cheaply. To-day, with higher wages than ever before, "the South is beginning to attract the attention of manufacturers and her industrial growth in the last decade has been marvelous. . . . Entering young men, reared in New England, are erecting

factories and furnaces all through the South, establishing their plants in close proximity to the material which they are to consume and to customers whom they are to supply."

This cannot be due to any alteration in our laws governing trade, for there has been no change, nor to any growth in the natural resources of the South for they remain the same. It is wholly accounted for by the rise in wages. Do we go to low wage countries for cheap products? Do we go to China for rice? To Italy for woollen goods? To Ireland for potatoes? To Belgium for calico? To France for beef? To England for grain? Certainly not. We find that these are most cheaply produced in high wage countries.

What country do we most fear in competition? If it were true that low wages lend an advantage to production our strongest competitor would be China, for there wages are lowest but we do not even recognize her as a rival in the production of anything our climate will permit us to grow. Is it then Italy or Russia or Germany or yet France? No. England, the highest wage country on the globe, except our own, is the only one whose competition we consider. Does high wage England fear the competition of low wage Russia? On the contrary low wage Russia seeks protection against England, and and in Italy where factory wages are twenty-five cents per day of fourteen hours, the demand for protection against British competition is still stronger. The truth is that just in proportion as wages are lower the demand in European countries for protection is greater, whereas if the ancient dogma that low wages mean cheap production were true we would see England dismayed at the competition of low wage Russia, Russia dreading the competition of still lower wage Italy, and Italy writhing under the fierce competition of lowest wage China. It is not the English nor the French nor the Russian nor yet the Chinese hog that Germany protects herself against. It is not English nor Russian nor Indian grain that France bars by protective tariffs. It is not the products of Mexico or South America against which our strongest tariff statutes are aimed but against the products of higher wage countries.

Water seeks a level ; capital tends toward the point where interest is highest, laborers travel in the direction of highest wages, and manufacturers go where the opportunities for manufacturing are greatest. If low wages were an advantage in production we would see our manufacturers moving to England or Brazil, but what we do see is great manufacturing establishments transplanted at enormous expense from low wage England to high wage America.

This law that high wages lend an advantage to production—a law as inviolable as those which rule the universe—holds good not only as between different times and different places but is equally valid as to the same time and identical place. The variation in wages in the same kind of labor between employers in the same locality must be slight, but whatever the difference is it is in favor of the employer paying highest wages. The factory paying highest wages in the state is the most successful one ; the store paying highest salaries to employees is always the “cheap-est” store in the town or city ; the farmer paying the best wages is the most prosperous agriculturist in his county ; and the newspaper which pays the highest wages to its “help” from office boy to editor is produced at less cost than the one which pays starvation wages.

Since all the adducible evidence so plainly points to this truth it will be asked, how is it that it has so long been obscured ? Why have laborers who have suffered most by its repudiation failed to recognize so plain a principle and a truth so encouraging and inspiring ? Why have great statesmen made laws which are the outgrowth of a contrary view ? Why are the libraries of the country filled with literature emanating from an hypothesis antagonistic to it, and why has the reasoning from an opposite opinion formed the burden of a President’s message upon a most important subject ?

The explanation is found in the fact that we have neglected to take into consideration the true meaning of the term labor. All wealth is the product of labor, generally aided by capital, applied to raw material. Now raw material as we speak and think of it is the same the world over. A ton of iron or steel

will make as many rails of the same weight in one part of the world as another. A given quantity of brick and mortar will build as large a dwelling in England as in the United States. And so with capital. A steam engine will exert as much power in China as in New England, and a plow will turn as much soil in Louisiana as in Iowa. But there is an attribute of labor which is not an element of capital or of raw material.

We are accustomed to speak of labor as physical exertion and as we speak of a thing we finally come to think of it. But physical exertion alone would be as useless as unmined ore, unquarried stone, or a steam engine without fire. Something must not only precede it but must, at every step, accompany it. Something more than mere material energy must aid in the production of wealth whether it be in the manufacture of the most intricate and delicate machinery or in digging granite from Maine mountains.

This is *intelligence*. It belongs exclusively to labor. It is not a quality of raw material, a characteristic of capital, or of anything else that may enter into the cost of production. What electricity is to the motor, what heat is to the steam engine, what the circulation of the blood is to animal life, intelligence is to labor.

Since intelligence is the all-important factor in the production of wealth it follows that where intelligence is greatest production must be cheapest. To find, then, where production is cheapest we have only to look and see where, among laborers, there is the greatest intelligence.

As wages fall laborers approach the nearer to a condition like slavery and the higher wages rise the more freedom workingmen enjoy. Now we do not look for intelligence among slaves but among free men and the freer they are—that is to say the higher their wages are—the more intelligence we may expect to find and do find.

All this can lead us to no other conclusion than that where wages are highest, intelligence being greatest, production is cheapest.

What a world of dread of the future and discouragement the knowledge of this dispels! So long as labor is led to believe that with the rise of wages there must be a corresponding rise in

the cost of the necessities and comforts of life, there is no hope of the solution of the labor problem. If this were the law it would little concern workingmen whether wages be high or low, since any increase in wages would be accompanied by a commensurate decrease in the purchasing power of wages and a fall would be immediately compensated by a cheapening of the cost of living.

But to say to the laborer that, as wages advance, the cost of the products of labor will fall is to give him hope for the future. It is to arm him with a sword of truth with which he may fight his way to freedom. It narrows the problem to the single question, how to raise and maintain wages, and it largely answers that. For when he learns that low wages do not tend to the cheap production of goods he will see the corollary that to increase the price of commodities will not raise wages. This will induce him to seek the true law of wages and how they may be raised—and this he will find can only be accomplished by the extension, and not by the restriction, of freedom.

That the failure to recognize the principle that high wages lead to the cheapening of the cost of commodities, is the great obstacle to the solution of the labor problem one has only to note what those who have spoken and written upon the subject have said, to become convinced. With its acknowledgment opposition to trade guilds and unionism will disappear, those who strive for shorter hours of labor and better wages will receive the countenance of the best people everywhere, and society will interest itself generally to raise wages by legitimate means and thus reduce the cost of commodities. Such restrictions upon labor and capital as protective tariffs will be abolished as soon as it is seen that high wages do not depend upon high cost of merchandise. The private ownership of natural and legalized monopolies will be denied when men come to see that exorbitant charges for services cannot result in the advancement of wages.

Subsidies and bounties now collected from labor by legal process, or contributed by the ignorant under the impression that it will "make work" and raise wages will be seen to be not only unnecessary but harmful and the practice discontinued.

Socialism, which springs from the supposition that capital and labor are natural enemies, will be abandoned when it is found that the interests of employees and employers are identical. For why should employers knowing that high wages will enable them to produce at less cost than low wages, resist the legitimate rise in wages?

All the strife between labor and capital—the bitter antagonism which led to the enactment of laws punishing by fines, the pillory, and horrible mutilation of any who sought to obtain better wages than those fixed by statute, was engendered by the fundamental belief that high wages would necessitate high cost of production. The cause being removed that strife will cease. Then labor and its natural friend and ally will join hands and unitedly make war upon and overpower their common enemy and oppressor—monopoly. Such pretended remedies for labor troubles as enforced arbitration, being nothing more or less than revivals of the stupid and inexcusable superstition under which the Manchester justices acted when they prescribed a legal rate of wages and decreed that any workingman conspiring to obtain a higher rate should “stand in the pillory and lose an ear,” will be treated with the contempt they so richly deserve.

Finally, when it is seen that high wages do not add to the cost of production it will be realized that such burdens as taxes upon wealth do and the subject of taxation will receive the attention the importance of the subject demands.

HENRY KINGERLY.

THE COLLEGE PROFESSOR IN POLITICS.

BY JEAN LA RUE BURNETT.

THE presidential campaign just closed was remarkable for a great many things, conspicuous among which was the development of several unique features in the form of organization, whose influence was designed to be exerted in spheres ordinarily considered to be independent of, if not actually exempt from, the workings, the prejudices, convictions, the partisanship of active political engagement. It is remarkable also that these factors of the campaign embodied more of an element of profound interest and reflective investigation and study rather than an energetic declaration of faith accompanied by resolute, persistent exertion of power. In fact the entire campaign from first to last was, as the spellbinders have declared, distinctively educational in its character. The province of political argument is to enlighten rather than controvert, to instruct rather than antagonize,—and in the campaign of 1892 this truth was strikingly emphasized. The voters sought for light on the great questions of public moment which involved the common good of citizens and state. Every one indicated a desire for knowledge as to the true nature of the problems which perplexed the public mind and the best methods by which they could be solved to the benefit of all concerned. Every voter seems to have appointed himself an investigation committee of one. There was less gunpowder but more theory exploded.

It is not to be wondered at then, that the blacksmith at his anvil and bellows thought deeply as he worked. Nor is it unusual that the bank cashier as he handled the laborer's hard-earned savings, pondered upon the questions of the hour; nor that the agriculturist while he rated the value of his products and stock, cogitated upon the effects of party policy and party

practice. It is not phenomenal that the shoemaker's shop became the forum of political argument, that at the country grocery the rural Platos congregated to discuss with earnest deliberation the operation of protective measures and alleged reforms. It is not extraordinary that the unbounded zeal and enthusiasm of the college youth crystallized into an objective movement culminating in organization for political purposes.

These are expected, sanctioned, and legitimate agencies; but what must be said of the conduct of those individuals who, sheltered by the venerable marble of college halls and university portals, dignified by the capacity and title of "educators" and exalted to a position of public confidence and private trust—a position as honorable as it is responsible,—so far forgot the demands, the requirements, the dignity of their vocation, and, losing sight of these in the heat of bitter partisanship and admiration for party creed and personal principle, endeavored to exert the influence of their high office to the advancement of a petty purpose by the employment of such methods as stigmatize them undeniably as policy men and political hucksters! Their action is, to say the least, unfortunate. It is not a fair commentary upon our educational system. Such practices not only detract from the dignity, but violate the very principle of collegiate instruction which is essentially the cultivation of unprejudiced free thought and individual conviction, together with the sentiment of theoretic and practical truth. It matters not to what particular faction or party the persons may pay allegiance.

The fact became forcibly conspicuous in this campaign that the college professor who attempts to prostitute the offices and attributes of his respectable vocation to the end that a political machine or combine may gain by his unwise exertion of influence, will be neither sanctioned nor tolerated. "Professor" is not a synonym for "autocrat" even in the recitation room. But that there was an attempt on the part of a large number of college professors to operate, within the very shadow of our universities, various schemes the object of which was to influence unreasonably, weaken the faith, or change the political convic-

tion of the undergraduates in these institutions, is lamentably true. The field was an attractive one for the "practical politicians" and through the instrumentality of these learned "middlemen" they endeavored to cultivate it. The nature of their designs was more dictatorial than doctrinal. In one college several students were approached personally by professors who thought to persuade them by an intimation that an open declaration of faith, provided it be consistent with the professors' belief, would advance the interests of the students as to scholarship. In another institution the professors are said to have held secret meetings at which were considered the most advisable means for active political work among the student body. At a certain western university the professors belonging to one party assembled *sub rosa*, and actually mapped out a plan for methodical and systematic effort along the line of political work among the students, the greater part of which was to be prosecuted during sessions and within the college walls. In several colleges open expression of political persuasion by the professors was the signal for an immediate and protracted dissension on the part of the students who regarded it as a violation of policy as well as of judgment and of right. The action of the professors at Amherst, which called forth from the *Boston Journal* such a vigorous denunciation, has elicited widespread interest. Eighteen instructors in that institution issued the following pronouncement :

With Mr. Cleveland's views on public questions we agree. We admire his courage, his constancy, his public spirit, his studious neglect of merely personal interests where they conflict with the calls of public duty. We remember his tariff message, his pension vetoes and his letter against free silver as conspicuous instances of disregarding personal consideration for public good.

We therefore urge all our fellow citizens to give Mr. Cleveland their hearty support.

It was signed by eighteen professors.

In its editorial comment the *Journal* said :

This is probably the first time in the history of American politics that a formal attempt has ever been made to enlist a New England college in the service of a political party. What kind of men are these? . . . They are false guides and that their leadership in political affairs is

repudiated by the great body of the college is strikingly demonstrated by the fact that a census of the three upper classes, just taken, shows that 172 of the young men are Republicans and 52 are Democrats,—the followers of Harrison outnumbering those of Cleveland three to one. In the senior class, made up of older and more mature men who have sat longest under the faculty's instruction, the figures are 65 Republicans to 15 Democrats. This pronouncement of the Democratic professors, therefore, not only antagonizes the traditional attitude of New England, but confronts the very constituency which the college represents. . . . It will take something more than the appeal of eighteen gentlemen, however respectable and learned, to arrest the steady drift of our educated youth, . . . the pronouncement will be worthless, but unfortunately its possibilities for mischief are incalculable. It has inexcusably dragged the college into party politics, and that fact will be profoundly deplored by all true friends of Amherst.

No one felt the truth of these assertions more keenly than did the undergraduates themselves, and soon after the appearance of the *Journal's* editorial the following statement was issued :

We, the representative two-thirds of Amherst college students, do most heartily endorse the editorial of the *Boston Journal* as copied above. We do also emphatically deplore the consummate lack of judgment which has led some of our professors to issue a manifesto avowedly in opposition to the expressed sentiment of the college. We protest against the dragging of our beloved Alma Mater into politics and into such politics as are upheld by a minority of the students.

(Signed) The majority of the students of Amherst College.

The situation at Amherst touched a chord of sympathy in nearly every college in the United States, and in those institutions where efforts had been initiated by members of the faculty to direct or alter the trend of political thought, the opposition on the part of the student body became emphatic. As the campaign progressed the whole college world became actively concerned in the subject and the expressions of opinion were suggestive. The interest was confined to no particular locality or party. In southern universities the question was energetically considered. In the West, where numerous rumors were current relative to the significance and influence of this new factor in national politics, the discussions were prolonged and heated. In fact, the debate was not confined to the colleges alone but attracted attention from many sources and the public press devoted its columns to deliberations upon the subject.

It was in the midst of these considerations that Dr. Eliot, of Harvard, identified himself prominently with one of the two great parties by a public declaration in favor of its candidate and by associating himself with political movements, thereby bringing down an avalanche of dissatisfaction upon his shoulders, and arousing the censure of "offensive partisanship." It was during this period, too, that President Patton, of Princeton, made what several newspapers designated an "astounding statement." He said, "I am interested in philosophy and theology and these are the only things that I want to be known in. I vote for neither party." Whereupon the press interrogated, "What are philosophy and theology good for if they do not lead a man to perform his duties in life? Is not one of the most important of these duties the doing of what we can to secure an honest and efficient government?"

But President Patton's position, while possibly hardly exemplary, is in gratifying contrast to that of many of his compeers whose active exertions overstep the limits of dignity and reflect upon the intelligence and latitude of professional education.

It is fundamentally essential in a government by the people and for the people that every man shall enjoy the freedom of his own convictions morally, socially, politically, and every other way. But there is an ethical limit to expression, a conservative unwritten law which to the wise is proper and just. The minister of the gospel who barricades himself behind a pulpit, where his hearers cannot challenge his statements, and discusses political solicitudes does so unadvisably. The monopolist or capitalist, the employer or railroad official who endeavors to utilize the influence of his position to the end that he may compel others to think as he does (so far at least as an expression of opinion is concerned) and vote as he does, transgresses the bounds of decency and equality. And the college professor who attempts to throw the force of his honorable functions against the true and legal convictions of those who have been intrusted to his care and training annihilates the noblest sentiment of his mission—an independent research for truth, and subjects himself to the most righteous criticism and censure.

The presidential campaign of 1892 was indeed a remarkable one ; but of all the elements which were developed, of all the instrumentalities which were appropriated for political purposes, of all the schemes that were promulgated, devices invented, intrigues operated, trickery practiced, the influence most to be deplored is that which caused the professors in our universities and colleges to turn from the pages of their Homers and Livys and throw their energies into the channel of political effort.

JEAN LA RUE BURNETT.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

BY ANDREW J. PALM.

THOUGH this subject is almost as old as the human family its discussion is always in order, and no apology is necessary for bringing it before any class of intelligent readers. It concerns the highest of all earthly things—human life, to provide for the necessities and comforts and safety of which men toil and suffer and even die, giving life itself in the effort to make it the better worth living.

The present seems an eminently fitting time to discuss the question of exacting life as a punishment for crime ; for the subject is now before the legislatures of half a dozen states, and unless our lawmakers follow precedent and decide the momentous question, in advance of argument, on their prejudices and slavish adherence to long-established custom, the friends of reform have reason to expect much in the way of wiping out a practice that does more than any other one thing to destroy respect for human life, and which is in itself one of the most fruitful causes of the crime which it assumes to punish.

The recent horrible outrage in Texas, the most barbarous display of human impulse that has ever disgraced any community, pretending to be civilized, should put all intelligent people to thinking on this subject if they have not been studying it before. Because a brutal negro, devoid of all instincts of humanity, committed a most horrible crime, the ten thousand citizens of Paris, Texas, a place boasting of its ten churches, and its excellent schools—people who were thought to be good, law-abiding, praying citizens, even exceeded the savage ferocity of the negro in their punishment of his crime. His crime was worse than brutish ; it was fiendish ; but horrible as it was its punishment indicates to the thoughtful mind a condition of society far more

alarming to lovers of civil government than all the crimes committed by the criminal class in a generation. The crime of the negro was that of a single individual, a human monstrosity ; the punishment indicates that a whole churchgoing community is animated by substantially the same spirit that characterized the brutal negro. His crime is said to have been prompted by lust and revenge ; that of the mob which seared his flesh from foot to head and burned out his eyes with hot irons cannot by any possible reasoning be placed on any higher plane. Such a community is a fit place in which to breed such monstrosities as Henry Smith. Figs do not grow of thistles nor grapes of thorn trees, nor was ever such a specimen of brute humanity reared in a community of Quakers. If the best and most prominent citizens of the city, the mayor and others, sanctioned such barbarities as the recent Texas torture, what might we not expect of the vicious, degraded, and ignorant ?

I am aware that there are two points of view from which the outrage may be considered. One may be called the standpoint of impulse, and unfortunately many newspapers both North and South have considered the matter from no higher plane. While they cannot well avoid deprecating such an act of savagery in terms more or less emphatic they have excused it on the ground that the crime which aroused the frenzy of the mob was one of unusual atrocity. They say that the negro deserved death but are sorry that the state should not have been permitted to kill him speedily after a prompt trial ; and here again they further excuse the mob by adding the information that the dispensation of justice by the state has been slow and uncertain.

We perhaps all deserve death, so far as that is concerned, at least it is pretty generally conceded that we shall suffer it ; but no man can be considered a patriotic citizen or a safe counselor who will advise legal adjudication of minor offenses and intimate that a recourse to blind impulse is excusable in cases of revolting atrocity. There is no safe middle ground between government and anarchy, and all violations of law, however aggravated or inhuman, or however much they may rouse the revengeful impulses, must be left to the law itself for a remedy ; or else

government is a mistake, civilization a misnomer, and Christianity a failure.

All this may be considered as foreign to our subject but the relationship will become apparent as we proceed. For the Texas outrage and the scores of others similar in kind that have disgraced many of our states in the past few years the law itself and those who sanction it must share a large part of the responsibility because the law teaches that death is the proper punishment for certain offenders. The amount of torture that may be inflicted is not prescribed but left to the executioner, and through his bungling work some of the legal executions have come, in point of horror, but little short of the Texas outrage. When we take into consideration that one was the work of a furious mob, maddened by the commission of a horrible crime and the other the cool, deliberate work of the aggregate wisdom and goodness of a state, the former seems far the less revolting. So long as law sanctions taking life under any pretext we need not be surprised that the mob will sometimes assume the job, fearing that the state will not do what its law declares it ought to do.

Governor Hogg of Texas has very properly denounced the outrage, as he was bound to do not only by his oath to enforce the laws, but by the moral obligation resting on him as a good citizen. He characterized the outrage as a foul blot on the state, and threatens to punish those guilty of perpetrating it; but how weak and inconsistent does the law which provides blood for blood make the utterances of an executive seem under such circumstances.

When a body of men arrogate the governmental prerogative, take the law into their own impassioned hands, and murder a subject that the state is bound to protect against every unlawful act of violence either to person or property, the executive should be able to say to the mob: "Human life is sacred at all times and in all places. In the hut of the lowly as well as in the palace of the king. The life even of the most degraded subject is nevertheless a God given life, not to be taken either legally or illegally, and those who violate its sanctity must be punished."

Such an utterance would mean something ; would teach something, and the executive could consistently enforce the law and punish those "who break into the house of life with bloody hands." But under a law that recognizes the right to destroy life under certain conditions, no matter how much righteous indignation the executive may express at the act of a mob that has murdered a murderer, he is obliged practically to say to the perpetrators : " You have violated the law of the land. Though the man whom you have killed was guilty and deserved death, you should not have taken his life. You should have left that for me and thirteen other gentlemen. We should have had a part in his execution." The mob may have shot the guilty wretch, or hanged him, or burned him ; the governor and his aids would have broken his neck, or slowly strangled him to death, or, if in the state of New York, would have burned out his life by prostituting one of God's noble gifts to a use too horrible to contemplate.

Those who believe in legal murder may squirm and explain and split hairs to their hearts' content but the only difference between the feeling that sanctions the mob's burning a negro whom every one knows to be guilty of murder, and the other plan of government's deliberately tying his hands and strapping his feet and burning him to death in an electric chair or choking him to death on a scaffold, is simply one of degree and not of kind, and even the difference in degree is not very pronounced. In one case those who believe in killing are anxious to do it themselves ; in the other, those who assume to believe in it wish to shift the responsibility upon the state, and thus flatter themselves that they escape all share in it.

Example is stronger than precept, and as long as the state which is supposed to be just and wise and good sets the example of killing, even the most stupid advocate of capital punishment should not express surprise and need not evince regret that a mob, influenced by passion, does that which the state does in cool blood, nor should we wonder that the vicious-minded individual with murderous instincts has his little respect for life still more weakened and his killing propensities yet more

strengthened by the fact that the state does not hesitate to destroy life.

If there is any one fact in connection with this one great question that is generally understood by those who have made it a careful study, any truth that is well established by the history of humanity in its dealings with itself, it is that the only sure protection to human life in any age or any country is to have it regarded with reverence by the whole people, and that murders decrease in proportion to the sacredness with which life is held, regardless of the punishment for the crime of murder.

It needs no extraordinary judgment to comprehend the truth that if government wishes to teach that human life is sacred it must not set the example of deliberately destroying it. As well might it steal from the thief or burn the house of the incendiary as to snuff out a human life to teach that human life is sacred and should be held inviolable. The evil force of bad example is the strongest argument that can be made against the death penalty and in itself should be sufficient to annul the law of life for life in every civilized country on the globe. The Quakers believe in the sacredness of human life and they consistently and persistently refuse to make their actions belie their belief. They refuse to go to war and refuse to assist in putting men to death either legally or illegally and the result of this teaching for centuries is that Quakers do not commit murder. The man who has proper respect for the rights of property needs no law to prevent him from taking his neighbor's goods. The man who has proper reverence for human life needs no law to restrain his hand from murder, but he who would argue that this high regard for human life can be instilled by the bloody-handed executioner, legal though his murderous trade may be, should be sent to an institution for the feeble-minded.

The favorite argument that to take away the fear of the death penalty would result in an increase of murders may or may not have any force in philosophy, but in practice it has been proven false repeatedly. In those of our own states where capital punishment has been abolished the statistics furnished by the census reports show a smaller number of murders than those states that

still follow the law of "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth." The same is true of other countries. The Howard Association of London has made a careful study of the subject and its investigation has shown beyond doubt that death as a punishment for murder has the only effect that might be expected, that it hardens instead of softens the emotions, and prepares men to commit murder by contemplating it.

The executioner has been steadily plying his gory trade in the United States ever since the foundation of the government, but instead of his being a terror to evil doers, murders have been constantly increasing. In 1888 there were 2,184 homicides in the United States; in 1889, 3,567; in 1890, 4,290; and in 1891, 5,906. Is not this evidence enough to warrant a change in our method of dealing with the crime of murder? When it comes before the legislators of the different states, I trust they will not act on their ideas of what they are afraid *might* occur if capital punishment were abolished, rather than on the actual facts as they have occurred where it has been abrogated.

The death penalty defeats the ends of justice in allowing thousands of murderers to go at liberty. It is a fact beyond dispute that the average juror of to-day hesitates to assume the responsibility of being an instrument in sending a fellow to death, and oftentimes when there is no other verdict possible except that of guilty of murder in the first degree or not guilty of any crime, the convenient reasonable doubt comes in, and the prisoner is set at liberty; when if the punishment had not been death he would have promptly been found guilty.

In Massachusetts from 1862 to 1882, a period of twenty years, there were 123 trials for murder in the first degree and but 29 of these or less than 24 per cent were convicted. In Connecticut during thirty years from 1850 to 1880, 97 persons were tried for first degree murder, and of these but 13 or a little less than 13 per cent were found guilty.

Capital punishment was abolished in Rhode Island—a state in all respects very similar to the other two—in 1852. During the next thirty years there were 27 persons tried for first degree murder in that state, of whom 17 or 63 per cent were found

guilty as charged. The same truth is shown in Michigan, Wisconsin, and Maine, the statute books of which are no longer disgraced by the law of death as a punishment for crime. The chief justice of Rhode Island says: "My observation fully justifies me in saying that conviction for murder is far more certain now in proper cases than when death was the punishment of it."

William Tallack, Esq., secretary of the Howard Association of London, gives an illustration that applies on this point. Some years ago five men were arraigned before an English jury for a very atrocious murder. To the public astonishment and indignation they were acquitted. One of the jurors on being taken to task thus explained the matter: "We were almost certain of the guilt of the accused, but not quite. The law did not permit us to render a verdict of manslaughter involving imprisonment. That we would have given. But we felt that nothing short of absolute certainty would justify us in consigning five men to the irrevocable destiny of death, and therefore we could do nothing but acquit them."

Most legislators pride themselves on being matter-of-fact men and pretend to place great stress on the actualities of experience and give but little weight to philosophy or theory. Suppose we apply matter of fact to the subject under consideration, and see what the result has been as to the increase or decrease of homicide in those states and countries where the government recognizes the commandment, "Thou shalt not kill."

Michigan abolished capital punishment in 1846, and statistics show that since that time murders have decreased relatively to the population 57 per cent. Mr. Jerome recently declared that in a period of eight years there were fewer murders in the state of Michigan, without the death penalty, than in the city of New York in any one year of that period.

Wisconsin abolished capital punishment in 1853. Ex-Governor Washburn not long ago declared that since the abolition no other state can show a greater freedom from homicidal crime; that with a population representing almost every nationality statistics show that crime instead of increasing with the growth of the state is diminishing.

The population of Rhode Island increased 75 per cent from 1860 to 1870, but the number of convictions for first degree murder decreased over 20 per cent as compared with the ten years before. From 1870 to 1880 the gain in population was 27 per cent, but the gain per cent in convictions for first degree murder was but 14. In the first nineteen years after capital punishment was abolished the number of convictions for first degree murder was 16, and notwithstanding the great increase in population in the last twenty years there have been but 18 convictions.

Maine abolished capital punishment in 1887, and in the three and one half years following convicted three persons of murder in the first degree, while Minnesota, with the black shadow of the gallows to frighten men into good behavior, with less than twice the population of Maine, had seven executions in the same time with perhaps more than a dozen other cases where the verdict would have been first degree murder had the punishment not been death ; for there is no concealing the fact that the average juror is better than the law of retaliation, and in spite of his oath he will allow his conscience to assert itself.

In Kansas no state execution has taken place in twenty years simply for the reason that the law there says the governor *may*, not *shall*, fix a time for the execution of a person convicted of first degree murder one year after conviction. The result is that no governor of Kansas for twenty years has had so little respect for human life as to sentence a criminal to die, and Kansas can show a record far above the average regarding the safety of human life.

Capital punishment was abolished in Holland in 1870, and there have been fewer murders since its abolition than before during the same length of time notwithstanding the increase in population. Finland has had no executions since 1824. The judge of the Court of Appeals says : "The security of persons and property has not diminished by the suspension of capital punishment. Murders are extremely rare." There have been no executions in Belgium since 1863. In the ten years preceding its abolition there were 921 murders. In the ten years

following its abolition there were but 703. Portugal, Italy, Roumania, and Switzerland have abolished capital punishment with like good results. On the other hand, Greece, with a population of only two millions of people, about the same as the state of Indiana, still teaches the sacredness of human life by the use of the guillotine. The result is as might be expected. There are said to be at the present time one hundred murderers in the prisons of Greece awaiting the day of death fixed by weak, fallible human authority.

There are other lines upon which to base valid arguments against the old Jewish law of taking life as a forfeit for crime, but lack of space forbids that they shall be discussed at this writing. We might merely mention as being important among them : 1. The fallibility of human testimony, and the consequent danger of convicting the innocent ; 2. The absolute inability of man to distinguish between those who are morally and mentally responsible for their acts and those who are not.

The old argument, too, based on the Mosaic law of like for like which is still the favorite argument with the average man who believes in punishing crime by imitating it, might properly be considered in arguing the subject, though that hardly seems necessary, for the Scriptural argument breaks down of its own weight. The old Testament advocates the infliction of capital punishment with a vengeance. There need be no controversy on this point. It proves entirely too much, however, and even the most zealous advocate of legal killing would scarcely sanction it all and advise death as a proper punishment for gathering fire wood on the Sabbath Day, unless perhaps a few Puritanical reformers in Pennsylvania might be found to urge hanging for selling a newspaper or a glass of milk on Sunday.

Under the old Jewish law the violation of every commandment but one was punishable with death and when it has been shown that according to the old Testament we should abolish slavery and polygamy and cease to kill the wife who believes in a different god from the one adored by her husband, then it will be time to advocate capital punishment for murder on a Hebraic

basis. Though our early fathers were a savage people, the law of death for murder, so emphatically enjoined, was flagrantly violated, and even they, ignorant and savage as they were, were better than their cruel law. If the law of life for life, as laid down by Moses, was good, it surely should have been carefully observed in those early days, and yet Cain was a murderer as were Moses, Lamech, David, Simeon, and Levi, and yet not one of them was made to atone for his crime by giving up his life. The law seems to have been a failure even then as it has been in all ages since.

A. J. PALM.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

Handy Book of Literary Quotations. By William Walsh. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. Price \$3.50.

The author declares in the preface to this admirable book that his primary object is to entertain, but no one can read even a few of its 1,100 pages without being instructed as well as entertained. It would have been unjust both to the book and its author had he entitled it "A Dictionary of Things Not Worth Knowing" as he says he had thought of doing. It should be considered that that which literary people are anxious to know and for which they search volume after volume is worth knowing. This book will save such many a long search and render a short one successful where before the most careful may have ended in failure.

In looking over this book one realizes the fact as never before that the literary curiosities of the English language are very numerous, and he who has taken the time and been endowed with the patience to glean them from all sources as has Mr. Walsh, deserves the thanks of all careful readers.

There is a wide range of topics treated between A 1, the favorite expression of mercantile agencies, and zouave, which

closes the list. The politician may here find the "Mugwump," "Plumed Knight," and "Kicker." The millionaire can discover "who wants the Earth"; the swain may see the "red-haired girl and white horses," while the bachelor can see what a "grass widow" is. Even Mrs. O'Leary's cow has not been overlooked and finds a place along with the "cow with the iron tail."

The book contains among its many curiosities what is perhaps the most complete list of palindromes anywhere to be found. The topics are arranged alphabetically throughout the book, which enables the reader to find any subject easily. The work is handsomely bound and printed, with gilt top, and considering its size and character is a very cheap volume.

Children's Rights: A Book of Nursery Logic. By Kate Douglas Wiggin. 12mo. 235 pp. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Price, \$1.25.

This admirable book is now in its fifth thousand and it would be a blessing not only to children but to the country, if every parent, teacher, and preacher in the nation would study the lessons here so eloquently and truly set forth.

Our educational system has always been top-heavy and, while the truth has been gradually dawning upon the minds of the few for some years past in reference to the all-important subject of early childhood training, the lion's share of cost and effort is still expended in trying to correct and improve the habits and manners of young men and women after their natures have been warped and perhaps irretrievably ruined by neglect or by bad early training. Rockefellers and Stanfords and Armours give millions of their substance to endow great universities and schools of higher learning while the more important school, the kindergarten, is entirely unknown in most of our cities as a part of our educational system and gets but a grudging pittance in those that are giving it a feeble trial.

Mrs. Wiggin may well wonder whether we mean all we say about the force of early impressions when we quote such well-known phrases as, "The hand that rocks the cradle rules the

world" ; " Give me the first six years of a child's life, and I care not who has the rest " ; " The child of six years has learned already far more than a student learns in his entire university course," etc. If we do so believe our practice is widely at variance with our belief.

This book is divided into ten chapters as follows: 1. The Rights of the Child ; 2. Children's Plays ; 3. Children's Playthings ; 4. What Shall Children Read ? 5. Children's Stories ; 6. The Relation of the Kindergarten to Social Reform ; 7. How Shall we Govern our Children ? 8. The Magic of " Together " ; 9. The Relation of the Kindergarten to the Public School ; 10. Other People's Children.

Chapters 5, 7, and 8 are the work of Nora A. Smith. We feel safe in saying that nowhere can be found in a like number of pages a more sensible and eloquent discussion of the subject of managing children than in the chapter, " How Shall we Govern Our Children ? "

The book as a whole is so well written and tells so much that may often have been thought but seldom expressed that it is difficult to particularize as to the merits of the different parts. We, however, commend to the careful attention of every teacher, parent, and school officer the chapters, " The Relation of the Kindergarten to the Public School," and " Other People's Children."

Criminology. By Arthur MacDonald. Large 12mo, cloth, 416 pp., with Bibliography of Crime, etc., \$2. New York, London, and Toronto: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

The science of crime and criminals opens up a vast field of great interests, not only to the scholar who investigates causes and sequences, classes and peculiarities, but to the ordinary thoughtful man who, recognizing the awful effects of crime, and realizing something of the almost innumerable number of criminals, desires to know of these phenomena in their relations to society, to the human race. In this age of " better things " we have been led to believe that while the punishment of criminals is necessary for the protection of life and property, yet

the prevention of crime is the desideratum devoutly wished for. To effect this, as far as possible, is the problem to be solved, and those who are attempting its solution have investigated the causes of crime, not sin in the abstract, but crime in its awful concrete power. Find and analyze the causes, and then remove them, is the only scientific solution of this problem.

Heretofore, the works upon this branch of science have been in the main such as only students would appreciate ; but, while we have in this work a scholarly treatment of the subject, as the result of years of expert study and research, we have also in this book a popular treatment by which the subject is brought within the comprehension of those not specialists.

The author's preparation for this work has consisted in a course of study in the University of Rochester, Princeton, and Andover Theological Seminaries, Union Theological Seminary, Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, University of Berlin, University of Leipzig, University of Paris, Universities of Zurich and Vienna, and Clark University, Worcester, Mass.

His plans also included special visits to the principal prisons and charitable institutions in England, France, Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria, Italy, and America. He passed two entire summers with criminals in our best institutions at Rochester, Elmira, Auburn, and at other points. He was locked in cells with criminals in order to become more fully learned concerning them.

The following quotation from the chapter, "The Evolution of Crime," will give an idea of the author's style and of the matter-of-fact way in which he regards the war monster.

The instinct of vengeance is at present quite deep-rooted in humanity ; thus the complacency with which the public consider the condemnation of an insane culprit for a murderous act, as in the case of Guiteau. This impatience against regarding the criminal as a patient is a sentiment which is latent in each of us. We desire vengeance, although we may have changed its name and appearance. The form of this is reproduced in our Western and Southern states as "lynch law," which is an explosion of popular anger. Sometimes this has for a cause, as in cannibalism, a barbaric satisfaction, a cruel pleasure to see

an execution, and a passion to participate in shedding blood, or a love of excitement.

Looking at man from a scientific point of view, he exceeds all others in criminality ; he kills not only his own species, which the animals rarely do, but beings of all other species with impunity ; those which it is not an advantage to kill he subjects to slavery. The egotism of the human species surpasses that of all others. The basis of this egotism is a combination of psychic and physical force, *not moral force*.

At present the bloody idea of war still remains in the whole human race. Modern Europe where the highest civilization exists has at least 12,000,000 men trained for war, while Rome, with her vast empire had only 300,000 legionaries ; and this is the state of the world which at present is in its commercial glory ; and yet in the face of this it is claimed that commerce and war are antagonists ; but it is said that war has the advantage of purging the race. To accomplish this, however, cholera is much more preferable, for the lower strata are pre-eminently the sufferers, while in war much of the best blood of the nation is sacrificed. The savage instinct of murder is still deeply rooted. War from the natural-history point of view, is universal murder, an extension and development of universal homicide. In primitive times it was terrible in character, exceeding in ferocity the wildest beasts ; in the next stage of development one did not eat his enemy, but mutilated and tortured him, and modern civilized war is the same in essence, though different in form. For inventive genius is at present exerting itself to its utmost to discover how to kill and mutilate the enemy at great distances, and to the disgrace of the 19th century humanity, it seems to have succeeded. And while we look with horror upon the cannibal, the words of Montaigne are not inapplicable when he says that "it is more barbarous to kill a live man than to roast and eat a dead one."

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MORALITY IN BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE.

BY THE REV. DAVID SWING.

IT IS one of the errors and follies of society that it cherishes several kinds of morality. It has wandered about in a mental bewilderment and has been as fickle in its opinions in ethics as the man in the play was regarding the cloud which seemed to him to have all the appearance of a camel, a weasel, and a whale. It is not to be wondered at that morals have been compelled to come along the path of development. All that man possesses has come through germ, bud, leaf, blossom, and fruit. The highest painter's art of to-day was once only an ability to make a few scratches on a shell or the tusk of a mammoth. So the morals of to-day were once only a faint notion that a man should not kill his own wife or child and should not steal his neighbor's property. This power of the "should not" expired a few miles from home, and beyond a stream or a mountain any child might be murdered, any property might be stolen. Confessing that the sense of right must needs come by the slow process of growth, it is singular that it did not come in one shape for all the persons of a neighborhood. Music came slowly, but it did not come with harmony for a king and with discord for a poor subject. When the eight notes came for a palace they came for a cabin. The Gregorian chant did not change itself for a pope or a beggar. What sweetness and grandeur there was in the strains were for man in an unbroken unity. When the Greek column put on at last its complete proportions it assumed

all that beauty not for a Pericles, but for every man and woman of the existing world. It would now seem that morals ought thus to have come. If two and two make four for a European they ought to make four for a Hottentot. Thus morals ought to have come down to us from the prolific past. Instead of seeing such a uniform advance we are compelled to note a morality suitable for a king and another morality suitable for a subject, a morals proper for a genius and a morals for a man of ordinary mind ; then comes a morality suitable for a husband and a less generous one for a wife, a morality for a church member and a looser code for persons not encumbered by a religion.

When Captain Speke was exploring the interior of Africa he greatly amazed a black king by showing him the power of a shotgun. The king had never before heard such noise or seen such results on bird or beast. When Captain Speke made the potentate a present of a gun the royal hunter, not seeing any bird or beast near, fired at a slave, and had the perfect pleasure of a huntsman without suffering any of the drawbacks of being a murderer. The morals in the interior of Africa had approached with broken, ragged front. In our age and land the scene is much less painful but it has not been long since within the confines of the church a white man might sell or whip to death a poor man from Africa ; and the high morals of womanhood are not yet thought to be applicable to the army of men. No pages are more distressing than those which record the unequal pressure of morals ; those which reveal to us a Nero attempting to drown his mother ; and the great moralist Seneca, permitting his pupil, the king, to go forward with the infamous plot ; those pages which reveal King David as a murderer and a writer of psalms, those pages which tell how witnesses at courts were put to the torture to make them tell what in many cases they did not know ; pages in which a Henry VIII. could most religiously slaughter a long series of women once loved as wives. The Roman Seneca was such a moralist that Jerome thought him worthy of a place among the Christian saints ; but this amiable desire only tells us how uneven lay the moral wave around Jerome, that he should have permitted the essays upon " Provi-

dence," "Consolation," and "Serenity of Mind," to conceal the fact that Seneca had helped murder Agrippina and had stolen from the empire money equal to ten millions of dollars.

These facts are sufficient to show that the stream of honesty has been easily diverted from its course. It has never been broad or resistless. There have always been on hand many different articles of honesty—a kind fitted for kings, an article suitable for a genius like a Goethe or a Napoleon, an article good enough for a merchant or a lawyer, an article which a woman must possess, an article which a slave must carry. In the creation and distribution of ethics this phenomenon has generally been observed in the past, that the higher the potentate or the genius the less burdensome the morals. When to Aaron Burr, who had asked Alexander Hamilton why he did not make the thirteen colonies into a monarchy, Alexander Hamilton replied that such a course would not be honest, Burr said that great minds must not be troubled with little questions of honor. "*Les grandes âmes se-soucient peu de petits moraux.*" When years afterward Hamilton lay dying in his agony of mind and body the fact teaches us that to the Aaron Burrs of the world no moral question is great. Jesus perceived the unity and uniformity of morals. His ethics included every mind that possessed the reasoning faculty. It excepted idiots and infants; for the Nazarene always said: "Let him hear who hath ears." Rationality was assumed. He that hath eyes to see must see. Away from the incapable the pressure of duty was uniform.

As the atmosphere presses equally upon the body of a king and a queen, so the law of right and wrong rests equally on those hearts, and for Aaron Burr and his beautiful Theodosia there was but one path of honor. No person dares assume a superiority of mind. In the intellectual department here and there a mortal may possess egotism enough to induce him to boast of pre-eminence, but there can be no disparity in the obligations of honor. The daughter of Burr, having never come back from her voyage on the mysterious sea, ought to have compelled her father to reflect that the moral path of a noble girl is the only path that any mind, however great, will ever tread in

peace. But incapable of morals, Burr was perhaps incapable of reflection, or of any sad memory of friend or child living or lost.

If the obligations of morals are universal and uniform, then all the pursuits of men must lie within the boundaries of morality. It was often debated many years ago, whether a lawyer could be a church member. And in those days it was understood that if a business man joined a church it was a form of public proclamation that he intended to do about right. No one can object to any such acceptance of aid from the church, Catholic or Protestant or pagan, but one may well pity the mind which can not see that integrity does not repose upon Christianity or religion for its base ; it reposes upon that reason, that intelligence, that outspread human life upon which religion itself reposes. Mr. Bradlaugh was not a believer in a god or a religion, and yet should that man have told a falsehood the public would have been as much shocked as though the falsehood had been told by a clergyman or an archbishop. No high-toned atheist will soil his lips with a lie. This horror of a falsehood, come whence the falsehood may, teaches us that society itself is founded upon righteousness, and that religion, instead of being a sole cause of honor, is only a sentiment of love flaming up toward the Creator of man and his world. Men should join the church not that they might find honesty, but that they should thus find the presence of God. As we sail to Europe not that we may become truthful and honest, but that the mind and heart may touch more of the earth and more of the onrolling race ; as the Europeans come to this continent that they may note what the mind may accomplish in a century of high education and perfect liberty, thus should men enter the church that they may be nearer their Infinite Father and may enjoy the happiness of a profound peace and hope ; but the man is to be pitied who asks the temple of religion to teach him not to cheat or slander or destroy his fellowman. All these virtues he could learn at the feet of an atheist.

Of the prime source of morals man knows nothing. Victor Cousin says the perception of morality comes from God. But

this expression can not be the last analysis, for the Greeks said that the Supreme Zeus was himself bound to do right. Thus the Deity seems himself encompassed by the same air of truth and honor as that which surrounds humanity. Thus the origin of the right lies beyond the ken of man. His mind is not equal to any final measurement of the fact. He simply knows that no lips of man or God dare frame or utter a lie. No being on earth or in the sky dares do wrong. Every workshop, every house of merchandise, every profession, every industry is, along with every sanctuary, surrounded by the one omnipresent philosophy—that of the honesty of each soul. This sweet philosophy spreads itself like the flora of the earth and the blue of the sky. We can not go beyond the blessed old Anchises of Virgil, who said to his son: “This heaven, these lands, the liquid plains, the white ball of the moon, the Titanic stars, are all occupied by an inner spirit: it feeds them; poured out through all the members of space it quickens the large mass and mingles with the entire volume.” Thus we see the spirit of morality infusing itself all through the universe, absent from no cottage or street on earth, and from no principality of angels or deity beyond our horizon.

What is business? What is the meaning of a pursuit or a profession? All the world of business comes from the simple fact that each man needs all men. No man can meet his own wants. His wants are a thousand times greater than he is himself. He needs muslin, linen, silk, food, fire, furniture, books, music, art, law, roads, carriages, bridges, streets. It is most obvious that the wants of each civilized man are a thousand times greater than he is himself. In this mental and physical crisis the individual must follow some one pursuit and then exchange his product for the things which he can not produce. You can not sing a song, but you love music. Your want is therefore greater than your direct capacity; but you can raise wheat or make a hammer or a saw. You then sell some wheat or tools, and with this value you pay for a song from Jenny Lind, and Jenny Lind could not raise the wheat she must have, so she earns her bread with her voice. Thus a thousand trades

are made, and each form of trade soon settles into a pursuit. These pursuits are all honest.

The merchant in goods is simply a man who gathers in the materials which those persons will want who are not making linens and silks. So the book-writer, the poet, or historian is a person who is making what the farmer or blacksmith wants, but has not the time or ability to produce. The greatest and noblest industries are called professions. Certain pursuits wholly intellectual were named professions in a time when certain aristocrats were afraid they might become associated with labor. Thus came pursuits and professions. All these professions and pursuits are founded upon a basis of honor. The calling of the lawyer and the farmer are based wholly upon integrity, for society no more needs wheat than it needs law and the just application of law. The laws of a land generally work silently and imperceptibly. We all live in them and obey them. But for each ten thousand instances in which the law is seen, confessed, and obeyed, one instance will occur in which a difference of opinion will arise as to what is the law or the fact of the case. The civil courts are founded upon this variation of human opinion. Two questions cause these courts: What is the law? and has it been obeyed? In criminal courts it is inquired: What law has been broken, and did the accused break it?

In the history of society these questions have been of tremendous import. The legislature and the courthouse have played an amazing part in the drama of human life. It would be vain for the heart to love the arts, to love learning, nature, liberty, and even religion, unless there were laws and courts which could keep alive for us the peaceful, healthful air of national existence. In the classic states the lawyers and the courts sunk before literature failed. When the students of justice became false then literature fell, for flowers can ornament a nation but they can not sustain one. When law fails, the arts die. But there can be no law unless there may be students of law. As there can be no science unless there can come students of science, no art unless there may be artists, so there can be no laws drafted, passed, or applied, unless there may be men who

shall give up their years to the thought demanded by this great department of justice. When we look back and see what human minds have been produced and beautified by this profession—what an array of grand men, reaching from Demosthenes and Cicero to our Burkes and Websters, all argument seems overwhelmed by the vision of a long procession of mortals walking in all the fullness of an intellectual splendor. The early Greeks were wont to repair to the Delphic oracle to learn the paths of duty, but those paths thus pointed out led at last to ruin, and induced Cicero to say that the house of the lawyer is the oracle of the state. "*Est, sine dubio, domus juris-consulti totius oraculum civitatis.*"

Thus the many pursuits are founded in the simple fact that the wants of each individual are many times greater than he is himself. The relation of the lawyer's profession to religion is exactly that of the farmer or writer or inventor or merchant. As the farmer plows for a large number, so the lawyer studies and thinks and speaks for a multitude. But what must be said of the dishonorable lawyer? Of the lawyer who will set a man at variance with his neighbor? Of the man who will buy evidence and verdicts with gold? There is only one answer for such a question. Such a man is not a lawyer; he is not following a human pursuit; he is not created by the wants of society. A grocer is a man who imports for us sugar and tea, but the moment he puts sand in his sugar he has ceased to be a grocer and has become a common thief. Thus the natural calling of the lawyer may be transformed into a kind of black art. The moment a merchant cheats a purchaser he has ceased to be a business man; business has given place to common fraud. All business presupposes honor; the moment honor is omitted the industry becomes a crime. Those men who from time to time wreck the depositories of money and scatter the millions of dollars which the public loaned to their firm, are not bankers. The word banker has given way to the word robber. We do not call Captain Kidd a merchantman, an importer or exporter of goods; we put those terms aside and designate him as a pirate. Thus any pursuit upon earth may pass down into

crime or a vice just as a patriot like Arnold once was may at last become a traitor, or as a youth once temperate may at last sink down under the influence of strong drink. A lawyer or a merchant or a manufacturer may degrade his calling just as a literary man may write immoral books. No man, from the humblest street-sweeper up to the greatest lawyer, or statesman, need perform in his pursuit a single dishonest deed. He never need live a moment in discord with that morality which, like a great shoreless ocean, encompasses the human family. Captain Kidd may, if he chooses, prowl on the seas and thus amass gold, but society does not ask for him. He lives not at the request of the race, but in defiance of its wish. The human race is founded upon the principle of universal labor, and that labor reposes upon a basis of universal honor.

There have been and still exist minds shallow enough to boast that they make no pretense to being church members, and do not claim always to follow the course of an ideal honesty. Even the law often permits society to act the part of a cheat. The principle *caveat emptor*, the purchaser must beware, ought to perish before the principle that the seller must beware. The seller must no more issue false goods than he must issue false money. The church has little to do with these affairs. It is indeed true that if the church meets a thief or a bandit it labors to make him into a righteous man, but one great work of the church is to move among honest men and make of them happy worshipers of God. John Stuart Mill was honest and noble, but how the church would have loved to make him join in the worship so dear to a Gladstone and a Newman and to see a heaven beyond the shore of this world ! The church could have added nothing to the honor of Mill, or of Harriet Martineau ; that was spotless ; all the temple could have done was to make the world under their feet the house of a God and death the gateway to a richer existence. When Christ said, "Blessed are the merciful, blessed the gentle, blessed the righteous," He did not say blessed are they if in the church ; but blessed are they in or out of the sanctuary, blessed because society asks for them and will mourn for them until they shall come. If the only

mission of religion were to make men honest it would die as soon as honesty had come to the world, and there would be no worship up in the sky. But we know that the more righteous our race the more piety would sound its triumphant psalm. Thus all the great affairs of our globe, its business, its arts, its homes, its religion ask for the honesty of mankind. Instead of making of honesty a destiny, it is the starting point of society. We are all savages until honor comes. Religion only begins where dishonor ends. Religion destroys sin because piety cannot begin until after sin has died. The end of dishonor is only the beginning of worship. A Christ will most live after sin shall have perished.

Dreamers speak of a unity of languages and of a brotherhood of nations. They yield to a fraternal feeling and write about the oneness of the human race, and see a day when all colors of the face shall express but one soul ; that will be a nobler dream which shall picture a day when there shall be a unity of morals and all men high and low and all women rich and poor shall bow before the one and only honor—that of the earth and the sky. In that day there may still be atheists as well as Christians and Deists, but even to the atheists the young man can repair to learn the true greatness of the profession of the law and the infamy of a falsehood as coming from the lips of man.

Some of the modern reforms throw away half their momentum by teaching our young men that the church, Christ, and God, command them to reform—ask them to throw aside forever the ruinous cup, and to break away from any harmful vice. Powerful as this command is, the speeches which contain it omit that vast stream of eloquence which pours forth from the ethics of the world. Does Jesus of Nazareth urge the life of temperance? So does atheism join in the entreaty and forbid any youth to soil his life and his mind in such a form of pollution. The church, indeed, speaks, but its voice is weak when compared with the solemn tones of all nations and times—the voice of the entire race of rational beings. The blossoming fields speak ; the seasons speak, because they wish man to live sweetly and live long ; the bloom of youth speaks, because it loves the

happy face and hates the wreck of the body and a drunkard's grave ; the home, the city, and the nation speak, because they love man in his triumph, and not in his ruin. The church is only one part in this great and solemn music ; and Christ Himself came to break the long silence and teach the world to perceive that it is an island surrounded by a morality which encompasses also the Deity, and is everywhere a nobleness, a happiness, and a life.

DAVID SWING.

EXPLANATION OF THE SINGLE TAX.

BY CHARLES EDWARD BENTON.

THE term "single tax" has come to be applied to a system of taxation which is recommended by a considerable number of persons in various parts of the world, even to Australia and New Zealand, where it attracts considerable attention. Therefore it is worth the while of anyone who desires to keep up with the advance thought of the times to enquire into the subject and find out, if possible, what it is that interests so many people. I trust that many of us will live to see its entrance into the arena of politics, but for the present those battles are fought in narrower fields.

In opening the subject let us lift ourselves, as it were, out of the field of self-interest and take a metaphorical "bird's-eye view" of the subject, then return, and apply the principles to our own case.

By the single tax we mean the raising of all public revenues, whether for national, state, county, or town purposes, by a single tax upon land values irrespective of improvements. And to that end we favor the abolition of all other taxation, either direct or indirect.

At the outset I am liable to be misunderstood by the use of the term "land values." It is not intended by this system to tax land as land, but simply to tax that value which attaches to it on account of its proximity to population or transportation or other peculiarities that may make it in demand. Thus we consider that the land of Manhattan Island, as land, is very poor land. But it is surrounded by such excellent facilities for commerce, and most of all, the proximity of over three million people creates such a demand for it, that it has a real value of say a million dollars per acre; and it is this "land value" that

we propose to tax. Likewise a coal mine at the north pole, though ideally perfect itself, has no value because it is not accessible to those who wish to use coal, while a similar deposit of coal in Pennsylvania where it can be readily transported to millions of industrious citizens, is worth many thousand dollars per acre. Now why should these land values be taxed any more than the values that attach to houses or machinery or other kinds of property?

Reflect for a moment. What classes of values are to be found in all communities? You answer at once that there are but two kinds: personal and real estate. But upon examination we shall see that this old definition is arbitrary and entirely absurd. Take the desk at which I am writing as an instance. It is personal property, but fasten it to the floor with a few screws and it is real estate. It is evident that its character is in no wise changed by the transfer from one class to the other; hence we may see that such classification is not based on any real character of the property so classified. Nor in this respect does a house differ in any wise from the desk. But all values found in any community can be sharply divided into two classes. First, that which is created by individual labor, capital, and enterprise. This includes all personal property with buildings and improvements of every kind. Second, that value which is created by the community. This is simply a value that attaches to land; is in fact that value which it has irrespective of all improvements.

To illustrate again, a friend of mine in a country village pays at the rate of thirty-five hundred dollars an acre for a lot on which he may build a house. The person of whom he bought had done nothing whatever to give it that value. It was a value created entirely by the community.

The single tax would tax all values created by the public to pay the expenses of the public and would release from taxation all forms of property that are created by private enterprise, labor, and capital, holding that a tax on such property is a tax on thrift and labor. The justice of this should be so evident as not to need a restatement, but at the risk of repetition I will state it again.

Here are two classes of values. One class of values is created by the public, and the other class is created by the individual. We propose that the public shall tax the values created by the public to pay the expenses of the public; and leave to the enjoyment of the individual all values created by the individual. It would be certain because land is visible and cannot be "sworn off," and it is therefore most easily appraised. It would be equitable because it would call upon men to contribute to the public revenues, not in proportion to what they produce or accumulate, but in proportion to the value of the natural opportunities they hold. It would compel them to pay just as much for holding land idle as for putting it to use. It would be wise, because by discouraging the withdrawal of land from use, and encouraging its improvement it would expand opportunities for the employment of labor and capital and thus increase wealth and increase the rewards of industry and thrift. It would be just, because it would fall, not upon labor, enterprise, and economy, but upon the value of a special privilege. We have become so accustomed to what has been long established that we hardly give a thought of analysis or criticism to our mode of taxation; and as it was handed down to us from our revered forefathers, we feel that to denounce it would be almost as much an act of Vandalism as would the vilification of the character of our grandfather.

We have so long heard that death and taxes come to all that when anyone steps out and says that we ought not to be obliged to pay any taxes, it strikes us at first as absurd. But let us examine the subject and see whether it is really necessary for us to pay any taxes.

We all concede the right of every person to all that he earns, either by labor of muscle or brain, or by his enterprise, forethought, or invention; nor has anyone, not even the government, a right to confiscate (except in great emergencies, such as war or famine) the property of the individual. Now why should we not concede the same right to the community as a whole that we do to the individual? Here are immense values all over the country that have not been created by the labor or capital of in-

dividuals, but they have been created by the community. Then why should not the revenues from these values go to the communities where they justly belong? The fact that private individuals now get these revenues does not prove their right to them. It is an axiom in common law that a man has a right to take his own property whenever and wherever he can find it. If then the public succeeds in finding that these revenues really belong of right to the public, the public should take them for its own use; and they would be abundant to meet all public expenses.

The meaning of my paradoxical statement that it should not be necessary for us to pay any taxes now becomes plain. The single tax would not be really a tax, but would be rather of the nature of a ground rent that the holder of special privileges would pay to the community.

Take for instance the state of Pennsylvania in her coal mines alone. The men who work the mines, who furnish all the capital, labor, and enterprise to mine the coal and ship it to the consumers, pay over sixteen million dollars a year as ground rent for their leases. The single tax would draw its revenues from this and other ground rents, and release from taxation all the capital absorbed in developing the mines, in machinery, and in the employment of labor.

Now let us look at the effects of our present system of taxation, and then consider what might be expected as the result under the adoption of the single tax. We are all agreed that the desirable man in a community is he who is industrious, economical, and enterprising; he who has forethought and thrift; and the undesirable citizen is he who is idle, wasteful, extravagant, and thriftless. When he is sick he is a town charge, and when he is well he is a town nuisance.

Now see how the community deals with its citizens, and whether its laws are so arranged as to encourage those good traits of character which should be developed in all communities. When the good man works hard in order to feed and clothe his family properly we fine him. If he saves up a thousand dollars to save himself from becoming a town charge

in case of sickness, we fine him again. If he builds a house we fine him yet again. And if he builds up a great industry which gives profitable employment to many, spreading its benign influence far and near, we fine him to a still greater degree. We compel him to pay for the education of his own children and also of those of his thriftless neighbor. It is not necessary to enumerate all the details of courts and prisons and police machinery, and of those who patronize them, and who pay the bills. The reader may follow out that line of thought for himself.

There is a third class of citizens who may have entirely escaped notice; but who are to be found in every town and city, and even at every little village and railway station all over the land. Within a stone's throw of the window where I sit is a field about large enough to pasture a cow. While the owner has put no improvements whatever upon it, the city has grown to it, past it, and around it. It was needed for use, but the owner would neither use it himself nor let others use it. He has now sold it for thirty thousand dollars. He had quietly waited, well knowing that the industry and growth of the whole community about him would create a value there which our laws would permit him to appropriate to his own use. This is only one small example among hundreds of thousands.

More than one third of Manhattan Island, which is the heart of New York City, is unbuilt upon. Not that it is not needed; but it is held by men who are keeping it out of use until the growth and industry of the great city shall create an increase of value which they—the owners—have not earned. This is what is termed the "unearned increment." It is this holding of valuable land out of use for speculative purposes that is the great bar to the progress and growth of all populous communities. And our present laws, by permitting private owners to absorb the unearned increment, make it necessary to confiscate from every one's earnings and economies something to pay the public expenses.

Now let us see what effect the single tax would have in any city or village. It would wipe out most of the selling price of idle land, because the tax on such land would be just as much as

it would be on land next to it which had buildings or improvements on it. This would prevent owners from holding land out of use simply for speculative purposes, for they would know that as the land increased in value the taxes would increase in proportion.

Thus land would become accessible to those who really want it to use, and men would no longer have to go long distances to get ground on which to build when there was idle land near at hand. Land would be free. On the other hand all improvements, being released from taxation, would receive an enhanced value. This would stimulate industry, while thrift and enterprise would receive their just reward instead of being fined as at present. The land grabber, who holds land idle and will neither use it himself nor let others use it, would, like his historic prototype, find his occupation gone. We can afford to spare him as he stands ever a bar to progress, demanding tribute of the industrious community. He would soon mingle in the ranks of the legitimate industries and add to, instead of detracting from, the common weal. There would no longer be the temptation to conceal property by perjury for the purpose of evading taxes. There would no longer be lack of opportunities for the profitable employment of capital. Capital would be free. Limitations upon exchange of products would no longer hamper trade. Trade would be free.

Three quarters of a million of able, willing men would no longer be continuously out of employment in the United States. Laborers would no longer be fighting and rioting, committing murder and arson all over this beautiful country for the privilege of having work to do. For why? With free land, capital free, and exchanges of products free, such an era of general prosperity and active enterprise would ensue that there would be plenty of employment for all, and strikes and lockouts would cease. Labor would be free. Production would be greatly augmented, wealth would increase and all who were willing to do so could enjoy the comforts of a civilized life. Then should we realize the dream of our forefathers. Our country would be free in fact as well as in name.

Another phase of the subject, and that the most important, is its religious, or moral basis.

The teachings of Jesus, if they mean anything, teach the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. We may not for a moment suppose that God stored through all the eternity of geologic ages such vast stores of light and heat in the form of immense coal deposits, whereby modern civilization is made possible, and then intended that a few private individuals should stand at the door of this treasure-house of wealth, holding the stores of untold ages, and proclaim that whoever would use of these gifts of our Heavenly Father to His children, must first pay them a ransom for the privilege. Surely such an assumption is but a heritage of the Dark Ages, when the only right recognized was the title of might. We believe that the unjust laws of the present day are a great obstruction to the advance of the cause of Christianity. It was Jesus Himself who gave justice precedence over the ceremonial of religious observances. "Leave there thy gift before the altar," said He, "while you go and restore to your fellow-man what in justice should be his, then return and worship God acceptably."

We look back with a conceited smile at the record of those honest but misguided Christians whom many of us still remember. They piously murmured: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," and "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them," and then bought and sold men, women, and children in the marts of trade like cattle, and enacted laws which denied the sacredness of the marriage relation to five millions of their fellow-beings.

Think you, will not the next generation smile at us for standing at the street corner Sunday mornings and giving two-for-a-cent tracts on the sin of covetousness, to the "poor," wondering why they are always with us; and then spending the remaining six days of the week enacting laws which forbid nine tenths of God's children that are born into the world, from living there unless they pay the other tenth for the privilege?

Why is it if these things are true that they have not been discovered and remedied years ago? I apprehend that the prin-

cial reason is that no means have been discovered by which it was thought possible for all to share alike in the bounties of nature. It would be utterly impracticable to divide and re-divide the land among the inhabitants. Such a process, if attempted, would destroy all civilization.

But by the invention of the system of the single tax all difficulties are removed. The owner of land would be more secure than ever in the possession of his land and his improvements. If he were already putting his land to its best uses his taxes would be diminished and the rewards of his enterprise increased.

If, on the other hand, he were holding land and natural opportunities out of use for speculative purposes, or were exacting tribute from others for the privilege of using natural opportunities, his tax would be increased.

Thus the whole community would receive from individuals in the single tax a just remuneration for the use of those natural opportunities which of right belong to all. Then we should at last, with free land, free capital, free exchange of products, free labor, and a free country, have the best of all, free men and women, and all through the single tax.

CHARLES EDWARD BENTON.

GOVERNMENTAL OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

BY J. W. MASON.

IN the consideration of economic questions and social reforms, discussion has reached and embraced that of governmental ownership of railways. Such ownership is advocated by two classes of people; first, the socialists, and second, a number who do not admit socialistic tendencies, but who have a vague and undefined idea that, in some way, railway property is distinguishable from private property in general, and that there is something in its nature and use which makes it proper and advisable for the general government to own and operate the railways of the country.

It is believed in many instances that railway corporations are public corporations; and that their property, in a measure at least, is public property. If this be not positively asserted, you may detect it in nearly every public and popular discussion of the railway problems. These views are erroneous in the extreme, and it may serve to make the discussion more plain if we start out with clear ideas of what railway corporations and railway property really are. They are not public corporations, and their property is not public property. The converse of this is true. They are private corporations and their property is private property.

There is no legal objection to an individual's purchasing right of way and constructing and operating a railroad upon it. Such a railroad would bear to the public and government precisely the same relation that a railway owned and operated by a corporation does. Its business would be of a public nature, and for that reason it would be subject to the control of the govern-

ment in the same way that many other kinds of business, public in their nature, are subject to like regulation.

Railroads are what are known in law as common carriers—their business directly concerns the public, and for that reason the government has been granted the right by the people to regulate it. But this is equally the case with many other business enterprises, such as elevators, warehouses, ferries, stage, hack, express, and freight lines, bakers, bankers, druggists, and the like. The principle of law regulating the one is similar to that regulating the other. The introduction of steam as a motive power did not change the law or the rights of the government. The power to regulate business, public in its nature, was reposed in government long before George Stephenson thought of the steam engine.

Here is the distinction: Railway and other industries named, being public in their nature, the government has the power to regulate, but it has no ownership in the property itself. The government may regulate the business of the milkman,—prevent adulteration and false measurement, but it does not own the milk. It may prescribe rules for the regulation of railway corporations, but it does not own, in any sense of the word, the property. In private concerns, a man may place his own price upon his property or its use, but when he uses it for a public purpose, or to perform a public service, like the ferry, warehouse, wharves, freight line or railway, then the state has the lawful right to protect the public by regulating weights, rates, conveniences, and facilities.

Railway corporations constitute great aggregations of wealth. The very nature of their business,—the amount of money required to construct and operate them—makes this inevitable. This accumulation of wealth concentrates power. Great wealth in one man or set of men attracts attention, and frequently engenders jealousy. If it be accompanied by an arbitrary exercise of power, people become restive under it, and projects of change, some reasonable and some unreasonable, are proposed and discussed, till finally, all the evils from which society suffers are attributed to the one cause without recognition of any bene-

fits arising from it. Such a condition has, in a great measure, given rise to the discussion throughout the country, of the governmental ownership of railways.

The great business of the country and world, under existing conditions, may be classified under two comprehensive heads: production and distribution. These embrace nearly all of the great industrial and economic questions of our time. It is contended that successful production most largely depends upon cheap distribution. That the present cost of transportation of the products of the country is too great to the people and out of proportion to its cost to the railroads. That concentration of enormous wealth in the hands of transporting companies gives them such power that the people are helpless and at their mercy. That the natural greed and selfishness of these corporations disincline them to furnish the necessary relief, but, on the contrary, lead them to persist in a policy of extortion. That by governmental ownership cheap transportation would be given the whole country, from which would result great material prosperity to both producer and consumer. Other reasons are, of course, advanced, while some and different ones may present themselves to your minds; but "cheap transportation" is the central and controlling argument urged, and is the prime relief demanded.

Assuming the reason given sufficient to justify the ownership of railways by the government, the first practical question which confronts us is: "How shall such ownership be acquired?" The only methods worthy of discussion, to the mind of the business man, are the constitutional ones; either a purchase of the properties by the government at private sale, or by condemnation under the right of eminent domain, upon payment of a just consideration. Some extreme socialists of the Michael Bakunin school advocate a forcible, *in invitum* taking, without compensation. These belong to a class who accumulate nothing themselves, and are devoid of any conception of personal, political, or property right. Their reason is rage—their argument dynamite.

A few figures will serve to give a faint idea of what the proposition to purchase the railways by the government involves. Out of 350,000 miles of railroad in the world, 164,000

miles are in the United States alone. The value of these roads, with rolling stock, terminal facilities and structures, is estimated at \$8,000,000,000 ; being the largest single interest in the nation; giving employment to over 780,000 men, and directly supporting over two million and a half of people. This is an amount equal to the combined value of all the farms in the United States; eight times greater than our national debt, and more than seven times greater than the whole monetary circulation of the country, including gold, silver, silver certificates, greenbacks and national bank currency.

To pay for these roads, in the event of a purchase, the government must necessarily issue its bonds. With the present national debt multiplied by eight, it is fair to presume that it would require at least a three per cent bond to float it. At that rate, the interest on this debt would amount to the sum of \$240,000,000 per annum ; to this annual expense must be added the cost of operating the roads, and estimating the wages for the men alone at two dollars per capita per day—and the average is some higher than that—to say nothing of other items, would amount to \$569,400,000 per annum more.

Next come the repair expenses to be laid out yearly to keep the roads and rolling stock in condition. It is estimated that the life of a railroad is about twenty years ; that is, within that period a railroad has to be re-tied twice, re-railed once, while constant repair on rolling stock and the continual daily expenses of keeping roadbed in proper condition, in that time equal the original cost of such stock of roadbeds. This would require an annual expenditure of \$400,000,000 more. These three items already mentioned would amount to \$2,300 per minute for every minute in the year.

It is to be presumed that in case of such ownership of the railways, some system would be adopted whereby just claims against the government arising from the operation of the roads could be adjusted and collected. This would require an annual outlay large in amount, though I have no statistics from which to form even an approximate estimate.

Then the revenue now derived from the railways by way of

taxes would, of course, cease, and the amount be raised in some other way ; but whatever method were devised, it would be an increase per cent of taxation on something else. But it is claimed that such increase would not be material to the people, as they would gain by cheap rates of transportation what they lost by increase of taxation to make up this amount.

These are a few of the monetary problems which present themselves, and are questions of such political, financial, and business import that their bare statement shows the imperative necessity of a solution.

The intelligent advocate of governmental ownership recognizes the importance of these, and has worked out his answer to the satisfaction of himself and those who think with him. It is claimed that all the items of expense required to build and operate a railway must, under the corporate system of ownership, be met and borne the same as though the roads were owned and operated by the government. That the interest which the government would have to pay on its bonds issued to purchase the roads is more than equaled by the dividends paid upon the stocks of the road ; and that all of the amounts, of every kind and nature, disbursed by railway corporations, whether necessary or otherwise, are collected from and paid by the people in way of freight and passenger tariffs. This may be taken as true. There is no assumption about it ; but it is accompanied with a very extravagant conclusion, which they accept as true, viz. : that the government could and would operate the railroads at less expense than under the present system, hence cheaper transportation for the people.

This assumption of the governmental ownership advocates, is based upon three other assumptions : first, that railroad rates are too high ; second, that in the natural course of railroad building and operation, the necessary reduction will not be made by the corporations themselves ; and third, that there is an inherent peculiarity and power in the general government which fits it for the successful operation of a railroad. The "divinity which doth hedge the king," is changed to the "divinity which doth hedge the congress."

In the argument of this question these assumptions must be fairly met, for if they be true, they constitute a demonstration in favor of governmental ownership of railways. To admit these premises would be to admit the whole argument. I have seen no attempt at their proof on part of the advocates of this measure, but on the contrary they are accepted by them as axiomatic truths, upon which their whole argument is constructed.

Leaving out of question the real purpose and object of government, and assuming, if you please, that it is its province to enter into transportation, manufacturing, and other industrial enterprises, then I contend that there is nothing in the history of this or any other government to warrant the assertion that it is adapted to the undertaking and prosecution of the business proposed. Consider for a moment the political effect of adding to the civil service list of this country over 700,000 men—one tenth of the entire laboring class of the nation. The very nature of the business would compel these positions to be filled by an exercise of patronage. It would not do to supply the ranks of this great industrial army by recruits as for the military. The business of the soldier, in times of war, is to take life and destroy property; the business of the railway employee is at all times to protect life and property. One false move or signal, the slightest dereliction of duty, may entail consequences almost beyond conception. They frequently occur under the present system, and doubtless always will, but the selection of competent men is one of the greatest cares of railway managers. It is not necessary to claim that they are actuated by humanitarian sentiments in this, but the greatest of all incentives govern them in the matter; first, reputation of the road for safety, without which, under present stress of competition, they would suffer a diminution of business; and second, the loss entailed by way of damages which follows to an almost absolute certainty, an act of carelessness or negligence.

Mistakes of governmental employees cannot be compared at all to the mistakes of a railroad employee. A mail agent may erroneously send a letter over the wrong route, and the consequence is a delayed letter, and possibly loss of profit to some

one ; but if a train dispatcher mistakes a figure in sending his orders, in all probability loss of life is the result. To transfer this business from the control of private enterprise and the best systematized industry of the age, to the political control of the government, would, to my mind, be disastrous in the respect mentioned.

How long would it take to displace a party in power, with the patronage at its command which such a system must give ?

A great business undertaking cannot be so successfully, economically, and honestly administered by the government as by private enterprise ; and the history of business operations of government—general and municipal—warrants the assertion. The public puts men into lucrative and responsible positions constantly, whom no man would consider for a moment for places of trust in his private concerns. The cost to government to do work is notoriously expensive in comparison with what it costs competent individuals to accomplish the same thing.

The public works throughout the country are topics of public scandal. The building of the Union Pacific Railroad, and the paving of the city of Washington, which culminated in the Boss Shepherd and Credit Mobilier scandals, illustrate the adaptability of the general government to deal with business transactions and undertakings. If the people are a prey to corporations, the government is a prey to both corporations and the people. A short time ago I was talking with a special agent of the postoffice department. He has filled the position for fifteen years, under both republican and democratic administrations, and his detective work has called him into every state in the Union. He said that it would astonish any person, unfamiliar with the facts, to learn the prevailing disposition of men to "beat" the government, as he termed it ; that men who were considered honest, and were honest in their private dealings, were dishonest with the government ; that this was not peculiar only to men of one political party ; that so far as he had observed, a man's politics had nothing to do with his honesty, but that the moral perception of many led them to look differently on a questionable transaction with the government

than with private individuals. Senator Edmunds said in his speech in favor of the Thurman Union Pacific funding bill, that in all of his experience in the Senate, he never yet had seen or heard of a man in Washington lobbying for the government; that out of the hosts that swarmed that city and congregated in crowds at the hotels and the capitol, interested in the legislation to affect private interests, not one among them could be found who was there to see if he could protect the interests of the government. Time is too short to multiply these illustrations. Their bare mention will awaken in the mind of every well-informed man many similar instances.

There can be no perfect system of management while men are fallible. Present defects and injustice result from this cause; but we must not deceive ourselves by supposing that when the ownership of railways passes out of the hands of private corporations into those of a public corporation—the government—that their management has passed from the hands of men. It would be nearer truth to say that it had been transferred from the sphere of business to the realm of politics.

“But,” say the advocates of the measure, “the government carries the mails, why not carry freight and passengers?” In the first place, the government in no sense of the word carries the mails as it is proposed for it to carry freight and passengers in the operation of the railways. The mails are carried by private persons and corporations under contract with the government; the latter fixing the cost of carriage, and at the end of the fiscal year supplying the deficit by an appropriation. The government does directly employ the postmasters, mail and delivery agents, and these comparatively few employees occupy most of the time and attention of our congressmen. The mails could be carried as cheaply by private persons as by the government, but as they are carried at a loss, private enterprise, knowing this, would not undertake the service. When mail matter is increased to any considerable weight, express and railway companies do compete with the government and carry at a cheaper rate, and this upon single articles that are mailable; and when we consider the cost of postage on a large quantity of mail—say

a ton—in comparison with the cost of freight on a like weight, freight is vastly cheaper. It would cost to send a ton of first-class freight from St. Paul to New York \$21.00, while the cost to send a ton of first-class mail matter would be \$640. For a longer distance, as across the continent from San Francisco to New York, the comparison would be more in favor of the mail rate, as follows: freight cost, \$84; mail cost, \$640, while the comparison for a short distance, say ten miles, as between St. Paul and Minneapolis, would be greatly in favor of freight, as follows: freight, \$2.80; mail, \$640. If government carried the mails as cheaply as transportation companies carry freight and express, there would be a greater deficit at the end of each fiscal year than at present. Not only this, but we get more for our money when we ship by freight or express than we do by mail. In the former case there is an absolute insurance of delivery; in the latter there is no guarantee whatever against loss, even on registered matter, on which government charges exceedingly high rates.

Again, we are met with the statement that the railroads are owned and operated by the government in Germany, France, Russia, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands, and that it works well in those countries, therefore it would be successful here. This is a conclusion hardly warranted by the facts. In Germany a portion—less than half—of the roads are property of the government; in France they are owned by government but operated by private corporations; in Russia the roads are partly owned by the government and partly by private corporations; in Norway and Sweden the same; while in the Netherlands all roads are owned by the government; but I deny that the system does work well, in the sense contended for by its advocates here, in any of the countries where the government owns and operates the railways. Suppose that the system does work well in Germany; yet the conditions are so different that it is impossible to form any comparison between that country and this, much less to draw the conclusion that a like policy should be inaugurated here. How to raise sufficient taxes is the great problem of the German Empire. With but 20,000 miles of railway, a dense

population in a territory 60,000 square miles less in extent than a single state in this Union, and with nearly the most arbitrary government known to civilized nations, used as a means of raising revenue for the state, it may work well, looked at from a German standpoint. And money is needed there, too. The relative burden of taxation per annum in Germany is to that of the United States as twelve to four and one half; while the national debt of Germany is about \$40 per capita; that of the United States less than \$20; and this, notwithstanding in 1871 France paid to Germany a tribute greater than our present national debt.

They have also in Germany a compulsory life insurance system; and this extensive intervention of the state in industrial and social matters is now looking towards the absorption of the sugar and distilled spirits industries, and the people are doubtless told that it will work well; but in studying these governmental innovations we must look at the avowed purpose of this extraordinary state interference, and that object, frankly avowed, is to increase the ability of the people to pay taxes. It has this merit, at least—no secret is made of its object. I have heard no one advocate compulsory insurance for this country, and yet the same argument may be deduced from the German example as in the case of railway ownership.

In the Netherlands the railroads are all owned by the government, and for a time were operated by it; finally their working was made over to private corporations for the reason that they could be more successfully and economically operated in this way, and for the further reason "that the working of railways was to be regarded as an object of private industry, and that the government was moving out of its sphere in undertaking it."

The result, so far as rates are concerned, is the same there as though the roads were owned by private companies. They vary on different roads according to the volume of traffic, or in other words, rates are based on business principles. The roads are subject to governmental control, yet there is one thing about their system which I think deserves attention. The schedules have first to be submitted to a governmental board and approved

by it, after which the rates named in the schedule are the lawful rates.

The difference between that system and our own is, here the roads make their schedules, and, if deemed unreasonable, the commissioners in many of the states have power to readjust them; while in the Netherlands, before a schedule goes into effect at all it must be approved by the government. It seems as though that were a more efficacious system than our own, and if adopted here would be followed with good results. If the schedule of rates were a fair one, no injustice could come to the railways from its approval by a state board; and in the next place, such approval would, in a great measure, receive the sanction of the people, and they would feel that they were paying but a fair tariff on transportation.

Much of the discontent and agitation among the people about the railways have no foundation whatever. Their ignorance and prejudice in the matter are made to serve the ambitious purposes of ambitious men; and any system of regulation which will do justice to all concerned, and at the same time give confidence to the people that they are being fairly dealt with, could but be salutary in its effects. Candid men will agree that anti-railway legislation and measures may be carried so far as to become reactionary and result in evil to both the roads and the people. Iowa furnishes the most striking instance of this. Statistics show that in 1889 twelve companies in that state did not earn fixed charges, but had a deficit of \$575,000. Nine others had a surplus of only \$514,000. Twenty-one out of twenty-two roads did not earn enough to pay expenses and charges, to say nothing of dividends. From 1882 to 1888, over 2,000 miles of railway were built in that state, at a cost of \$61,000,000, and yet the earnings of all the roads in 1889 were only \$350,000 more than in 1882, or about one half of one per cent on the increase of capital invested. This is where the state policy was bad for the roads. The inverse of the picture is as follows: Only twenty-one miles of new track were laid in 1889, as against an average of 420 miles annually for the eight preceding years. The number of persons employed upon the roads

in 1889 were 5,594 less than in 1888, and the amount of wages paid was \$1,406,827 less. Train service and facilities were greatly reduced to save expense, and the price of lands fell with the decrease of transportation facilities. Here is where the policy of the state was bad for the people.

Russia, in 1888, had 17,500 miles of railway, a part of which is owned by the government and part by private corporations. The principal railway building there now is for military purposes and not for commercial value. Railway building is not favored, and no new lines were projected in 1889. The condition of affairs in Russia, social, political, and financial, are such that I do not think it can be cited to prove anything on either side of this discussion.

In the kingdom of Norway and Sweden much may be learned that is instructive. In 1888 there was a total of 4,591 miles of railway in that country; of these 1,551 miles were built, owned, and operated by the government, while 3,040 miles were built, owned, and operated by private corporations. It cost the government to build and equip its road over \$41,000 per mile. The private roads were built and equipped for a little over \$22,000 per mile—a trifle more than one half what it cost the government. The roads, private as well as public, are under control of the government, with rates fixed by the royal administration and approved by the king; and yet the private roads, after paying interest at 4 per cent on a bonded debt of \$12,800,000, pay a dividend of 3.24 per cent on the capital invested, while the government roads, after paying operating expenses, show a surplus of but 2.41 per cent of the cost.

No comment can add to the force of these facts. I put them forward in proof that business industries cannot be so successfully and economically carried on by government as by private enterprise.

The object of governmental ownership being "cheap transportation," it is incumbent upon its advocates when they cite Germany or any other country where the system is adopted, to show that in those countries such policy has resulted in cheaper rates than obtain here; and when they attempt that, they fail,

because the railway tariffs of America are the lowest in the world.

The next assumption of those who favor the change in ownership is that railway rates are too high. There is a way to ascertain whether the people pay too much for their railway service, and if it be found that they do, the government should regulate the abuse. That this has such power is beyond dispute.

There was paid to the railway companies of this country in 1889, for freight tariff on the total business done, an average of one cent and one thousandth of a cent per ton per mile. The average cost to the railways to carry one ton of freight one mile for the same period was .63 of a cent, leaving a net profit of about $3\frac{3}{4}$ mills. The net profit on carrying one passenger one mile was a little less, being .307 of a cent. That profit, equally distributed among all of the roads according to the capital invested, would amount to about 3 per cent on such capital. Of course it was not so divided. To a certain number of the roads, representing a little over two thirds of the entire capital stock, no dividends were paid at all; while the dividends paid on the remaining one third ranged all the way from 1 to 11 per cent; and here is another significant fact: the roads carrying freight and passengers at the lowest rate paid the highest dividends. There is nothing paradoxical in this, as the volume of business enabled them to carry for the lowest rates ever known and reap fair profit at the same time.

The next assumption on the part of the friends of this measure is, that relief from exorbitant rates cannot be looked for from the railways under the present system of ownership. Everybody knows, whether he can account for it or not, that the period since 1873 has been an exceptional one in the whole industrial world;—exceptional in this, that prior to that time, while commercial countries had their financial panics and industrial depressions, they always recovered from them in a few years and business increased both in volume and profit, in other words, "good times" returned. The depression which reached this country in 1873, and Europe two years later, was felt throughout every civilized country, and, with brief exceptional periods in limited localities, has continued ever since. We read and hear

men talk about dull trade, and that little business is being done. The facts are, that the volume of business of all kinds, during this period of hard times since 1873, has greatly increased in amount and decreased in profits. It is difficult to ascertain satisfactory averages of the decline of prices since that year, but the best statisticians estimate it at 30 per cent. Labor, skilled and common, is about the only thing that has maintained its ordinary price throughout this period of shrinkage.

Now, if railway tariffs during that period have declined in a ratio corresponding with the general decline in price of the products of the country, is the presumption true that no relief from high rates can be hoped for from the corporations themselves? Well, railway rates have declined, not only 30 per cent, but an average of over 60 per cent.

Now, one of two things is true: either the railway corporations have made this reduction voluntarily by reason of competition or other practical business considerations, or they have been compelled to make them by governmental or state regulation and control. Attribute the fact to which cause we please, it utterly destroys the presumption that no relief from high rates can be hoped for except through the governmental ownership of the railways. A local illustration will serve to make clearer the extent of this reduction. The business of the Manitoba Railway for 1889, if done at the rates charged in 1873, would have increased its revenue for last year \$5,000,000.

When the wedge is once inserted who shall fix the limit of its entrance? If the general government is going into the business of transportation for the relief of the people against monopolies, might it not with equal reason, and for the same purpose, purchase, control, and carry on the the business of that colossal monopoly held in the vice-like grip of Phil. Armour, and which has reduced the price of the farmer's neat stock to one and one half cents per pound, live weight, while it has not cheapened in the least the dressed beef to the laboring consumer?

The meat consumption of this country for 1889 exceeded by over \$500,000,000 the total amount paid to railroads for freight

and passenger tariffs in that year ; and had dressed meats, beef, and pork declined in price to correspond with the decline of live stock, a sum nearly equal to the one named would have been saved to the people of this country. Here are all the conditions which supply an argument for governmental ownership of railways ; why not advocate governmental packing houses ? And when this paternal government is shipping its own meat over its own railroads to its own children, some well-fed reformer may bethink himself that but for the monopoly in the liquor interest he might have his dram more frequently and at less cost ; and he starts an advocacy for governmental ownership of distilleries. With cheap transportation, cheap meat, and cheap whiskey, he thinks the millenium just at hand.

Governmental ownership of the industries of the country follows logically from the premises of those who demand governmental ownership of the railways.

But the most serious objection to this so-called reform remains to be noticed. It asks the state to overstep the bounds of legitimate governmental province and enter the field as a competitor in the private industries of the world. It is reversing the march of progress along the lines which led to the advancement of the present time—back towards the idea of unlimited sovereignty—back towards the Peruvian idea, that the Inca was the source from which all things flowed.

I believe in American liberty as distinguished from monarchical conception of liberty. The government is a creature of the people, and not the people of the government. The doctrine of Herbert Spencer is true, to this extent at least, that man's "personal liberty must be sacrificed in proportion as his material welfare becomes the care of the commonwealth." Let the people take care of the government, not the government of the people.

The material and industrial progress of the world has been greatest under those governments which give freest scope to individual effort ; and individual effort finds its greatest incentive where man is free to enjoy the legitimate fruits of his industry and talent. Government never has and never will add anything

to the intellectual and material progress of the age. It invents nothing ; it discovers no new truths in science ; and its only aid is afforded when it protects all men in their lawful rights, leaving them free to exercise their talents and enjoy the fruits of their industry. In ages to come, when the story of the nineteenth century shall have been written, the record of its intellectual, material, and economic achievements will stand in bas-relief on the page of history, as an everlasting testimonial to individual enterprise, talent, and energy. The student will search in vain for a single instance of a like government achievement. The Suez canal, that shortened by 4,000 miles the distance between Western Europe and India, and revolutionized the marine commerce of the world ; the application of steam power to all the varied industries of civilization ; the electric telegraph and ocean cable ; those ocean palaces—miniature worlds—that ride the waves in almost absolute security ; the printing presses, throwing off their issue of thousands in a single hour ; all are products of free men and not governmental wards.

Every man has the right to the fullest exercise of all his facilities compatible with the rights of others, and it is the duty of government to protect him in their enjoyment. This is the fundamental idea of freedom. If this be exceeded, and the state enter the industrial fields, then she is no longer a protector, but a competitor and an aggressor.

I quote briefly from the *Dictionnaire de Politique* upon this subject :

In France the initiation and direction of all these works (*i. e.* harbors, internal navigation, roads, bridges, and railways), belong to the central authority, acting by means of a numerous and expensive body, the engineers of roads and bridges. Most of the great channels of communication are established at the cost of the public according to the schemes or designs of these engineering officials ; the result of this régime is that in works of this character the spirit of enterprise is wholly discouraged, and scarcely anything is accomplished except at the instance and by the impulse of the body of official engineers, an impulse which is incomparably less powerful and less fertile than that of free industry. Thus, none of the great improvements in artificial channels of communication or means of transport which have been introduced in France—macadamization of roads, railways, locomotives, suspension bridges,

steamboats, etc., originated here; all are the work of free and independent engineers of England and America.

The monopoly of our official engineers is as little adapted to improve and utilize inventions as to start them. And although our country is one of these in which industry is most highly developed, and in which a multiplicity of the most perfect channels of communication—e. g., of railways—is the most necessary, we have remained in this respect far behind the United States and England.

Nothing so affects and stimulates the activity of man as his sense of dominion over property he creates or acquires. The property accumulating faculty marks the line between the nomadic tribes and the higher civilization. Man labors to acquire property. A sense of responsibility is a condition of advancement. Deprive him of this sense and you palsy his energy and ambition. It is immaterial how he is deprived; if subjected wholly to the will of another, he is a slave, if committed to the care of the commonwealth, he is a ward, and in either condition the incentive for him to work out his material salvation is taken away.

It is no tax upon the imagination to believe that the age of invention is in its infancy. Steam of to-day, that great revolutionizer of modern industry, may be a thing of the past to-morrow. If something better takes its place, the discovery of that "something" will be the product of individual genius. Will a condition of affairs as described in France have a tendency to hasten or retard it? An electric motor to take the place of the steam engine may not only readjust all our ideas and conceptions upon the problems of production and distribution, but it would surely destroy millions of money by making useless the machinery supplanted and displaced. A notable instance of a like effect was seen in that event already mentioned, the opening of the Suez canal in 1869.

Prior to that time the trade with India was almost exclusively carried on by sailing vessels, but these were not adapted to the canal, and when that opened it was a death blow to those ships; and vessels representing a tonnage of over 2,000,000 tons were virtually destroyed within a space of a few months. It is estimated that within a period of ten years from 1875, property to

the value of twenty-three and one half millions of dollars in England alone had to be abandoned by the introduction of a process which displaced the old "puddling" process of converting pig-iron into malleable iron. Now the conclusion which I wish to draw from these facts is this: Waiving the cost which constant adoption of new inventions would entail upon the government after it had become a competitor in the industrial field, that the government would not keep abreast of the age in this respect; that an inherent conservatism and inadaptability would leave her far behind the age. She would cling to the old long before embracing the new. Is this chimerical? I instance France, where, as we have just been told, the result of her industrial régime is, that in respect of works described, the spirit of enterprise is wholly discouraged; that scarcely anything is accomplished except at the instance of her official engineers; and that that impulse is incomparably less powerful and less fertile than free and unrestricted industry; that the monopoly of her official engineers is as little adapted to improve and utilize inventions as to start them, and that in this respect she remains far behind the United States and England. I invoke the testimony of Herbert Spencer wherein he shows that the admiralty of England was fifty years behind private ship owners in the adoption of safety appliances and sanitary precautions.

Society is in a state of transition. The economic changes within the last generation have made the history of fifty years ago read almost like ancient history. A storm is passing over the industrial sea. The waves of one interest roll counter to the currents of another interest. Capital organizes against labor, and labor organizes against capital. The student who looks only on the surface of things sees an irrepressible conflict which must result in the overthrow of one or the other. In truth, neither is master, and one cannot exist without the other. They are inter-dependent, and he who seeks to foment the strife by arraying the one against the other is a friend to neither. Without capital progress would stop; without labor the same thing would occur. Just ideas of the mutual rights and duties of

both, and a mutual respect for such rights and duties alone will solve these questions. Centralizing power in the general government will not remedy the evil. Making the government proprietor of the varied industries of the country will not bring relief. At best, that would be but a change of masters, as agitators are pleased to call employers. Menial positions under government are no less burdensome, so far as I have been able to discover, than such positions in other walks of life. The work of the man who shovels in the construction of a railroad, or labors as an engineer or brakeman in its operation, remains the same regardless of who furnishes the capital and pays him for his labor; nor does the status of his employer change his social condition. These great industries must be carried on upon business principles, whether government or private enterprise inaugurate and prosecute them. It is not to be presumed that government would pay more for labor or any commodity than it is worth. If it did, an evil would rest upon the people similar to that of which complaint is now made.

A just recognition of the relative rights of capital and labor will do more toward the reformation sought than anything else. We are absorbed in the questions of the time and prone to magnify the evils of the situation, working ourselves into the belief that matters are becoming worse instead of better. The masses catch upon some euphonious phrase as "the rich are growing richer, and the poor poorer," accept it as a complete and truthful exposition of present industrial conditions and their undeniable trend for the future. We know that this is not true; that the condition of laboring classes for the last one hundred years has steadily grown better; hours of labor have become shorter; rate of wages has increased; purchasing power of earnings greatly enhanced, and homes more sanitary and cheerful. The laboring classes are to-day enjoying comforts and luxuries which the wealthy did not enjoy and could not procure one hundred years ago. This condition of affairs is not peculiar to America alone, but to the whole civilized world where capital has planted modern industries and provided opportunities for labor. Instead of "the rich growing richer and the poor

poorer," wealth is constantly becoming more equally distributed, and, with one single exception, is more equally distributed in America than in any other country on the globe.

The social reformer, in his tirade against wealth, leaves out of account the real significance of capital. He pictures to his discontented hearers the capitalist at his ease in his marble mansion, and draws a contrast between it and the abode of the laborer. The contrast gives scope for his rhetoric, but he stops short of the pith of it all. That marble mansion may represent a million dollars expended in its erection. Where has that money gone? It has been distributed among every class of labor and industry represented in the structure, from the hod-carrier to the tapestry-worker, from the artisan who designed it to the workers who assembled and put in place its varied materials. Its erection was a benefaction, and, possibly, its owner the hardest worked man who had to do with it.

The inequality among men is not so much that of money as mental capacity. This factor is entirely ignored by the socialist. We all know that many who now manage and direct the great industries and enterprises once were common laborers. Their success is not due to money or social cast, but to brains. Material conditions are not so unequal as we are wont to suppose. All men, with few exceptions, start equal in life. They come into the world naked, and are all slaves to the necessities of their environment. No artificial device can make them equally strong, fleet, and capable; and when you handicap the swift and capable you lower the standard and retard progress.

No. Stripped of all useless verbiage, and stated plainly, much of the discontent arises from prejudice and jealousy. Capital is not alone to blame; labor is not alone to blame, and wrongs are done by both.

We see one man who has amassed a colossal fortune, while another living within a stone's throw wants for the necessities of life. It is difficult to resist the feeling that something is radically wrong in a system which permits or makes possible such a condition. These inequalities are seen everywhere, not only in the financial, but the physical conditions of men, and there is an

adequate cause back of it all. Take for example Elias Howe, the inventor of the sewing machine. He labored till middle life in abject poverty, but at last reaped a fortune so vast that it seems at first blush as though no man, in justice, could have so much, while others had so little. His bare income from his capital was more in a single day than many accumulate during a lifetime. But there is more to this picture. The fortune of Howe, so vast in extent, was a bagatelle compared to the wealth which he added to the world by his labor and genius, to say nothing of the amelioration which directly resulted from the introduction of his invention. Possibly he got more than his share, but on what basis would the social reformer have divided it? I am glad that Howe lived, and lived in an age and under conditions that quickened his ambition and left his talent free. And I am always for leaving man free, with the pinions of his genius untied by governmental red tape.

J. W. MASON.

AMERICANIZING THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

BY B. B. CAHOON, ESQ.

THE instinctive distrust of the average American of the Catholic Church has not been without reason. He saw in its ritual strange ceremonies; he heard in its Mass an unknown tongue; he witnessed in its communicants, for the most part, discordant foreign elements, who had not fused with his fellow-citizens in the works of charity, religion, education, and politics. He saw they were largely influenced by a clergy vastly foreign in their instincts and origin, which they, apparently, did not desire to change. He beheld that clergy arrogating a superior ecclesiasticism, denying the correctness of all other forms of religion save that of the "one only true church," and holding itself aloof from all participation in or sympathy with our national festivities or affinities which stir the sentiments and warm the hearts of the great body of our countrymen. The sight of, and intercourse with, a thoroughgoing American priest, who was proud of our country and gloried in it, and who loved its institutions, has to the ordinary American been rare. It is, therefore, not surprising he believed the Catholic Church un-American. To a large extent it has heretofore been so.

A change has of late apparently taken place among a large number of the Catholic priesthood of the country in the public efforts of many of its great men to Americanize it. The change has, however, only been apparent. That class have always been animated with American patriotism and pride; but their modesty and strict devotion to their religious duty restrained the public expression of either.

No one can impartially view the Catholic Church without respecting it. Macaulay's famous eulogy of that church, coupled

as it is with sharp criticism, is by the non-Catholic scholar recognized as just. The church's hoary and honored age, its splendid organization, ever concentrating and using, where they could be useful, the labor of all, no matter at what devotion and sacrifice, to advance the creed of Christianity and to spread far the triumphs of the church, extort from the coldest, involuntary homage. Its universality,—caring for and making no distinction between its rich and poor,—zealously guarding and teaching its young and weak, saving them from a thousand snares, and no matter what offences they commit, extending to them daily forgiveness, hoping even at the last moment to save their souls, has impressed the student with the conviction that the spirit of the Savior of mankind animated the Catholic Church, notwithstanding its history has often been sullied with bigotry, cruelty, injustice, and wrong. But the observant mind has perceived the same in all churches in the past and is not disposed to overlook the good in them, while it condemns the bad. It recognizes that Christians have their human as well as their divine character and that the former too often debases, while the latter leads them upward to God.

An incident will teach, more than an essay, the ease with which long-standing mutual prejudices between Catholics and non-Catholics may be dispelled. In the town where the writer resides is a thoroughly capable, modest, scholarly, zealous Catholic priest who is a great American. Entering heartily into, if he did not suggest, the idea of a common jubilee by all classes on the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, he was the retired mainspring which on that occasion formed into procession the children of the public and of the Catholic parochial schools, each armed with appropriate banners and each carrying our flag and marching through the streets together in their holiday clothes to the parochial school building, there participating in patriotic songs, recitations, and speeches, all commemorative of Columbus and of our country. No sentiment of religious creed was expressed, but the flavor of religion, of patriotism, and of intense Americanism pervaded the entire town and lingers yet as a memory of

that day, when all our children gathered, for the first time in its history, to that generous and friendly contest of the nation's wealth of patriotic history and impulse. The aroma of that day drew, and will continue to draw, for days to come, into closer love of country, Catholic, Protestant, and Hebrew children. No one can question the appropriateness, wisdom, and usefulness of the entire performance.

It is the infusion by Catholic clergymen, who influence more than all others their flocks, of a like spirit, which is only needed, without surrendering aught of the soul of their creed, to Americanize and bring the church into more harmonious relations with the genius of our institutions. The United States needs to cultivate mutually close and beneficial relations with all its citizens. To know well what each feels and needs is productive of confidence and mutual good will. The insular spirit is provincial and is productive of misconception and prejudice.

The great interest excited in all minds by the difference of opinion in the Catholic Church of the United States concerning our free schools is evidence of the vast importance of the subject to the church and the country. The happy solution of the school question will unite the sentiment of the country and the church, and draw them in closer bonds of sympathy. That is to be desired.

Catholic priests, Jesuits, and monks in past ages were, for the most part, repositories of knowledge and the principal learned men of their time. Hence, they claimed and exercised the function of educators. The rich were chiefly the beneficiaries of education; the poor had few opportunities for it. The church and the crowns then ruling the world believed the mass of mankind was better off with little or no education. Not a few people believe the same now. It was argued in the old days that men would be more obedient if ignorant. As civilization advanced education improved; more people shared its blessings, and teachers outside the church grew numerous.

Realizing the powerful influence of early impressions from education, the Catholic Church has in modern times recognized

the necessity of universal education, and has greatly advanced it. This elasticity of the church and of the common law to change, to meet the changing conditions of things, as time and experience require a change, is a virtue. Wise men sometimes change ; fools, never !

The Catholic teachers are, as a rule, good. Still, the church as an organization has been, and is yet, jealous of all educators beyond its communion. This spirit is reflected in the country in the opposition by the majority of the bishops and priests to the public school system. For over fifty years they have denounced it as "godless." A volume of such denunciation has been collated. Where Catholics were sufficiently numerous to maintain Catholic parochial schools and colleges, they have by the bishops and priests been commanded to do so under penalty of denial of communion with and absolution by the church. Many of the communicants felt it a hardship to pay taxes to support the common schools, and likewise support a separate system of religious education. Such is primarily the Catholic system. Catholic education is the idea upon which their schools are founded and carried on. Such schools are adjuncts of the Catholic Church.

Many of the male communicants of the church were educated in the public schools of this country, and know the charge they are "godless and fountains of vice," as made by Catholic clergymen, is unjust and false. They further know that no recognized immoral teacher would, for an instant, be tolerated any more in a common school than in a Catholic convent or college. All public and private educators are, as a rule, upright people. When they cease so to be, parents withdraw their children from their care. Many Catholics teach public schools. Why, if they are immoral, does the church permit their members to teach them ? Such permission destroys the force of the charge of immorality urged by the priesthood against the schools.

The text-books used in the public schools inculcate a high spirit of morals and are broadly religious, in the better sense of that term, and are intensely patriotic. Children graduating from public schools become successful citizens and the pillars of

the state. On the whole, they have been wonderfully successful.

In a republic education must be universal or it must die. The pope concedes this when he admits the right of the state to educate. It is plain that no system of education can prevail to be universal in its benefits to all children unless it is maintained by the state. To treat all people impartially whose religious creeds often differ, there can be no union with or support of any particular creed by the state or by its schools. The justice of this position is transparent. It is cemented in all our constitutions. Silent protests have gone out from many Catholics because of the burden imposed on them by their clergy concerning the subject of two systems of education, where but one is necessary. First, they excluded Bible reading from the public schools because the translation was not that approved by the church; then they denounced them as godless.

The intense hatred and fierce denunciation by the Catholic clergy of the common schools has, in turn, aroused the people of the country, a vast majority of whom are non-Catholic. In that denunciation they see the spirit of rule or ruin, which history teaches has ever characterized unlimited power on the part of the clergy of any denomination, when such power was theirs.

The people love the public schools which have done so much to nationalize, harmonize, and develop the country. They would rather see all political parties die than witness the slightest weakening of the spirit of universal education as advanced by their common schools. They feel their unjust denunciation by the Catholic clergy is un-American and unpatriotic, and that it has had its inspiration in foreign influences. Therefore, they take deep interest in the contention which has of late sprung up in the church for a closer union of all our people in the enjoyment of the benefits of our free public schools. That idea is championed by Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, and opposed by Archbishops Corrigan, Ryan, and apparently, by a majority of the Catholic clergy. That interest is increased by their observation of the commendable attitude of the venerable pope of Rome, who realizes that the spirit of democracy is constantly expanding, is moderating all crowns by

the extension among the people of greater political privileges, and that the future Catholic Church will have to deal with the people and not with kings. The pope desires to ally his church with that spirit. He loves the people and yearns to see their condition improved. That great and good pontiff, who is one of the best, most progressive, and wisest men of our time, and Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, who are intensely American and profoundly patriotic, desire to bring the Catholic Church in this country into closer harmony with all our people and with the spirit controlling our institutions. They are paving the way for Catholic children to share in the benefits and blessings of our common schools. The recent utterances of these great men and of the pope's legate, Archbishop Satolli, are in that direction and in the further direction of a cessation of former denunciations by Catholic clergymen of our public school system.

Where there are parochial schools, their support is recommended, but Catholic parents who see proper to send their children to the public schools, and will diligently aid the parish priest in their religious training, are not, as heretofore, to be placed under the ban of excommunication. We should be glad of and should welcome any spirit of conciliation which will draw closer to our people and our institutions the Catholic Church. It is a great church, and has done, and is doing, vast good in this country. Its communicants are law-abiding and love the republic. It nobly reaches and influences for good, as much as all other churches combined, the laboring classes. We respect the Catholic, or any other, church for desiring to inculcate the principles of its religion among its children. We reprobate any attempt to deride that effort. At the same time, we realize it will be better for the church and for the country that all distrust between the two be removed. For all classes our public schools should be the patriotic training ground of our youth. While the schools should not be made the vehicle to advance any one church, the principles of morality taught in them, that had their birth in and ever receive their impulse from the example and precepts of our Savior, and which underlie all forms of our Christian religion, should be inculcated, as now, by the excellent

text-books used in our public schools. No line therein as far as we know, reflects, or should be permitted to reflect, upon the Catholic or any other church. If, in the past, the Catholic Church persecuted, as did the Puritans of New England, because of religious differences, that can well be forgotten in the broader and better era in which we live, which represents a purer Christianity and a better civilization. We shall never return to the religious intolerance of the past in all denominations but leave it forever behind us.

After school hours all churches have a right to educate their children in the precepts of their respective creeds and should do so. To do that it is not, perhaps, necessary to use the school-room; but if necessary, no harm can follow such use after the daily school work is done. Parents are, happily, rare who prefer their children should have no religious instruction. This is a Christian,—not an infidel, nation. The great body of the American people believe, with Washington, that providence has connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue; that both are a necessary spring of popular government; and that no sincere friend of it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the fabric of that national morality which cannot prevail in the exclusion of religious principles. The generous American mind believes all Christian creeds are good; that exclusive virtue and truth is not confined to any one of them.

To say, as an eminent Roman ecclesiastic of this country has recently declared, that our common schools “exclude religious training,” is error. They do exclude *denominational* training; but their text-books,—especially their readers,—are full of pure and undenominational religious training, not of forms but of the spirit of the Christian religion.

No Catholic desires, nor should have, Protestant forms of worship thrust on him or on his children, nor vice versa. The *denominational* in the schools is excluded; but the Christianity of Christ breathes forth in their text-books. What more is desired save by those who wish to use the schools to proselyte for his particular denomination? To permit them to be used for that purpose would at once destroy them. The refusal to permit

them so to be used is the rock on which the country and the majority of the bishops and priests in the Catholic Church have heretofore split,—deservedly split, so far as concerns the country. The state must not support any religious sect. It tolerates, nay, even encourages all. Thereby it increases real religion and encourages religious toleration. That toleration, as shown in our day, is increased with the increase in the number of religious sects. In the public schools there is no divorce between education and the spirit of religion. There is, however, and ever should and ever will be, a divorce from the teaching of denominational creeds. Let that be taught by the professors thereof, but not in school hours proper, say the true friends of the public schools. To hold “the common schools educate the head, and leave the heart and morals waste,” is to exhibit ignorance as to the scope of their text-books and the actual outcome of the schools. When high clergymen, of whatever denomination, make that grave charge, do they realize that a vast preponderance of the people of this country, male and female, the very glory of our nation in power and excellence, look alone to our public schools as their alma mater? If the charge were true, our national tendency would be bad instead of good as it is. Such are some of the false charges the enemies of the public schools bring against them. Such false conceptions of the tendency of our public schools irritate the people.

An eminent prelate of Philadelphia in a public interview has recently said: “The objection of the Catholic Church to the public schools is not, as is sometimes stated by Protestants, that those schools teach too much, but that they teach too little.” In other words, the reverend archbishop means to say that the public schools neglect to teach that which is of the greatest ultimate interest to the possessors of immortal souls,—religion. This, as we have before shown, is not true; but if true, one would have to logically follow his thought to its ultimate conclusion, as that conclusion would form itself in the mind of the archbishop and the clergy of his church, and the logical conclusion would be something like this: It is better to teach no religion than a false one; the Roman Catholic creed is

the only religion which is not false,—therefore, the Roman Catholic creed is the only religion which should be taught in the public, or any other, schools. The trouble with argument lies here : There is a confounding of terms in the matter of what constitutes religion. If the definition of religion in its broad sense, viz. : godliness, or real piety, in practice, consisting in the performance of all known duties to God and our fellow-men, in obedience to divine command or from love to God and His law, is to be accepted, then the archbishop is in error in his minor premise ; consequently, his conclusion, reached in a perfectly logical manner, is also incorrect.

The great mass of American people believe religion is as above defined ; and that forms, while typifying its essence, often lead to great difference of thought, and that the teaching of such forms, or in other words, of the *denominational* religion, is out of place in the public schools. This is the ground of contention which must be settled before there can be any real harmony of feeling between that catholic thought, which has denounced the public schools, and the great mass of people who support, who are educated in, and who are and have been made good men and women in and by the public schools.

The Roman pontiff, his legates, Cardinal Gibbons and Archbishop Ireland, say the former denunciation of the public schools by Catholic clergymen should cease. Their attitude toward them is favorable. Honor and appreciation by all Americans should be accorded liberal and patriotic Catholics who seek to harmonize their people with our own. Such harmony and a just solution of this vexed school question will give the Catholic Church a great impetus in our republic. Thereby will the Catholic Church be truly Americanized. That is an end to attain, which is worthy the labor of all Americans.

B. B. CAHOON.

WOMEN IN POLITICS.

BY BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

THAT there has been a radical revolution in the social life of American women during the last half century, no thoughtful or observing person will deny. That this social change began in the middle or educated classes (for our aristocracy of wealth does not necessarily mean culture), and is now permeating the upper social strata, is also apparent. Few educated women of to-day are willing to become simply social butterflies, although a life of this sort might have its charms.

The very education vouchsafed by a seminary or college course; the strength of mind,—the increase of faculties engendered, a boon now so common to American women, begets a desire to use to some purpose this added power, instead of presenting it simply as a society foil. She reads and thinks. The commonplaces of social life, the latest fad in fashion, the embroidered cushion and crocheted tidy, do not satisfy her longings for the higher thought and purpose that her higher culture has developed.

The women of the lower classes are devoted, as all women once were, to the making of the clothes and feeding the family, or to the actual labor of bread-winning. But the upper and middle classes are already beyond this necessity. Education, machinery, and co-operation have given to these women time for culture, opportunities, and luxurious adornments, not the boon of queens a century ago. There comes a desire to put into practical use this added mental culture and strength, and the woman becomes interested not only in the politicians but in the politics of the day. Women are now taught politics in the schools; and in the western states are now well up on all vital political questions. To this condition the trades unions, as well as the schools, have added not a little.

The present condition has not been the result, except in part, of the so-called "woman suffrage movement," although a sprinkling of wives of members of Congress was noticeable at the last annual convention in Washington, and many bright women are enrolled in its ranks, but rather of added mental culture, and changed social conditions.

Women have come into politics in recent years, not only because there has been a demand for them there, but because they have been forced in by a logic of events beyond their control. It is, however, but the beginning of the end. They have come to stay, and to make other and deeper inroads.

From an acceptable teacher in the common school, woman has permeated, as professor, the academy, the college, the university; and has been elected by male ballots to school trustee, school superintendent, and finally, as in the case of Laura J. Eisenhuth of North Dakota, to state superintendent of public instruction. Woman has succeeded as postal clerk and as postmistress, but has not yet reached the grade of a cabinet office.

There have been several notable successes of women as lawyers, and one Michigan woman has reached the grade of state's attorney, Mrs. Martha D. Strickland. Kansas and Wyoming have women justices of the peace and mayors of towns. St. Louis had, in the person of Phoebe Cozzens, a woman United States marshal. We are not lacking to-day, nor have we been in the past, for successful women diplomats, versed in international law, who are making their influence felt in the politics of the world. They are there by force of the very mental and moral impulsion which created them, and the progressive influences surrounding them.

Women as enrolling and engrossing clerks for state legislatures, as librarians for state libraries, as commissioners on state boards of charities, as wardens of prisons, as poor commissioners, as police matrons, as customs officers, as meat inspectors, as lighthouse keepers, as trustees of asylums for the insane, and as prison inspectors, have been tried with acceptability and success.

But the past year has developed a new phase of feminine political aspiration not before ventured. Added to the vote on

the school question in twenty-four states, the municipal ballot in Kansas, the vote for electors in Wyoming, we, during the last political campaign, saw women electors at two of the great nominating conventions, viz., Minneapolis and Omaha. Following this we had two women candidates for United States senatorships from the states named above, viz., Mrs. Lease and Mrs. Bartlett, the latter of whom received five senatorial votes.

When we realize that every great daily in the country has today its staff of women editors and reporters, with all the intellectual and moral force that may be exercised by these feminine minds, presented daily to millions of readers, and realize that the colleges and universities of the country are turning out yearly, thousands of cultured women graduates, we are forced to the inevitable conclusion that women in politics have come to stay ; that the stepping-stones already laid are paving the way.

But the one important step that emphasizes, popularizes, and which will eventually cement this domestic revolution, is the appointment by the general government and the several states, of a board of lady managers for the World's Fair, one hundred and fifteen in number, thus giving the sanction of the vast machinery of the government, state and national, to women as officeholders. There is no question but that this movement has, and will popularize the fair, while the excellent management of the woman's board will make a good argument for the retention of women in office, and their future appointment to important places.

But not second to this in importance, perhaps, but with less authority of law it may be, is the appointment of women's committees by the management of the World's Columbian Exposition Auxiliary, for all of the great international conventions that are to meet under its management during the six months, whereby women may discuss, listen to, and lead in the discussion of all of the religious, scientific, and political questions of the day, including such questions as law reform, the government of municipalities, international law, treaties of arbitration, arbitration courts, etc., etc.

BELVA A. LOCKWOOD.

OUR NATIONAL DEFEAT.

BY ELAN GALUSHA SALISBURY.

WITH a show of anxiety to explain away the stigma of defeat at the polls in the late presidential election, the friends of the Republican party have been driven to all sorts of makeshifts, offered at once as reasons and apologies, apparently with the expectation of allaying a popular criticism and of quieting a political conscience. The indifference, the ignorance, the cupidity, and the venality of a large voting constituency, the sophistry of demagogic leaders, the evils of a mismanaged canvass, and the scope of the fusion and prohibition disaffection, manifesting themselves to a considerable degree in particular localities as opposing forces, are cited as sufficient grounds upon which to predicate a defeat.

No intelligent and observing man can reasonably dispute the charge, often supported by the strongest evidence, that election frauds are of common occurrence in many parts of the land and that dishonorable methods are employed locally by unscrupulous politicians to attain party ends. It is a notorious fact that many of the practices of otherwise reputable men in times of political controversy would not bear an impartial scrutiny, but would be a perpetual reproach and disgrace to one in private relations. The vagaries of political leaders are oftentimes so flagrant and questionable as to defy utterly all the higher principles of action and to put to shame alike the sense of honor and the call of public service, that should animate every unselfish and patriotic citizen. One cannot deny that the ignorance and the venality of the masses in certain communities afford a temptation for the exercise of an unscrupulous and dangerous power in controlling voters and in acquiring tempo-

rary prestige, and become a cloak and an apology for all manner of conduct. Ordinary observation serves to convince one that election frauds play a certain part in all campaigns, and will continue to be a factor in politics as long as the present system of suffrage endures.

No one, however, will venture the assertion, with the faintest possibility of sustaining the argument, that general fraudulent practices were employed by either great party throughout the country; at the time the nation made its last choice of chief executive, to such an overwhelming extent as to make them the dominant factors in the election results. The Democratic gains and the Republican losses, in both the east and the west, were adjusted to a scale that was at once too uniform and too far-reaching to admit of such an informal and illogical dismissal and explanation. The Republican defeat cannot be assigned to the common grounds of a party disaster that obtain in more limited contests. The transformation has been wrought all along the line, in every community and in every state, and is as widespread and sweeping as it is indisputable.

As vital and lamentable as may be the usually assigned conditions leading to defeat at other times and measured as political factors of local influence, the accredited causes, whether born of ignorance, venality, or cupidity, are not adequate to account for the overthrow of the Republican party in its entirety, and do not explain the sweeping national results that shall affect alike the policy and administration of the government for a term of years and, as time shall demonstrate, impair or improve the interests of the millions of our people. The prevailing indifference, disaffection, and fraud, effective to a degree in isolated localities and, perhaps, contributory to the final outcome of the conflict, cannot be considered by any stretch of fact or logic sufficiently pervasive and one-sided to have wrought so radical a revolution in the political world. The transmutation of election returns from sea to sea on a uniform and gigantic scale serves in itself to controvert the illogical deductions commonly made to explain away a defeat.

If one would grasp the logic of the situation and understand

the philosophy of the defeat of the Republican myrmidons on the last national battlefield, he must needs divest himself of his preconceived notions and take a broad view of the circumstances and principles that have dominated and characterized the party from the time of its inception. He must consider its origin and its function in the political world, as well as its inspiration and its controlling forces. He must know the direction of its energy, the genius of its character, and the field of its activity. He must understand the party in its measures and methods, in its promises and attainments, and in its aspirations and accomplishments, as seen in the light of the past, to appreciate the forces that were operative in leading it to final rout and disaster.

The Republican party, in its principles and methods, is a natural and essential feature of our national institutions, and is co-existent with a free and progressive government. It is at once the product and the outcome of the aggressive elements of our human nature and has its origin in moral sentiments and principles. Its creative and sustaining forces are operative from within, and its character is determined and measured by its intelligent adaptation of means to moral ends. It has been the constructive factor in American politics, under other names, since the establishment of party policies. As an organization it suffers no disparagement to be called the party of great moral ideas. In its inception it embodied moral truth, through the advocacy of which it rose to a commanding eminence as an agent of civilization, and in the support of which it won its greatest triumphs. It was the Republican party that championed the cause of human rights against the rule of a powerful oligarchy. It espoused the magna charta of universal liberty throughout the land and arrayed itself against the institution of slavery in the states, transforming the field of battle, upon which its great victory had been won, into an historic Marathon for all time. Intrenched in moral thought and principles, the memorable conquests of the Republican party have been made in the political realm on purely moral issues, making the whole world brighter and happier and more prosperous.

A generation ago the party came into being in response to a call that all the evil forces of the world could not drown. It sprang Mars-like from the forehead of its progenitor, and at once took up the cause of the enslaved people of the South whose wrongs were crying bitterly to heaven. Its leaders were swept along in the under-current that the more radical members of society, then known as Abolitionists, had set in motion through a long period of intense agitation and who, like so many Johns clad in camel's hair, had proclaimed the near approach of a greater power with the assurances of victory. Born of noble sentiments, the cause of the southern negro became the cause of the Republican party, his wrongs and rights being made its wrongs and rights, and human slavery was at once fated to be crushed forever to the earth. The party quickly won to itself the strongest moral forces of the times and soon counted as its faithful adherents the ablest and purest men and women of the land, intrenching itself in the noblest and most unselfish sentiments of humanity. So gradually and quietly were incorporated in the body politic the vital principles of the party, forming about a moral nucleus under influences that no class of men could control, that its foremost leaders were astounded by the scope and the power of the movement when its energies had become fully developed. Ostensibly to preserve the union of states, threatened by hostilities in a section of the country where social forms and political ideas had been adjusted in harmony with the moral evils of the institution of slavery, the arbitrament of arms was invoked to enforce the dictates of a moral principle lodged in the more sentient northern heart. It was not until the war clouds had hung heavy over the land and had rained blood and terror upon the people, in the presence of the grand figure of Lincoln rising in its native nobility to the full stature of the times, that the logic of the struggle asserted itself, and that the moral animus of the Republican party was felt and understood alike by civilian and statesman. It was not until the greatest blow of the age had been struck in the interest of humanity that the world dared to believe in the possibility of that which the events made prophetic.

The Republican party came into power on the crest of a wave of world-wide significance, and by its might banished the curse of slavery from the land. It became victorious in the terrible Civil War, and bore aloft its ægis with all the odds against it, contending with vacillation, dissension, and treason within its ranks, and with calumny and hostility on every hand, while it broke the shackles from the limbs of a million human beings. It stemmed the tide that at one time threatened its destruction. It overcame the obstacles that, from the beginning, were big with forebodings of its defeat in the cause that it had the courage to maintain. By its triumph it was raised to an exalted plane in the moral realm of the world, and was vested with vital responsibilities. It fought its battles with far-reaching effects, and in time was able to point to its great accomplishment as one of the notable revolutions of the world: At the height of its remarkable career, succeeding the contest that was sealed at Appomattox, the Republican party was unmistakably the great conservator of moral principles in American politics. It builded better than its friends seemed to know, and laid the permanent foundations of an era of national greatness.

For a term of years the impulse that the party had acquired in the nation enabled it to win easy victories over its more conservative political opponents, who were weighed down by the opprobrium of the times and by the affiliation of the northern democracy with the supporters of the lost cause, and to gain the confidence of the thinking and feeling majorities in the loyal states. Its leaders were pre-eminent in the councils of the land, in making and executing wholesome laws and in guarding the interests and the rights of the entire people. Its followers and supporters, constituting the better elements of society, gave moral fiber and tenacity to its movements and measures that swept the party along on the tide of unparalleled success for a long period of years, making it a potent factor in the upbuilding of our national institutions. From decade to decade the political strength of the party seemed unabated, while the moral necessities of the times were transforming themselves, and the old issues, through which its prestige and power had been

acquired, were retiring into the background. The party conscience was in perfect accord with its controlling sentiments, and the party hold upon popular favor was at once firm and uncompromising; the leaders yielding only to the pressure of the times in keeping seeming pace with the aggressive and reformative thought of the age and in maintaining a foremost position in every movement conducive to the higher interests of society.

In the course of time and in the progress of events, the cause of slavery passed away and the pressing needs of the freedmen were gradually lost sight of, as the moral halo of the party waned in the new and increasing light of the times. Its moral instincts were becoming deadened, its leaders were losing their moral courage, its principles were being shorn of their moral qualities, and its hold upon the hearts of the people was growing weaker through the sacrifice of its moral virtues. The Republican party eventually stood upon losing grounds, suffering its power to be swept away by the waves of distrust and discontent. In the expression and advocacy of the issues of the times it approached the ground commonly occupied by the Democratic party, whose methods are conservative, whose principles are economic, whose moral effects are repressive, and whose progress is halting and uncertain. The Republican party, nobly formed, heroically cast, and splendidly equipped, reposing in the light of an honorable career, soon became an apologist. Its devoted leaders and followers were transformed into hero-worshippers, standing apparently in speechless wonderment, with their faces bowed down before the glorious achievements of the past and with their ears deafened to the cries of their heredity and environment. In their blindness they were led to disregard the true spirit of the party, in which it had found its origin and by which it had always been animated, and to restrict and repress every form of aggression. The Republican party of the one generation was not the party of its predecessor, either in spirit, aspiration, or form. It had passed into a state of transition, in which its energies were dormant and its forces were more or less disorganized.

During the last presidential campaign, in which the electors

of the entire galaxy of commonwealths that constitute the federal union were engaged, the issues upon which the election was carried were of a purely economic character. The questions of party policy involved in the contest were of a materialistic nature. They were directed absolutely with reference to the physical betterment of certain classes, and were based upon wages and wealth as supreme ends for attainment, taking on forms of taxation schemes, of monetary coinage, of tariff projects, of labor compensations, of subsidation, and of administrative economy. The principles of action underlying both of the great political parties, were practically the same in their moral effects, with the advantages clearly against the one in power by reason of the prevailing spirit of unrest among the masses and on account of the fictitious outcry against the extravagance and insincerity of the constituted authorities. The utter absence of moral issues, either embodied in the party platforms or set forth in the public speeches and printed leaders of the most eminent men of the times, was notable all through the campaign. The Republican party, in its equipments, put aside its heavy armor to engage single-handed with its antagonist. It staked its all upon questions of policy and lost in the ensuing contest.

The logic of the political events is not of necessity a source of wonderment, for the Republican party has been passing through a state of transition from which it is likely to emerge with decisive issues and with quickened activities. From a state of intense moral energy, in which its vital forces were effectively employed, it was lead into the slough of inactivity and into the stagnant waters of moral inertia, where it suffered itself to drift with the tide of events and to lose the greater portion of its vitality and aptitude. It subdued the spirit of aggression that reigned within and once made it a great party, and through a long series of successes and attainments became little more than an ordinary political organization. It spread out its borders, like a stream of water winding its way through a peaceful valley, and was content to register on its surface the play of the passing winds and to reflect back the dancing sun-

light, with the current running deep and unbroken along its pebbly bottom.

Many notable facts in the recent history of the party, as set forth in its public utterances and in its official conduct, go to demonstrate that its inner forces have been extremely sluggish during the past few years, and that its vital energies have long lain dormant in the waning powers of its moral fiber. Its failure to legislate in federal matters on the basis of broad statesmanship, at a time when the opposition party was powerless, save as policy and expediency seemed to dictate, was a mark of evident weakness. Its neglect to secure to the new-made citizens in the South the full exercise and enjoyment of their rights, after having broken their shackles and vested them with grave responsibilities, was an unwarrantable disregard of sacred duty. Its inability to stand firmly upon moral principles, in meeting the issues of the hour, became the sign of its growing infirmity. Its indecision, its duplicity, and its insincerity, that from time to time have revealed themselves in the party efforts to tide over difficult passes, were at once evidences of an approaching heart failure and of an alarming moral decline. Its promises made in convention halls and its measures promulgated in legislative chambers have been placed in such conflicting relations as to inspire reproach and distrust. Its pledges incorporated in platforms and its official acts have afforded such contrasts as to bring the name of the party into doubtful repute and discredit. In very truth, the workings of practical politics in which its energies have been employed for a considerable period have been of a character to eliminate every moral element from the sources of that action that gave birth to modern Republicanism, animating its being and making it a mighty factor in the progress of the world, and to besmirch the fair name of the party and impair its usefulness by inaction and early decrepitude.

The loss to the party, in council and in work and in sympathy, of many of its brightest minds and strongest supporters now seeking other channels in which to work out the pressing problems of the hour, has been its greatest impairment. The want of confidence in its leaders and measures has served to alienate

the affections of some of the best friends of the party, and to drive them from its ranks. The loosening hold of the party upon men of thought and of intellectual resources has been the sign of its inner decay through a lack of moral vigor, that alone has been the test of its life and inspiration. The exodus from its ranks of the thinking thousands in every part of the land, to become adherents of other faiths and agitators of new movements, has taken some of its best influences and many of the conservators of its most vital energies. The Republican party has not only been losing active members all through its years of inaction, but has been made to suffer seriously by the withdrawal of support of thousands of nominal followers, whose indifference has been often more fatal than an open rupture in its effects upon the rank and file of the party.

The defeat of the Republican party may be seen, not alone in the results of last November's election, how much soever a Waterloo that event in its history may have been, but in all the important election contests of the past decade which have served to point the way to a final overthrow. The loss of the incoming presidency has been but one of a series of disastrous engagements befalling the party, the one marking a crisis and standing as an event in itself, although indicative only of the political trend of the times. The result cannot be said to have been a personal defeat of the Republican incumbent of the presidential chair, than whom a more devoted patriot, a more highly esteemed executive, and a more honorable and noble Christian man cannot be found in public life, any more than it can be shown to have been the defeat of the several local leaders, through conflicting interests and inharmonious policies within the party, where a larger spirit of unity has always prevailed than has usually obtained in the opposition party. The defeat has fallen only upon the party itself, as embodying certain policies and processes and tendencies, becoming at once the logical product of the circumstances in the evolution of politics and the penalty of a highly organized social and political agent.

The series of disasters through which the Republican party has been passing is not necessarily fatal and final, but becomes

a life-renewing process, by which a speedy restoration to power is promised and by which a new growth and a larger fruition are assured. The apparent defeat neither weakens the principles that are the corner stones of its foundation, nor threatens the overthrow of its superstructure. The Republican party neither derives its life from its organization, nor finds its force and the means of perpetuation in the creeds and formulations of any class of men, but it rather takes its rise in the vital properties it embodies and draws its inspiration from the moral sentiments to which it appeals. It cannot be destroyed by defeat, it cannot be suppressed by opposing forces, it cannot be restrained in its revolutionary and reformatory progress. It has within itself, by virtue of its origin, the power to recover from the effects of defeat and to attain to its full expression under the stress of circumstances. Its spirit is enduring and irrepressible. Its genius is far-reaching and daring and efficient. It makes men for emergencies and controls emergencies through the agency of men. It inspires a Washington to lead his army to victory and establish a new order of things, and directs a Lincoln to secure for all men the fruits of that triumph. The principles of the party, although at times crushed to earth, will assert themselves whenever the higher necessities of society shall impress their edicts upon the moral sense of the people, whenever great public wrongs shall appeal to the world for redress, and whenever the moral government of men shall seek to free itself from the incubus of evil forms that weigh down the human race. Like a phoenix it will rise from its ashes to bless the world when the moral needs of man are imperative.

The present defeat of the Republican party bears witness of the restoration of the political conditions that prevailed throughout the country during the early half of the century, in which the material interests and powers of the states were held to be paramount. During the long years of democratic supremacy in the land, in which false and repressive theories of popular government were promulgated and fostered, the higher interests of society and the moral needs and rights of every class and condition of men were sacrificed in the blind zeal of a virtual oli-

garchy. Material results alone were sought and secured, although at the cost of financial chaos, reckless speculation, ruinous panics, periodical bankruptcy, and general ignorance and poverty among the masses, while a dangerous coalition obtained control of the political world and, as a desperate resort, endeavored to overthrow the constituted national authorities. In the turn of events the same conditions have been restored, the same spirit has been revived, the same end has been marked out, and the same results have been forecast. The genius of history has been invoked, and in the shifting phases of the times has given a promise to repeat her revolutionary measures, to turn the table of events, and to restore the reign of moral politics and the supremacy of moral issues in the affairs of the national government.

It cannot be expected by the logic of events that the Republican party will ever recover its power in the federal government along the skirmish lines of its adversaries. It cannot regain the ground it has lost, except by the introduction of new forces and by the employment and expansion of its best energies. It must needs develop strength and force and virtue along the course of its true character and grow into the fullness of its true stature. The issues that are arrayed against it and that contributed to its defeat are secondary in importance and tributary to the greater results, giving way to the forces inherent in the party structure and embodied in a sympathetic and thinking constituency. The party must hold itself in readiness for the emergencies of the hour, responsive to the demands of an aggressive civilization, and keep itself in line with the more radical development of society. It must lift itself above the plane of purely economic attainments and reach out beyond the bounds of materialism. It must be in vital touch with the issues that concern every social advancement. It must be positive, aggressive, and constructive. It must appeal with especial stress to young men of all sections and of every faith, who are enjoying the fruits of the party's highest service to the country. It must insist that the best blood, the best thought, and the best energy of the new generation of voters shall be enlisted and employed in the cause of the freest government and in the political and moral eleva-

tion of every citizen in the land. It must be allowed to fulfill its manifest destiny, in securing universal support and in carrying forward the torch of popular education and of individual development in the realm of responsible activity and usefulness in the nineteenth century civilization.

In what form and upon what issues the Republican party shall secure its restoration to power in the national government cannot be predetermined or predicated. It is certain, however, that its victory shall be won under the ægis of some new and radical issue, that shall find its origin in man's moral nature and appeal to the moral sentiments of men everywhere, east and west and north and south. Its issues shall affect all peoples of all sections and tend to the betterment of all classes in society. Its spirit shall be the energizing spirit of universal brotherhood that shall extend a filial hand to those needing help and whose wrongs shall be clearly defined. Its methods shall be the methods of its other and greater days. Its end shall be discernible from the beginning, and its means shall be adequate and honorable. The party, in its newness of life, shall be given a scope as broad as the nation, as comprehensive as the genius of the people, and as potent as society. It shall take up the vexed problems of the times, test them by a patriotic and exalted standard, and solve them by the logic of the heredity and environment of the whole people. It shall make the higher issues of society of paramount importance, and be equal to the responsibilities with which it shall be vested. It shall win at once the confidence and the support of the majorities.

At the present outlook, while yet the smoke of a lost engagement obscures the perfect vision, three great issues are discernible on the political horizon, either one of which may become the germinant principle of a mighty moral movement and the vital source of concerted party action, enlisting the moral sympathies of society and appealing to the higher reason and to the purer instincts of men and women everywhere. They are the triple sisters of the closing years of the century, and are destined to intrench themselves in the heart and conscience of the nation, at no distant day, as being entitled to more than a passing notice. They are

known as Labor and Temperance and Equal Suffrage, each of which presents formidable claims upon the consideration of the entire people. In the light of the past the righteous solution of the problems, imposed by either one or all of the three claimants, can be relegated to that great political party alone whose very nature brings it into touch with things moral, and whose energies, through the moral support of society, enable it to rise to the necessary height and to comprehend the scope and significance of the issues.

One thing is certain in these days of political incertitude, whatever shall become the controlling issue in the political world, the Republican party or its legitimate successor will be the advocate of those principles that shall lead to the moral advancement of the nation and secure to all citizens the enjoyment of every right. It will be the party by which the forts will be garrisoned, where the oppressed will find refuge and succor. It will be the great instrument by which the coming political and social revolution shall be wrought, at once bringing brighter days to the people and carrying forward the civilization of the age far in advance of that of any era of the world. The day is not far distant when the new issue will be taken up, and the Republican party, with new life in its veins and new spirit in its heart, will sweep its way to national power and to national glory. Grounded in the moral virtues, it will find its victory in moral issues as it found its defeat in moral decrepitude.

ELON GALUSHA SALISBURY.

INTERSTATE COMMERCE LAW: ITS ORIGIN AND ADMINISTRATION.

BY HON. JAMES A. LOGAN, LL. D.

POPULAR interest in the national legislative control of railroads has lately received a new birth of interest.

The inducing causes for this revived public attention are these: The late decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the *Counselman* case, holding that a witness called in court in any prosecution instituted under the Act to Regulate Commerce, would be protected in refusing to testify if he stated that the tendency of his testimony might be to criminate himself. The act referred to contained a provision that testimony delivered by a witness in this class of prosecution should not be used against him in any subsequent prosecution. The Supreme Court, however, held that this limitation did not secure the witness his constitutional right to refuse to testify. That this conclusion was correct, seems beyond question if only considered on practical grounds, because a disclosure by a witness of the fact of his criminality, and the circumstances, would readily enable the prosecuting officers to obtain evidence other than his own admissions upon which to secure his conviction. This would be a practical denial of the constitutional right of the citizen not to be compelled to be a witness against himself in any criminal case.

Another exciting circumstance was in what is called the *Gresham* decision, announced only a few months ago, where a witness, being called before the commission, refused broadly to testify, not on the ground that his testimony might tend to criminate him, but because he did not choose to recognize the power of the commission. The commission then made application to Judge Gresham, under a provision of the law which ex-

pressly so authorizes them, and which in terms obliged the court on such application to compel a recusant witness to testify under ample pains and penalties provided. Judge Gresham refused to compel the witness to testify, ruling, in effect, that the courts could not constitutionally be made adjuncts to the enforcement of the wishes of a tribunal of the character of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Both these rulings by the courts before referred to were at once sought to be corrected by additional legislation, and congressional action in that direction was passed at the late session of Congress.

A third further and most striking happening, challenging public attention, was the action of the commission on the question of the abolition of the prohibition in the act against freight pooling, and the appearance at the late session of Congress, before committees of both the Senate and House, of the presidents of the principal trunk lines, advocating the removal of the prohibition and the making lawful, subject to the approval of the commission, of agreements for the division of traffic. We shall hereafter speak more particularly of this. We now cite the fact, that for the first time in the history of national legislative regulation, the leading railroad companies, by their general officers, have appeared before Congress and advised not only the making, but the strengthening, of the Interstate Commerce Law; it being observed that these officers did not merely advocate the pooling provision, but also sought to further other amendments which promised to strengthen the hands of the commission and steady and assure the enforcement of the provisions of the law. No apology, therefore, is necessary at this time for a rediscussion of a subject much discussed some three or four years ago, but which has now been thrust forward into the region of current interest because of the matters above suggested.

Moreover, the situation is now a practical one. The stage of experiment has largely been passed. Theory and untested probability have been subjected to the test of experience, and the subject is therefore more capable of demonstration.

We have chosen to use in the caption of this article the popu-

lar description of what is correctly styled the Act to Regulate Commerce. This act was passed in February, 1887. It undertook to deal, speaking broadly, solely with railroad companies, and only such railroads as were engaged in the movement of traffic between states or territories, or between any portion of the United States and any foreign country. It distinctly provided that it should not apply to the transportation of passengers or property moving wholly within one state. It directed that charges should be just and reasonable, dealing specially and distinctly with unjust discrimination. It prohibited a greater charge for less distance than for a longer distance where the conditions and circumstances were substantially similar, unless permission was given by the commission constituted by the act, and it prohibited freight pools. This recital embraces the substantive purposes of the act, and the greatest of these was unjust discrimination.

The rest of the act could be described as a specification of the methods to secure the observance of the act as above stated, and to provide for its enforcement. Among these was the constitution of a commission and the definition of its powers.

The commission consisted of five members appointed by the President with the advice and consent of the Senate. It was vested with authority to inquire into the management of the business of common carriers subject to the act, and to keep itself informed as to the manner in which such business was conducted; and to this end the power to obtain information from such carriers was given it. The act provided for complaints before the commission by any party in interest. The orders of the commission made in any hearing before them, were, if not observed by the parties against whom made, declared to be enforceable in the proper court by appropriate methods.

This act, thus briefly described, was the fruition of a long considered purpose vigorously pressed by interested shippers and communities, and resisted by railroad officers, and at last hesitatingly yielded by a doubting Congress.

The provision in the National Constitution, that Congress should have the power to regulate commerce among the several

states, was not before affirmatively exercised. The Supreme Court of the United States had held that the non-exercise by Congress of its power to regulate commerce among the states was equivalent to a declaration that it should be free from any restrictions, so that before passage of this act, railroad regulation was solely a matter of state concern. In only a portion of the states had there been any attempt to regulate, and the success of such efforts, or rather their want of success, had been discouraging. Much of this want of success was claimed by those opposed to legislative railway regulation to be attributable to the impracticability of the effort to regulate at all by a supervising commission of government appointment. Many, however, chose to regard the comparative failure in efficiency as resulting from the necessarily narrow jurisdiction which could be exercised by any one state after the mass of railroads and the large preponderance of traffic had become interstate in character. The comparatively successful administration by the English commission, whose jurisdiction was co-extensive with the railroad system of that island, was pointed to as an indication that where the jurisdiction was as large as the area of railroad operation, active supervision of corporate power and railroad traffic would be successful. The much greater area of the United States, the fact that there were states with large local jurisdiction and the conflicting interests of widely separated communities, were relied upon as showing the impossibility of binding, with anything like a severe and strong rule, such widely separated and divergent interests, and as demonstrating the unwisdom of attempting to apply one class of rules to so large and inharmonious a situation.

This latter view had much force when it was recollected that our country was new, its geographical situation unique, and its growth under other conditions so sudden as to make it impossible to apply successfully the rules and principles which were found to be conveniently adopted in an older country. Particularly was this regarded as forcible when the area and growth of the country was considered in connection with the origin of the present railroad situation.

It is to be recollected that the United States, before the application of steam to railroads, was regarded as exceptionally provided with natural facilities for convenient waterways by reason of its extended ocean and open water front,—the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Gulf of Mexico, and the chain of great lakes on the north. Added to these were its large rivers reaching in from the seacoast east and west to the mountain ranges, and penetrating from the gulf by means of the Mississippi River, the many tributaries to which grand stream apparently reaching conveniently most of the territory intermediate between the Rocky Mountains on the west and the Allegheny Mountains on the east. Moreover, these rivers were capable of being, and in fact were to a large extent connected by artificial canals. The country might, indeed, under these circumstances, be regarded as in no unfavorable position if water highways were alone the method of transportation. It resulted that early settlements sought eligible location on these waterways and cities followed the settlers' location.

After this came the development of steam as a transporting motor, and railroads as a means to that end. Enterprising capitalists soon pushed railroad construction with amazing rapidity. The seaboard was connected with the interior and interior cities were united by like means. Each early railroad enterprise was constructed by capital contributed by those interested or directly affiliated in interest with the cities and communities immediately to be benefited. It of course resulted that each railroad was operated with reference to the maintenance of the promoting community and interest. The owners of manufacturing establishments along the line of such railroads confined their first efforts to the advancement of their own interests, and the railroads thus promoted were so devoted. Moreover, these railroads were all constructed under state charters and limited within the area of the state.

With these conditions existing, cities grew and manufacturing plants were enlarged as a result of special accommodation by railroads constructed for this purpose at points where their location had been made, originally, solely with reference to water

facilities. It can be well seen that railroads were necessarily forced into a position of accommodating a situation which had been created with reference to an entirely different method of transportation, and cities and communities and manufacturing plants encouraged in what, looked at from a purely railroad standpoint, was an abnormal way, until the capital and labor of the railroad companies became so identified therewith that it seemed harsh, even if possible, to apply a rule of uniformity solely with reference to the railroad routes. In short, if the nearest point in all cases was to have the preference, or its convenience of access to railroad situation was solely to be regarded, then there would have to be a re-location of cities and principal manufacturing points. No hardship was felt in this so long as railroads were confined to their state charters and to lines between points within the state.

The necessity, however, of passing traffic from one state to another, and the economies promising to result from a larger operation under single management, soon resulted in tying these different state railroads by leases, purchases of stock, and otherwise, into great systems, each traversing many states and each operated as one road. Under this condition many complaints arose which, not being referred to their origin, were supposed to constitute unjust preferences to localities and manufacturing plants. I am aware that the large aggregation of capital which came under substantially a single control as to each of the large systems of roads, together with the facilities furnished thereby for stock operation and personal aggrandizement, were not always managed without leaving cause for some legitimate complaint of unjust favoritism, preference, or other unjust result; but I do insist that a large part of the supposed wrongs attributed to railroad management had its origin in the causes before given.

Such were the conditions when, in 1887, the national government entered on its career of railroad regulation. With the want of plasticity which distinguishes statute law, fixed rules of general conduct were prescribed, accurate in the abstract and sound in principle, but poorly adapted to the environment. As

means to an end, all well enough ; but as intended to precipitate an instant result, harsh, unnatural, and largely impossible.

Literal observance of the provisions as to just and equal rates with reference to an existing condition of roads and to location of cities, industrial plants, and raw material deposits, was to forget prior inducing and controlling reasons causing these locations.

The condition of distance and large extent of territory was also an important factor. Widely separated centers of consuming and producing population and sources of natural product essential to maintenance, to consumption, and to production, presented propositions which had never attracted European thought and required to be worked out with principal reference to our own condition.

To say that coal fields, situate at varying distances from points of consumption of from one hundred to three hundred miles, should each have the same per mile rate, was to shut out the remote ; and to magnify the value of near-by fields was to deny the consumer the advantage of large competition in necessary products. To say that the great grain-growing West was not to find its market without paying the same rate per mile as the lands lying nearer the large seaport consuming population, was to cripple the West, unduly build up the eastern agricultural lands, and increase the cost to consumers ; and was, moreover, to deny the West its opportunity to sell its surplus product in European markets.

It therefore was manifest that there should be a yielding and indulgent administration of this legislation. An inexorable enforcement of such statutes, under these circumstances, would have been a national disaster. This thought was present with Congress and was in part met by the general provisions of the law, and especially by the authority given in the act for the appointment of a commission with plastic powers such as could not obtain in the accustomed judicial tribunals.

President Cleveland evinced great sagacity in the selection of the commissioners first appointed by him under the act.

Having been constituted, the commission entered upon the discharge of its duties with that prudence and circumspection

which should distinguish mariners in an unfamiliar vessel exploring an unknown sea. Many complaints under the act were presented to them; many contested and some uncontested questions passed upon; in some instances existing practices of railroad companies were changed, and in others notable railroad practices, which had been the cause of much popular criticism, sustained and justified. Among the latter was the substantial adoption of the principal that the freight charge should have fair relation to what the traffic would bear.

The railroad companies, to a large extent at least, displayed a willingness to acquiesce without aggressive resistance in not only the operation of the law but in the decisions of the commission. Indeed, it was the just boast of the commission, in their earlier annual reports, that substantially all of their decisions had been accepted and adopted by the railroad companies.

Since the original appointment of the commission, changes caused by death, resignation, and expiration of term have altered the personnel of the commission until now but one (Colonel Morrison) of the original commissioners remains. The new appointments made by President Harrison have commanded the approval of the public and the carriers.

It could not be expected that a law created to administer a new situation, should in all respects work smoothly, or that all the parties and corporations sought to be regulated could do all things everybody interested in the law had expected; nor, indeed, that the commission itself could meet every detailed situation in such manner as to command universal approval. Such perfection does not usually characterize human action, and this situation was no exception to the general rule. Various amendments were suggested to the law itself, and a number of them accepted by Congress; all of which last, it might be said, related to the method of administration rather than to organic changes in the purposes of the law as originated formerly.

Other changes were suggested which have not yet reached the affirmative acquiescence of Congress. Among these, two notable instances may be given—one formulated and approved by the

commission and resisted by many carriers and other interests. This was the proposition to make the findings of the commission on questions of fact conclusive upon the courts. The other instance referred to was the repeal of the clause prohibiting the pooling of freight and was advocated by both the eastern and western trunk line associations and favored generally by the railroad companies ; it met at least a qualified approval by the commission.

In support of the first proposition it was urged, in substance, that the efficiency of the commission was greatly impaired and its reputation improperly prejudiced because when hearings were being conducted before the commission on complaint against railroads, the latter companies often gave only a part of their testimony and sometimes not any. The commission being compelled to decide upon this limited information against the carrier, and the proceeding coming into court for the enforcement of the commission's order, the carrier then for the first time presented his testimony fully, and the result would be a finding by the court of a different conclusion from that found by the commission ; whereas, probably, if all the testimony had been before the commission, its finding would have been the same as that of the court.

Against this proposed amendment it was urged that the commission were in effect prosecutors, and that it was dangerous and against the genius of our institutions to permit the prosecutor ultimately to adjudicate the facts ; that it was an effort to make the complainant and the trier the same person or persons. Moreover, and more largely, that it was a departure from the original purpose of the act, which had not contemplated that the commission should in any sense definitely adjudicate either fact or law, but should rather be felt as an agency in securing its enforcement ; first by their own methods, and second by furnishing a responsible complainant with ample means to prosecute the grievances in courts.

In support of the repeal or modification of the pooling prohibition, the arguments among others were advanced, that the inability to regulate and apportion traffic among competing lines

between principal cities, resulted in demoralization of rates greatly detrimental to both the shipper and carrier, favored the shipper between large cities to the detriment of the smaller communities ; that the object in pooling is not the making of rates, but the maintenance of rates—two very different things, both of which are requirements of the Act to Regulate Commerce ; that a cut rate is an unjust discrimination ; that no shipper could enjoy a rate less than the established tariff except to the gross disadvantage and wrong of his competitor who pays the sum named in the printed schedule ; that the prevention of this injustice is only possible through the absolute maintenance of the established rates in their strict integrity, and that to secure these results a pool is necessary.

This proposition was supported by arguments and statements of railroad officers, bureaus of trade, and others representative of the large freighting interests, and by the position of at least tacit acquiescence of the commission. This latter body had caused a circular letter to be sent to the principal railroad officers and representatives of the principal shippers, inquiring for their views and expressions. This letter brought responses which, although I have not seen, yet I understand, with great unanimity favored the modification of the pooling prohibition in the act. Indeed, in at least one important instance a leading advocate of the adoption of this provision in the legislation at the time of the original passage, had not only modified but entirely changed his opinion upon the question ; nor could it be said of this distinguished gentleman that he was influenced by his personal interest in railroads, as he had no such relation. His change, therefore, was the outgrowth and result of careful thought and large opportunity for observation. It was the misfortune of this proposed amendment, however, not to have been presented to Congress until near the end of the short session. Principally, as I believe, for want of adequate time to fully consider it, it has as yet failed of passage. The intelligent friends of the law may, I reasonably think, be hopeful of its ultimate adoption.

Whilst in many things the act to regulate commerce has

fallen short of the expectation of substantial benefit to the shipper, and stopped this side of the apprehended disastrous consequence to the carriers, still its whole tendency is wholesome, and in the main its results beneficial. Although a little lax and lenient here, and a little drastic and aggressive there, the law as it exists and as it will be improved has, as the writer ventures to suggest, become a permanent part of our written law.

JAMES A. LOGAN.

WHY THE SOUTHERN ELECTIONS FRAUD ISSUE WAS A FAILURE.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT, ESQ.

IN THE presidential campaign which ended last November in the defeat of the Republicans by unexpectedly large pluralities, an effort was made to inspire the wandering old-time Republicans with enthusiasm for a "free ballot and a fair count." The special corruption and perversion of the ballot aimed at, was the alleged, and it may be said, admitted irregularity, not to use a harsher term, of election methods in a number of the Southern States. President Harrison, who spoke as the official mouthpiece of his party, said concerning the subject, in his letter of acceptance :

There is no security for the personal rights of any man in a community where any other man is deprived of his personal or political rights. The power of the states over the question of qualification of electors is ample to protect them against the dangers of an ignorant or depraved suffrage, and the demand that every man found to be qualified under the law shall be made secure in the right to cast a free ballot and to have that ballot honestly counted when cast, cannot be abated. Our old Republican battle cry, "A free ballot and a fair count," comes back to us not only from Alabama but from other states, and from men who, differing with us widely in opinions, have come to see that parties and political debate are but a mockery if, when the debate is ended, the judgment of the honest majorities is to be reversed by ballot-box frauds and tally-sheet manipulations in the interest of the party or party faction in power.

Yet this attempt to arouse the popular mind on the subject of southern election frauds failed utterly. So far as one can judge by the result, silence upon the subject might as well have been maintained. While some have declared, since the election, that a mistake was made in not forcing this issue to the front, all will agree that so far as it was presented and as it was presented

to the people, the action of voters was not appreciably influenced by it, unless indeed, it did exert an influence the reverse of what was hoped for and expected. In short, it will be agreed that the southern elections fraud issue failed not only to alarm the general public mind, but even to excite interest among the Republican voters themselves. An inquiry into the cause of this may not be without profit, since the present situation in politics logically implies reorganization, if not recasting of party lines.

Does this lack of interest indicate public indifference to the subject and imply that, henceforth, the American people are to care nothing for the manner of conducting elections in the South? or, does it merely show that the people have, without abating one jot or tittle of their concern for electoral purity, determined that the better way is to leave the southern people severely alone to work out their own salvation or destruction, trusting meanwhile that Providence will preserve the nation from disaster, whatever the outcome to the southern people themselves? The latter supposition is the one likely to be the more readily adopted. It conforms more nearly to what one would be glad to believe. It leaves one's faith in the substantial justice and virtue of the people unshaken, and it is soothing to one's forebodings for the future. But we have no proof that the American people as a whole, and least of all, that portion who have hitherto acted with the Republican party, have consciously adopted any such line of reasoning or of acting upon the subject. In fact, such probably is not the case. Assuming, therefore, that this explanation is not the correct one, are we, then, to accept the alternative supposition that the people are indifferent to the matter? This will not be here conceded. It is respectfully suggested that there is a much more intelligible way of accounting for the manner in which the Republican voters received this proffered issue. But if their conduct was not based upon an intelligent let-alone policy, and it will not be conceded that they were indifferent in fact, how shall we account for their indifference in action? It cannot be because of the trifling nature of the issues involved. There can be no two opinions as to the underlying importance of the subject. No lucid mind

will question that if this republic is to endure, all attempts to pervert the suffrage must be met and thwarted. The entire fabric of our government rests, not upon the people's acquiescence but upon the people's will. Fraud or force may overpower opposition and compel submission; but it is only when the deliberately formed public sentiment finds spontaneous expression through the agencies of power, that free government in reality exists.

Our system not only presupposes but implicitly relies upon the honest registering of the decisions of intelligent constituencies after a public question shall have been freely discussed and duly weighed. The instrument by means of which this popular conclusion is to be recorded is the ballot. Let but that part of our political machinery be turned from its proper function and our entire system of government must collapse. There will be no confidence in the present, no standard by which the future may be judged. The basis of all faith in governmental stability will be gone. When the ballot shall cease to record the workings of the public mind, it will be useless to try to influence public thought. In the place of the orderly progression of political events we shall have policies decided as by the casting of a die. Instead of canvasses based on firm faith that reason will, in the end, prevail, we shall have contests where "everlasting fate shall yield to fickle chance, and chaos judge the strife."

From the pandemonium of evils which triumphant perversion of the ballot will inevitably create, there can be but one escape. The sole refuge will be in arbitrary rule, and the man on horseback must undertake to enforce the people's will. The importance of the subject was, therefore, of sufficient magnitude to abundantly justify the raising of an issue upon it. It might seem that the only question should have been as to the fact of a systematic suppression of the suffrage of a large number of legally qualified voters. Belief, or even well-grounded suspicion, that such a practice obtained in one section of the country, should have powerfully stirred the feelings of the people of all other sections. An appeal to their enlightened self-interest, if not to their sense of justice, should have met with prompt, with

enthusiastic and determined response. But this latest attempt to excite the public mind on this subject, like other similar attempts, ingloriously failed. The great mass of the voters to whom the appeal was addressed, remained strangely unmoved and multitudes of sincerely patriotic men despairingly imagine that the public mind has become callous and the public conscience dulled. The cause of this failure, however, is not the want of concern for the purity of the ballot. It is not to be found in a willingness to appropriate the fruits of victories won by "southern methods," however much that may influence some, nor is it to be attributed to weariness of so-called sectional strife. To account for it on such grounds, is to accuse the American people of the grossest political incapacity. For we are not to admit that so soon after unheard-of expenditure of blood and treasure to preserve the forms of free government, they will deliberately sacrifice free government's vital principle. It is too early in our history to lay such an imputation upon the American character.

The truth is, that southern election methods have not been made a real issue before the people. A dominant part of the Republican managers have misconceived what a political issue really is. A surprisingly large number of our so-called politicians conceive politics to be merely a game, whose result will depend upon the relative skill of the chief players. They shape their own acts in the confident expectation that the action of the people will always be along the lines laid down by them, and they are dazed whenever the sequel shows that they reckoned without their host. They do not know that to turn from political manipulation and to engage in real politics is to leave the domain of matter and to enter upon the domain of thought. They are not aware that in the long run the destinies of a nation are molded by influencing the nation's thought rather than by skillful manœuvring in the guidance and direction of its acts. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that they should blunder in presenting an issue to the public. To constitute a real political issue there must be something more than declarations though they be met by counter declarations. There may be a positive

and vehement affirmance and as positive and emphatic a denial of a proposition without any palpable issue appearing to the public mind. The public will become interested in a declaration only when that declaration is the verbal symbol of open, conscious acts. It is not till resolutions and conduct reciprocally explain each other, that resolutions count. Hence the weakness of the Republican attempt to make a living issue of southern election frauds. Circumstances must be such that the voters whom it is sought to influence, can see that the matter urged upon them as an issue will be definitely affected by the result. It may well be that an unbiased mind can clearly see that the defeat or success of a given candidate or party will have an effect wholly untouched by the declarations of the candidate or party. To such a voter, the result thus likely to be produced, is the real issue, though not a word may have been said concerning it in platform or on the stump; or the voter may feel as sure that the real issue is contrary to the express declaration of the parties. Thus during the war of the rebellion, the opponents of Mr. Lincoln's administration, do what they would, make patriotic declarations as they might, could not escape from the fact that in a local state contest, the issue predominant in the public mind was simply "shall the prosecution of the war be upheld?" Such was the logic of events. A state officer might have nothing to do with national policies, but every intelligent man knew that Republican defeat would be interpreted as intended encouragement to the powers in revolt. This was the real issue no matter what might be said or done. It did not depend upon speech or resolution. It was an issue made by the law of things. No ingenuity could overcome, no sophistry could obscure this fact. And the habit of regarding state and local contests as part of a great national campaign, which then became more firmly fixed than before, remains to-day a shield and buckler to corrupt and selfish state and local rings who take shelter behind national questions and silence popular disaffection by picturing the disasters in the national field, which must follow their own well-merited overthrow. An issue, then, is made not by words, but by things, not by professions, but by facts.

Why then, was not the effort to make the southern question an issue successful? Surely, the Republican managers meant, in the beginning, that it should be so. But did they impress the people with a belief in their singleness of purpose when they depicted in vivid colors the perils of southern election frauds? Apparently not. The people—the plain people—could see no guarantee that Republican triumph would mean the consecration of the efforts of those leaders to the work of purifying the ballot. And yet they could not doubt that these same leaders were earnestly opposed to election frauds in the South. They might well believe that should a Republican Congress and executive be chosen by decisive majorities, the so-called Force Bill or a similar measure would be enacted into law. It was not on such grounds that the sincerity of these politicians was doubted. But, notwithstanding all this, it was impossible for them to impress that question on popular attention as an issue. Why?

There is a reason which lies deeper than the average politician ever looks. Men of robust conviction and solid worth will not long follow a battle cry which is not consistent with itself. A cry whose special application does not involve its essential principle must ultimately lose its hold on the minds of men. Not that the mass of men consciously philosophize concerning their political activities, for they do not. But they will, sometimes, instinctively arrive at conclusions, the reason for which they can feel but cannot formulate in words. Their course is a natural and inevitable one and is based on true philosophy, since it depends upon the natural relation of simple things. For all philosophy is but the discovery of that which is simple and which lay hidden or obscure only because it was simple. Men will thus often be driven unerringly to a conclusion before even philosophers can guess the reason why. Now let us briefly analyze the southern elections fraud issue as it recently was presented to the voters of this country.

The burden was the danger to our government, if the practice of such frauds should be suffered to continue in the South. In the first place, what call is there for special indignation or

alarm over *southern* election frauds? Of what particular interest is it to the citizen of New York or Massachusetts, that frauds upon the ballot are committed in the South? He is rightly supposed to feel the keenest interest in any attack upon the integrity of the ballot, without as well as within, his own state; but it is not of material importance to him that it should occur in one section of the country rather than in another. If frauds are to be perpetrated, it may as well be in the South as anywhere else. He could not, therefore, be stirred by any recital of southern election frauds simply because they occurred in the South. Nor would he be especially interested by the infringement of the negro's right to vote. Adherents of the old philanthropic school might be impelled to protect the negro from race proscription, but the average citizen would not. To him there is nothing peculiarly sacred in the rights of the colored man. At best they are but equal to his own. Curtailment of the negro's rights would not, therefore, in his view, clothe the southern question with the character of an issue. But it was urged that the wrong struck at the Republicans throughout the country, white and black, north and south. This would appeal to the partisan Republicans. But the people at large could not be expected to care greatly for Republican rights, as such. Those opposed to the policy of that party would not be moved by a fact which made the defeat of that party's policy more easy to accomplish. Those who had become indifferent, and whom it was sought particularly to influence, would remain indifferent still. They would be interested in Republican rights only as they were interested in the Republican party itself. Those evenly balanced men who were co-operating with the party but who regarded it as all political parties should be regarded,—as an instrument for governing,—would only care so far as the matter affected the use of that instrument for the ends they had in view.

As presented, therefore, the southern question did not appeal with convincing force to conservative men, even among Republicans. In a word, not because there were southern frauds, not because there were frauds upon the negro's rights or because

there were frauds upon Republicans generally, could those frauds be made a real, a living issue. But these frauds might have been made an issue, might yet, perhaps, be made an issue, simply by treating them as frauds upon the ballot, as an assault on freedom at its most vital part. Just here, we may lay our finger on the point where the Republican managers failed, where their efforts recoiled and their energies were dissipated in the air. They did not make a crusade against fraud itself. Had they done so, it is quite possible that they might have met with a different response. They madly undertook the impossible task of inspiring a people with indignation at frauds abroad, while, at the same time, by example, they taught indifference to frauds at home. They vainly essayed a distinction between fraud by force and fraud by bribery and chicanery. They ignored the fact that the very essence of fraud is obstruction of the popular will and that it matters little to the public that is defrauded, in what manner it was done. They forgot that gross practical fraud may be committed against the principle of suffrage without depriving a single man of his right to vote. Some more sagacious than the rest seeing the incongruity of their position shelved the "Force Bill." Their action was at least consistent. It displayed almost as keen a sense of the fitness of things as did Tweed's course in refusing to permit a monument to his virtues to be erected in Central Park. But did not hostility to southern ballot frauds involve hostility to frauds upon the ballot in the North? Unfortunately, it did not. They who, locally, in the press, in convention, and on the stump, have inveighed most strongly against southern frauds, have been strangely tolerant of frauds nearer home. For years the people have been familiarized with practices which were intended to pervert the ballot and destroy its purity. The jesuitical doctrine that the end justifies the means, has been unhesitatingly realized in action and sometimes even shamelessly avowed. Bribery and various forms of debauchery have been systematically resorted to, to secure local party or personal success. Protests have been silenced by the all-sufficient answer that such measures were necessary to overcome bribery and debauchery of the other side.

The scruples of the more sensitive have been quieted by the assurance that the decalogue is not the chart by which political ships are guided, and that ideal politics must not be looked for this side of heaven. It has been thought ample justification for admittedly deplorable methods, that to refrain was to invite defeat. Thus in the eyes of our northern patriots, as in the eyes of the southern politicians, perversion of the suffrage has become a patriotic duty. To prevent the government from falling into unworthy hands, they take steps to make the unworthy more numerous still. To prevent the destruction of the government by its fancied enemies, they contend for the honor of destroying it as its friends. It is as if the northern states had resorted to secession to prevent disruption of the Union by the secession of the South. When these men talked of southern outrages on the franchise, they spoke to a people whom they had already familiarized with fraud. They spoke to men whose consciences had either been seared by their specious teachings or were revolting at their practices. They addressed an audience which they had long sought to educate in the belief that perversion of the ballot and thwarting of the popular will were legitimate modes of political warfare. What wonder that they failed! What marvel that their appeals fell on deaf ears or were heard only to be turned against themselves!

The northern Republican, if he is intelligent, is concerned about illegal election methods in the South. He knows that they portend danger to his country and to him. But he is none the less concerned about illegal and improper methods in the North. In fact they are his first, his chief, concern. The fraud he sees around him is more serious than the fraud he hears of from the South. Southern fraud prevents the citizen from voting or refuses to count his vote when cast. Northern fraud, in depositing the citizen's ballot, destroys the citizen himself. The former leaves the defrauded citizen's virtue unassailed, the latter makes the citizen's virtue its chief object of attack. Under the smart of the wrong that is done him, the disfranchised voter may grow in manly virtues and courage, until when at last outraged justice shall restore the ballot to him, he will prize it as

a boon that is his "through costly sacrifice." The bribery of a man is a far more portentous fact than the suppression of his vote. When once he has sold his vote, his self-respect is gone forever, and all the varied restraint on conduct which self-respect imposes is irretrievably lost. He has renounced his reason and forsworn his soul. The man is gone, the citizen has sunk out of sight. All that gave him the right to command the dog cringing at his heels, he has wantonly cast aside. Henceforth the beasts of the field count as much in the affairs of men as he, for, as to public matters he has become as devoid of mind as they. The same gold will buy him and them. He has thrown his manhood in the balance and it has been outweighed by senseless dust. Far from being "brutes, with the memories and desires of men," such as he present the more repulsive spectacle of men whose tastes and reflections assimilate to those of brutes. Yet he does count for something as a man in spite of all. He wields a ballot still. He is free to cast that ballot, though in the truest sense he can never vote again. So long as he shall live his vote will be a menace to our safety, and the magnitude of the danger is only measured by the proportion of men whose civic virtue has been thus destroyed.

Nor is the evil cured, if the evil practice shall be stopped. The large numbers of mindless voters will long remain, though the addition to their ranks may cease. With a large percentage of our votes cast by human cattle, "parties and political debate," to borrow the words of President Harrison, "are but a mockery."

No matter how open the approach to the ballot box may be, or how scrupulously exact the official record of the tale, the ballot is not "free," the count cannot be "fair." The honest citizen sees his vote offset by the vote of another citizen, and then the purchased ballot of a third, used to turn the scale against him. Such a man is as completely defrauded of his vote, in all that it implies, as though a southern shotgun barred his pathway to the polls. The announced result of such a contest is no more the registering of the public will, than returns in southern states where the votes of but one side are counted. Is it to be

wondered at that thinking Republicans are wearying of declamation against southern outrages?

The methods alluded to, are the methods of the day. They are confined to no party, bear no party stamp. The Republican can lay no special charge at his own party doors. But if he is to be enlisted in a campaign against fraud, war must be waged against fraud of whatsoever kind and wheresoever found. It must be preceded by a renunciation of all advantages to be gained by methods unfitted for the open light of day. Republican fraud must be abjured before Democratic fraud can successfully be assailed.

Since to thwart the popular will, whether by trick or shrewd intrigue, involves the essential characteristic of electoral fraud, the honest voter may become equally indifferent or estranged by methods within the party organization itself. When he finds himself practically denied all effective voice in the conduct of his party, and accorded only the privilege of sustaining by his vote the work mapped out by self-appointed "leaders" for their personal and political gain, he will naturally conclude that he has little interest in his party or his party's cause. When he sees that to be available as a candidate calls for a conscience as elastic as exigencies may require, and that a man with intelligence enough to see and character sufficient to withstand the various evils of political life is practically debarred from public service, he is apt to think that there is little choice between men who would disfranchise him at the polls and men who deprive him of that which makes his ballot worth the casting.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

SHOULD THE ELECTORAL SYSTEM BE ABOLISHED?

BY NORMAN T. MASON, LL. B.

THE recent meeting of the electoral college again directs attention to the defects of the presidential electoral system, which, in one of its phases, merits the name of the National Gerrymander. The greatest evil of the gerrymander is that its purpose and necessary effect is to make unrepresentation equivalent to misrepresentation. Its greatest danger is its inherent tendency to increase beyond the control of the courts, and even of the people themselves. Power, especially when wrongfully acquired, does not voluntarily deprive itself of its own attributes; it begets power and never abdicates.

While the kinship of the national electoral system to the gerrymander is the principal, it is not the only, charge that has been or can be brought against it. The existing system was almost the only part of the Federal Constitution which escaped the discussions concerning its adoption without censure. It is the only part which has, besides belying the expectations of its framers, worked out results directly opposed to the purposes for which it was designed. More than one attempt has been made to abolish it by an amendment to the Federal Constitution, but with so little success that the effort seems to have been finally abandoned. It will be a national calamity if the discouragement of the older shall become, as now seems likely, the apathy of the younger generation of statesmen. Such a possibility is a sufficient excuse for the reiteration of facts familiar to many; for the "line upon line and precept upon precept" is, sad to say, generally least relished where it is most needed.

The plan of the electoral college was adopted to accomplish the following objects:

First. To remove the election from the direct action of the

people, thus avoiding the tumults and risks of a popular election, and lessening the violence of the contest.

Second. To secure a more discreet and intelligent choice by confiding the ultimate selection to eminent individuals, presumably better fitted for the task than the untrained populace.

Third. To give to each state, as nearly as possible, the same weight it had in the two Houses of Congress, and to avoid giving the northern states, where the franchise was more generally distributed, greater proportionate influence than the southern states.

Fourth. To avoid the possibility of an election by a minority of the states, by providing that a majority of all the electors should be necessary to a choice, and that in case an election were thrown into the House, the representatives should vote by states.

It was expected that the first and second objects would be accomplished through the exercise by the presidential electors of a real choice in their selection. If they were to vote for their own candidate,—the one whom they really thought best fitted for the position,—it would be reasonable to anticipate less violence and party strife, and greater wisdom in the selection, than if it were made in the first instance by the people themselves. The necessities of party would not in that event be so likely to override the needs of state, and ability might have a chance of counting for more than availability.

But the fathers of the Constitution were not prophets. They did not foresee the amendments to be made to their immortal work by the omnipotence of law-making and law-breaking usage. Five presidential elections had not passed before every elector considered himself bound to vote for the candidate of the party by whom he was chosen, regardless of his own judgment and preferences; a bondage, not of law, but of usage; enforced, not by threatened fine and imprisonment, but by popular dishonor and political death. No elector has been rash enough to incur penalties so heavy as these. Like an automaton, without judgment or reason, he has done as directed by his constituents, and the electoral college has become an unthinking, unessential part of the political machine,—a mere

wheel within a wheel. In this way the college has been robbed of its chief function and characteristic ; the purpose of its creation has been defeated, and its only claim to honor or respect has been taken from it.

The third and fourth objects have equally failed of attainment. This has come about by a gradual change among the states from the "district" to the "general ticket" system of choosing electors. Under the former system, which was mostly, if not exclusively, in view when the Constitution was framed and adopted, a state's electors, being chosen by separate districts throughout the state, might be divided among the different political parties, just as is now the case with a state's congressional representatives, according to the political complexion of the particular districts from which they were elected. Under the latter system,—which is now in force in all the states except Michigan,—all of a state's electors are voted for in one ticket by the people of the entire state. The result is similar to that of the "unit rule" in nominating conventions. The electoral vote of a state is necessarily cast solid for the party which happens at the time to be in the majority in that state. This is the genesis of "pivotal states." If their revelation could be as easily written, disclosing the venality and intrigue fostered by their existence, and the opportunities of party power and machine domination afforded by their continuance, it would be the closing book of their history. The people would not tolerate a condition of things in which an entire election hangs upon the vote of a few such states, whose names are known beforehand and whose comparative influence is thereby immeasurably augmented.

The system now in operation therefore fails to remove an election from the direct action of the people ; the voter votes in effect directly for his own candidate for the presidency, having no care or thought concerning the electors or their qualifications ; it fails to secure any better or wiser choice than could be secured without its interposition ; it fails to retain the proportionate weight in Congress of each state, and is no longer necessary in order to balance the weight of the northern against that of the southern states ; and, finally, it fails to secure

an election upon the vote of a majority only of all the states.

If this were all to be said against the present system, one would naturally wonder why it still cumbers the ground. But it is not, like the fig tree in the parable, unfruitful merely ; its fruits are evil.

1. It intensifies the violence and party strife, the venality and intrigue which it was intended to check. It concentrates the entire result of an election upon the outcome of a few doubtful states, of which there are seldom more than six or seven. In these states excitement and enthusiasm are purposely raised to a fever heat, and every resource of the opposing parties is strained to the uttermost. Take the frequently quoted example of 1884 ; the vote of New York State turned the scale in favor of the successful candidate ; his majority in that state was a little over 1,100. The result of an election in which over 10,000,000 votes were cast hung, therefore, upon the ballots of 1,100 men, residents of one state.

2. It tends to secure a less wise and fitting choice by restricting the selection to the limits of those same pivotal states. No matter how eminent or worthy a man may be, if he resides in some safe or small state, his chance of attaining to the "goal of every American's ambition," and the country's chance of profiting by his services, are equally limited.

3. It nullifies the votes of thousands. It matters not, so far as the final result of an election is concerned, whether a party's majority in any single state be five hundred or fifty thousand. The party's entire electoral ticket is elected as soon as it receives a majority of even one vote ; all the votes in the excess of a bare majority are therefore of no advantage either to the voter or to his candidate. Any law having this effect is certainly obnoxious to the spirit of the constitutional provision that "no state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," though it is not, of course, opposed to the letter of that instrument because of the express provision that "each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors," etc.

If the presidential election depended upon a majority of the popular vote throughout the whole United States, every voter could then go to the polls, even in the straightest Democratic or Republican stronghold, assured that his vote would have an equal weight with that of his fellow-citizen in the same or any other state. As it is, it is only in the doubtful states that he can hope to make his individual ballot felt.

4. Finally, the system, as now operated, enables a minority of the people and a minority of the states to select an executive for the majority. As is frequently remarked, the federal government is a composite power, finding its authority partly in the people, and partly in the states. It is a compromise between the claims of each to be the ultimate source of all power. Because of the electoral system, as modified by usage, the executive might be unable to trace his authority to either of these sources. Nine of our presidents were chosen by a minority of the popular vote, and two of them received less than their unsuccessful competitors. In 1876 the defeated candidate had a popular majority over his successful rival of over two hundred and fifty thousand, and had an absolute majority over all candidates of over one hundred and fifty-seven thousand. Such results are opposed to the fundamental conceptions of our Constitution; they are un-republican and unjust.

Let the young men of the nation investigate the truth of these charges with the seriousness which their gravity demands; let them bring to the task neither undue veneration, nor disrespect for that which is, because it has been; and then let them answer: Should the Electoral System be Abolished?

NORMAN T. MASON.

THE POLITICAL BOSS.

BY DUANE MOWRY, ESQ.

THE political boss is no longer an unknown quantity in American politics. The patient masses have been slow to recognize the unpleasant fact and have endeavored to explain, account for, and at times even apologize for his obnoxious presence. They have so far failed to produce a single satisfactory reason for his existence in the practical affairs of government. He has none of the qualities which fit men for the responsible duties of leadership. His executive ability at most is never above mediocrity and, generally, it is far below that point. As a rule, up to the date of his entrance into the arena of practical politics, he has had no training or experience in the administration of public affairs and, therefore, lacks that mental grasp so necessary to the most effective and efficient work in the public service. His statesmanship is sadly wanting.

But the average political boss is not wholly devoid of qualities which at least commend him to his fellows. Often he is an active man of affairs. His acquaintance with men is extensive ; his methods are frequently skillful ; his reserve power sometimes great. He is always a man of infinite pretense. He never hesitates at anything. It is his effrontery and loquacity that secures for him a certain prominence, where a more modest and retiring but much more worthy nature must remain unrecognized. His self-conceit is without limit. He talks much of what he has done, of what he can do. Nothing is impossible with him.

As a political manipulator the average boss is thoroughly unscrupulous. If he has an honest political principle he will not let it interfere with his political ends however dishonest they may be. He is in politics to win ; and the mere matter of principle shall not stand in the way to success. Because of these

dishonest methods so frequently employed by the political boss, one of the dangers which threaten the practical politics of our times and country confronts us, the tendency of which is and must be to keep out of active politics many clean, wise, and honest men. Certainly this is not a healthy condition of affairs.

The motives of the political boss are never lofty and disinterested. They are essentially low and selfish. Usually he is in politics for revenue only. Sometimes he is in quest of political self-aggrandizement. He is never there solely and exclusively for his country's good. He has no laudable ambition, no devotion to principle, no self-sacrificing patriotism. He is at all times, and under all conditions and circumstances, the constant and abiding conservator of his own dearest interests. And to secure them, he will hesitate at nothing.

It is true that he is a shrewd and crafty fellow, fertile in resources, unscrupulous in methods, hypocritical in motives, without integrity, without large capacity, without honor. Why then should we tolerate him? Is there need for him? There can be but one answer. It is a travesty on the history of these latter-day political conditions of America that such a fungus growth has been allowed to exist and flourish. He has no proper place in our midst. He is foreign to the spirit of our institutions. Improve public opinion, demand better requirements for public servants, and thus make the life of the political boss impossible in free America. It can be done. It ought to be done. I believe it will be done.

DUANE MOWRY.

MR. OLSAVER ON SECRET SOCIETIES.

BY GILBERT L. EBERHART, ESQ.

THE article in defense of secret societies which appeared in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS for December, 1892, while a very just and scathing criticism on Chas. A. Blanchard's mendacious and libelous diatribe, must, nevertheless, be a source of deep regret to all Masons, Odd Fellows, and Knights of Pythias, and as a member of these and several other secret societies, I must enter my earnest and unqualified protest against any man's defending any benevolent secret society against the attacks of its enemies, who holds such irreligious and unchristian opinions as those which bristle on almost every line of Frank T. Olsaver's review of Mr. Blanchard's bundle of platitudes.

Mr. Olsaver, fortunately for these societies, declares that he is not a member of any of them, and, while he is entitled to credit for making this plain statement, the question must, however, arise upon what authority, demand, or ordinary rule, or ground of modesty, he assumed the defense of men who do not need either his intellectual or moral support; who are abundantly able to take care of themselves, and who so well know Mr. Blanchard with his peculiar monomania, that, although continually seeking it, has never succeeded in finding any member of the Masonic fraternity who will waste his time in an open discussion with him.

Christian charity and the morality of the Bible constitute the fundamental teachings and principles of all these societies, and form much of the ceremonial work in the lodge room. To one branch of the Masonic fraternity no member will be admitted unless he avows and subscribes to a belief in the Holy Trinity as taught in and by the New Testament Scriptures; yet Mr.

Blanchard and the religious sect with which he is identified denounce these orders, and especially the Masons, as *Godless*, *Christless* organizations. This we all persistently deny, and stigmatize as unmitigated and wilful mendacity ; but here comes the uninvited defender of secret societies, whose audacity quite equals his lack of judgment, and by his invidious thrusts at the church, indirectly at least, gives support to all our enemies bring against us.

The man who, as does Mr. Olsaver, derides Christianity, declares it makes "no difference whether men believe in Jesus Christ or Buddha, Mohammed or Gautama, or any other mythical anthropomorphic godhead," is not the sort of man these societies would admit to membership, much less desire, under any circumstances, to represent, defend, or speak for them, either with or without invitation.

In this case we must frankly say, without any desire to be uncivil, that Mr. Olsaver's ignorance of the sentiments of the men he has volunteered, without their permission, to defend, is equaled only by his effrontery ; and his action can only be characterized, to say the least, as a grave blunder which is exceedingly mortifying to the entire membership. His article can do those in whose interest it has been published, no possible good, while it may give to our enemies the same arguments which some will use against those they do not admire when they are innocently caught in bad company.

In thus disapproving of Mr. Olsaver's flings at the Christian religion, and repudiating and denying his right or authority to speak in defense of any secret society he names in his article, I desire to state, in the most emphatic terms, that my action voices the sentiment of every Mason, Odd Fellow, and Knight of Pythias in these United States—that none approves, but all deprecate such an unwarrantable assumption in their behalf, however pure the motive that prompted it.

G. L. EBERHART.

THE PRESS AND THE PARTY.

BY MR. EDGAR F. HOWE.

AMONG the many modern institutions none are more influential than the press and the political party. They are the two institutions which, more than all others, mold public opinion and dictate in all matters pertaining to the government of the United States. The time has come when, as a people, we must either abandon the theories upon which the republic is based, or we must cause a remodeling of these two institutions. Without attempting a thorough analysis of the subject, let us take a hasty glance at the theory and practice of journalism, party, and government.

THE PRESS.

Theory.—An institution the followers of which, forgetting self and friends and enemies, labor for the welfare of mankind, educating the people, and defending the right “though the heavens fall.”

Practice.—An institution which levies tribute upon politicians seeking office, which “toadies” to all whose favor brings revenue, which sells its space by the line or inch to whoever wishes to buy, which often excuses that which is wholly evil, through cowardice and, sometimes, through direct bribery.

Incidents.—In California the face of an eminent judge was slapped; a guard who accompanied him immediately killed the old man who had slapped the judge. Whether the shooting was justifiable or not we will not attempt to say, but immediately thereafter, and for days afterward, almost every prominent daily paper in California published a full page, neither more nor less, in defense of the shooting. In one case it was learned that the proprietor had been given a check with the amount blank for

him to fill in, signed by a friend of the judge, who was an enemy of the dead man, and who was very wealthy. Had the papers adopted different methods in defending the act, or had they shown various degrees of zeal, the presumption would not have been so strong that they were all bribed. In this case it is only fair to say there is no evidence that the judge was a party to the bribery.

Again, in California, a bill was to be introduced in the legislature by saloon keepers to abolish local option on the temperance question and to make it mandatory on all cities and counties to issue permits to run saloons on a low license basis. Three Prohibitionists combined in an organization known as the "Personal Liberty League," and sent circulars to every paper in the state asking what the papers would charge per line for editorial expressions favoring the proposed law. Of course, the publishers thought the circulars came from the saloon keepers. In the whole state there were but two or three papers that denounced the proposed bribery, but the percentage of those that were willing to sell editorial space to defend saloons in wiping out both local option and high license was large. Their letters inviting bribe money were afterward published.

I know of one paper in California, of which I have given the particulars more explicitly in another place, which has four times attempted to sell its influence against the interest of its own supporters, and I have evidence most positive to substantiate each of the four indictments. Yet the paper is one of the most highly respected in Southern California.

Another country editor demanded fifteen hundred dollars of his party before he would consent to support his party ticket. It happened that his section was credited with holding the balance of power in the county. Consequently he got the money, and in relating the incident to the writer he stated that his reason in making the demand was that he needed a new press, and he made the politicians pay for it.

It is not three months since the writer has had good evidence that three papers had sold their influence in favor of a particular scheme for dividing a county in California.

But there is no worse bribery of the press in California than in other states. The writer happens to be better acquainted in that state than in others. One incident has become of national notoriety. Allusion is had to the prohibition contest in Pennsylvania, where even the leading daily papers of Philadelphia, as was shown in the courts, sold their influence for the promotion of drunkenness.

Within less than a week, the writer has been reliably informed of a half-dozen instances of bribery of papers in Nevada, and the press of America is to-day so corrupt that from one end of the country to the other bribery is considered business skill. There are notable exceptions, of course, but not many more than necessary to prove the rule.

But there is another evil of gigantic proportions—falsifying of news for indirect gain, and papers of almost every party are guilty.

A few months since, the chairman of the Republican National Committee was charged with bribing the confidential clerk of a publishing house to steal important papers from his employer, and strong documentary evidence was published to substantiate the charge. Yet scarcely one Republican editor in the nation had the manhood or the courage to publish the charges, demand an investigation, or stigmatize the theft as charged.

THE PARTY.

Theory.—An organization of voters to promote given principles.

Practice.—An organization of politicians to secure the emoluments of office.

Incidents.—The granting of privileges to commit evil for votes. Is this not so? Do not both old parties make this exchange? Does not the Republican party say, "Prohibition would kill us, in depriving us of our share of the saloon vote, and consequently we will favor license"? And is not license privilege? And how much better is the sale of privilege to do evil in the light of modern civilization by politicians than it was in the Dark Ages by priests?

But it is not only to the saloons that privileges are sold by the

parties. One of the most patent political deals is that of McKinley's tariff invention for putting the manufacturers in the Republican party where they would be given the privilege of picking the pockets of the farmers and laborers, and where they would be compelled to contribute to the party corruption fund.

One incident will show the strength of party organization. In the campaign of 1892 in California a candidate was named by the Republican party for state senator. A man more unfit for honors could not have been found in that senatorial district. He had been obliged to leave the East on account of a scandal, and in California his personal habits had reached a degree of vileness not to be described in public print. He was nominated because he was a shrewd, keen manipulator whom other politicians were afraid to displease. Open rebellion was threatened. Men declared they would not support such a man for the office. But there was an issue of importance to be settled by the legislature, and every man in the district wanted the governor's influence. The prospective senator appealed to him. The governor visited the district in person and told the people if they wanted his support they must vote for the nominee of the party. The nominee was a tool of the Southern Pacific Railroad, and that corporation gave orders that he must be elected or it would defeat the measure. The voters were whipped into line, and to the disgrace of the state, the man to-day sits in the Senate. That is politics "as she is" voted in the United States.

THE GOVERNMENT.

Theory.—The conduct of affairs of state for the promotion of the interests of the citizens.

Practice.—The conduct of affairs of state for the promotion of the interests of the party and officeholder.

Incidents.—The alliance of the press and the party for an equitable division of the spoils of office. There is scarcely an exception to the rule of large salaries for officials—that is, larger than is paid for the same class of work in private life, and those salaries are made large for the sole purpose of providing a corruption fund, and a very large portion of that fund is paid to the newspapers, and thus the two institutions are

made the twin pillars, holding the governmental structure beyond the reach of the people who own it, and by right should occupy it.

The writer is not a believer in the permanent decline of the press, the party, or the government. The progress of the world has never been that of a continuously moving wheel, but has rather been like the old-fashioned snowplow, with which the engine is forced frequently to back up, that it can the better drive the drift. It progresses by beating back one drift after another. It looks at times as though the world were moving backward, but it is only to get an opportunity to drive further ahead than ever before.

The press is yet a new institution. Its position in the world is not yet catalogued. The journalist has more influence on public affairs than the lawyer, but no examination is required for his admission to the profession. He instructs more people than the pedagogue, but there is no test of the correctness of his teaching. He has more influence on public morality than the preacher, but he has no code of moral ethics. The lawyer may mislead his client and be expelled from the bar. The preacher may teach false doctrines and be expelled from his pulpit. The legislator may accept bribes and be sent to the penitentiary. The doctor may administer the wrong medicine and be prosecuted for malpractice. In each of these cases, the individual is examined before admission to his profession, and is then kept under strict supervision. But the newspaper man is exempt from all law. He betrays his clients, he teaches false morality, he accepts bribes, he administers nostrums, but no law can touch him.

The party is a tool. It is a machine created by man to aid him in creating other articles. When it will not accomplish its work it must be abandoned. The history of the world is a history of the abandonment of tools. The curiosity of this day is the model of Columbus' ship. Its chief merit is its illustration of the progress in the manufacture of tools. The world has grown away from it. There should be no more hesitancy in dis-

carding an old and useless party than in discarding an old and useless ship.

The lesson of all that precedes this is the necessity of rousing the people to overthrow the evil which exists and thus destroy the alliance of the press and the party, hedge in the former and create a substitute for the latter, that civilization may advance.

Let us get away from the selling of privileges by the party as the world once did from the selling of privileges by the priesthood.

EDGAR F. HOWE.

ROAD REFORM.

BY S. R. DOWNING, ESQ.

"HOW to improve our roads," is a topic of universal interest, of such interest that every farmers' institute should have two papers upon it. It is especially a subject of moment at this time of the year, when misnamed bogs serve as excuses for roads. As the years roll on the discussion intensifies and approaches nearer to determination and action. Our present bogs are evidently humiliating to any citizen who has so far outgrown self-thought as to enjoy some measure of country pride. If it has been deemed well to bridge a stream heretofore forded, it seems just as well to ballast a bog or diminish the draft in an ascent. If it is a matter of cruelty to animals to abuse a horse, it is in a degree cruelty to a horse for us to ignore impediments that can be removed and which are a tax upon the muscle, strength, and life of a horse. Good roads not only indicate broad, intelligent citizenship, but more, the status of its actual Christian growth and worth. If we are proud of our house, our farms, our horses, it is somewhat more of manhood still to be proud of our county. If we conclude that it is anything to be Christian, less cruel to ourselves and our faithful horses, more favorable to that which will add to the common happiness and health, to that which will be salutary and sanitary, then we should be sufficiently proud in our citizenship, sufficiently genuine in our Christianity to build solid, smooth thoroughfares.

It is as much a matter of beneficence and good citizenship to stop a waste of public moneys. No rule can be found in economics that would even suggest saving at the spigot and squandering at the bung. We cannot save both at spigot and bung in road betterment without the use of material in their

construction that will insure a permanently good road. A palace may be built with ice, but when summer warmth comes the palace melts away and the money that built it is lost. A road cannot be built of loam or clay that will endure a single year. The average existence of such a road is from May until December. The money expended on a clay or loam road in May of every year is gone in December of every year. There is no better illustration of the old saying of saving at the spigot and losing at the bung than is our habit of piling clay upon clay, spending dollar upon dollar to be wasted, probably, by the first freshet.

The fact should be emphasized that no legislature can frame, no executive sign a law that can squeeze a good and cheap road out of clay. We should know this as citizens and always be guided by such fact, because such fact involves a fixed, economic principle. If, then, we cannot build durable roads by the use of clay, and our money is wasted in the attempt, we must resort to the use of a more permanent material, either stone or gravel ballast.

Men who have been successful in life, mainly from conservative, cautious policy and habit, say to me: "Don't go in debt," "Pay as you go." Of course, advice from such men is worthy of close consideration. It almost seems that such advice should at once be accepted because of the worthiness of its source. And yet, so far as I can really make out, this counsel seems only the essence of a dread of debt, with no scruple as to heavy taxation. A dread simply, and without a conception of the advantages, in certain emergencies, of the use of capital is certainly very empty. Capital can evidently be hired advantageously. As an example, Illinois, years ago, hired an abundance of Chester county capital for her schools and for county and city improvements, at once needed because at once useful and profitable. By the immediate use of eastern capital, Illinois to-day is far in advance of what she would have been had the state taken the conservative policy of waiting for the development of home resources and then paying cash. In fact, its debt was the main factor in this development of financial power. Now the counties and

townships of Illinois are virtually non-dependent upon the East, and this as a result of the policy of hiring capital.

These gentlemen to whom I refer admit the necessity and profit of macadamizing. They consent that our roads should be thus improved. The question then arises: Is it more costly, considering immediate advantages, early appreciation of land values, economy in the matter of time, comfort, horse power, to borrow at a long loan with slight increase of tax, or to raise the tax sufficient to pike a reasonable space every year and endure a heavy taxation? As an illustration of the last or spigot method, we would have to double the rate in our township to accomplish a half-mile of macadamizing in one year. Twenty-six years would be required to pike our thirteen miles. This method would again involve twenty years of warfares as to whose thoroughfares should be piked first.

Consenting that our roads should be piked is an admission that roads not only shall be built, but that money must be expended and thus taxes increased. The burden is then after all not the loan or debt, but the taxation. The debt is not to be dreaded so much as increase in the weight of taxation. It follows then, if a long-time loan lessens the burden of taxation, besides adding the advantage of immediate and complete improvement, that business policy would surely favor the use of hired capital. Of course interest must be paid for the use of capital, but it will evidently find abundant offset in advantages and profits received.

We are met again by the question whether in justice both to the farm owners and tenants the amount of tax should not be limited to the capacity of a floating tenantry to pay? Should the heft of the burden be placed upon tenants? In fact high taxes tend to lower rents. Then if taxes must be low in order to secure good tenants and rents, both farm owners and tenants should reasonably favor an easy financial course in the matter of road improvement.

We are met again by the query, "Is it well to leave a debt to our children?" It seems to me, and probably to many, that it is less dangerous to leave a young man in debt than out of debt

and with plenty of money. An easy youth mostly ends in a troubled old age. You may leave a young farmer a debt incurred on account of splendid drives, but he has for his debt thoroughfares the value of which adds the equivalent of his debt to the value of his farm. If the debt is virtually wiped out by the appreciation of his farm value, he is identified with an operation that really makes him dollars and cents equal to the cost of his share of the township debt, because it appreciates his property to that extent. The township that first adopts and completes handsome, comfortable thoroughfares will be the first to attract good prices for land, an increase of population, and thus new and attractive homes.

It would be far more severe upon those who may follow us to leave them a road system that would involve heavy taxation, requiring a duration of many years in which to complete an operation, with continual uncertainty as to supervisors, contention as to where piking shall be done in this year or another, involving continual loss by reason of trying to keep the large mileage not piked passable with clay or mud.

As to unequal tax burdens. In Ohio a law has been in existence near two decades permitting loans for road improvement. Authority to loan and build is given by county commissioners. Those adjoining the improvement and within a mile pay a tax of two dollars per acre; those within two miles one dollar, and so on. But a citizen of Ohio informs me that there are objections to this law. At every appeal there is evidence of dissatisfaction. This plan in many instances overlaps. Thus it results in placing an unequal burden upon those farthest from the roads that are improved. Another objection is in the fact that those properties located in a narrow point or strip between roads are encumbered to an unequal extent. So that it seems impossible to reach a hair's breadth equal adjustment of the burden of the cost of macadamizing roads. All that is wanted, it seems to me, is an invitation and wholesome leading. Who will lead? Who will investigate? Who will push, plead, give?

S. R. DOWNING.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

Prisoners and Paupers. By Henry M. Boies, A. M. 12mo, 318 pp. New York : G. P. Putnam's Sons. Price, \$1.50.

The author of this book is a member of the State Board of Public Charities of Pennsylvania, and as a student of the subjects related to his duties therewith has embodied the results of his study and experience in this volume, which is a valuable addition to the literature touching this important line of thought.

The book divides itself naturally into a consideration of the increase of crime and pauperism, the causes that are responsible for it, and the remedies that should be applied for their prevention. Mr. Boies, like many others, has succeeded better in giving causes and effects than in suggesting remedies, though his opinions are well worthy of consideration. He believes, with all thoughtful men, that preventing criminals and paupers from being produced is much easier than to remove them after they have been created.

Among the causes that increase crime, our author mentions the crowding of people into towns and cities. To counteract this tendency Mr. Boies presents the novel and not unreasonable idea that the construction of smooth, pleasant roads throughout the country to the post office, store, and railway station would so relieve the discomforts of farm life that thousands who now go to the cities would remain at their country homes.

He classes county jails as among the causes of crime and uses the following strong but truthful language concerning them : "Our criminal court and jail system are a reproach upon our intelligence, a disgrace to our civilization, an unnecessary extravagance in our social economy, a curse upon our philanthropy and religion and an outrage upon humanity. Our jails are conducted as public schools of crime and as nurseries of

criminals. Into them our constabulary and courts hustle ravishers, corrupters of youth, murderers, burglars, thieves, drunkards and all the foul members of society they can lay hands upon, with children convicted of petty larcenies or of incorrigibility, with detained witnesses and people accused of misdemeanors or crimes not tried. Inside the walls, comfortably housed, clothed, and fed, supplied with tobacco and cards, with promiscuous intercourse permitted during a part, if not all the day, the professional criminal and the hardened sinner recount their adventures to an interested audience, and delight to initiate the more ignorant into all the mysteries of iniquity. Incarceration here has no deterrent dread for the "rounder," while the erring one, confined for a first assault, soon becomes assimilated to his companions and joins the ranks of crime. Except for the brief period that the victims are restrained of their freedom of action, our jails are a menace rather than a protection to society."

Unrestricted immigration is classed among the causes that operate largely toward adding to our criminal and pauper population. He argues that we are receiving foreigners more rapidly than we can assimilate them into our national life and that our government must enforce a discrimination as to who shall be admitted into social and political fellowship. He outlines the conditions which should govern the admission of emigrants so as to keep us from receiving paupers and criminals instead of citizens. Among these he would insist on physical and mental soundness and the ability to speak and write the English language readily. He would not support nor encourage newspapers, churches, schools, or business conducted in a foreign language.

This part of his argument will likely meet with considerable opposition. "It is a human right to live anywhere on the face of the earth," is an incontrovertible proposition. The precise spot on the globe where a man may be born is nothing either to his credit or discredit, because it is a matter over which he has no control, and the same is true with reference to the language in which he is taught to express his thoughts. The man who does not understand a word of English may be a very worthy

citizen, while possibly the professor who holds the chair of English literature in the college might justly be "serving time." Hence it will hardly do to draw the line on a man's ability to speak a certain language in fixing a qualification for citizenship. Neither will it do to adopt any narrow or selfish view concerning immigration. If a man knocks at our doors for admission to our vast domains which can easily be made to support the world's population, we should be too charitable, too just to ask what the color of his skin or what language he speaks. The only qualification should be a desire on his part to earn an honest livelihood.

The change of the negro's condition from slavery to freedom is enumerated among the causes that add largely to our prison and pauper population, more especially to the criminal portion; for Mr. Boies gives what to many may be surprising information, that though our negro population, which is less than 14 per cent of our total population, furnishes 33 per cent of our convicts, it contributes but 9 per cent of our paupers, and a still less per cent of insane. The obverse is true of our foreign population which, constituting about 20 per cent of our total population, furnishes one third of our convicts and three fifths of our paupers.

To intemperance, Mr. Boies attributes largely the increase of criminality and pauperism, and one of the best chapters of the book is devoted to the arraignment of the effects of alcohol on the individual and the nation. It is intensely strong—and strong, too, because of its truth. He ascribes 75 per cent of the crime and at least 50 per cent of the suffering from poverty to strong drink. But while he has successfully arraigned King Alcohol as a criminal and convicted him of all the crimes charged, yet he weakens when it comes to imposing sentence, and presents many vulnerable points through which the keen lance of the Prohibitionist will be thrust. Evidently he has not studied the statistics furnished by the Prohibition campaign hand-book in reference to the effect of drunkenness and crime in the Prohibition states as carefully as he has the census reports. He says that the temperance reform has failed, not on account of any lack of truth, force, or need, but because it has been ob-

secured and confused as a strictly moral movement and has made no effective effort to restrict the multiplication of drunkards by procreation ; and that it has been impaired by a complication with politics and civil legislature. With good reason he declares that the license system is unsound in principle because it gives governmental protection and sanction to a traffic which is an intolerable injury ; that it is a mistake because it increases an evil it is intended to diminish. According to Mr. Boies, the Prohibition idea has no logical or authorized standing in American politics and is contrary to the spirit of American institutions.

What then are we to do ? We naturally turn to Mr. Boies for a solution of the vexed problem. He seems to forget that the antislavery people for long years had no standing in politics, but they made a standing place for themselves, and that appears to be the object of the persistency with which Prohibitionists keep up their warfare against what Mr. Boies himself argues as a monstrous evil.

His object seems to be to propose some plan that will respect the much cherished personal liberty which is so dear to every man who drinks or desires to sell drink. In his own language his plan is briefly this : "We propose that alcohol, the pernicious element in all intoxicating beverages, *shall be made to pay for itself.*" He would have Congress substitute for present revenue and tariff law on the subject a tax on the percentage of alcohol contained in all beverages, of an amount per gallon sufficient to defray the entire cost of maintaining all the penal, reformatory, deaf-mute, blind, and insane hospitals and almshouses of the country. He thinks \$3 per gallon would be sufficient, and that this plan would take the whole question out of politics, make those who drink pay for the mischief done by drinking, and finally decrease the consumption of liquor.

Next to free whisky we cannot conceive of any other plan that would suit the drinking population better than that proposed by Mr. Boies ; for it would be practically free with a little extra cost added which any inebriate would gladly pay for the assurance that he could always get his supply when it was wanted, and not run the risk of being shut off by the refusal of

some conscientious court to grant license. No matter how poor a toper may be, he has never been known to stop drinking on account of the high price of his favorite beverage.

Mr. Boies would make drunkenness itself a crime, making the first offense punishable by solitary confinement from ten to thirty days; the second offense from thirty to sixty days; the third from sixty to ninety, and on the fourth violation he would consign the offender to some house of correction until a competent authority should pronounce a permanent cure. In view of his own argument, however, such a course would be outrageous; for Mr. Boies declares that "whether drunkenness be a disease or a habit it is certainly beyond the control of the victim." Surely a man should not be made to suffer imprisonment for that which is beyond his control.

Mr. Boies would favor the absolute prohibition of the sale of intoxicants to minors, insane or idiotic or intoxicated persons, drunkards,—those whose friends, relatives, or poor directors give notice should not be supplied. He would also include in the list United States troops, state militia, prisoners, and paupers. He would not permit the sale of strong drink on Sunday or election day, nor within a block, in towns and cities, or a mile, in the country, of a public school, church, or assembly of people for religious purposes, nor on fair grounds, military encampments, jails, prisons, almshouses, and public buildings.

It is a query to Prohibitionists, and in fact to most thinking men, why, if it is wise and just to forbid the sale of liquor on certain days and in certain places, it is not equally wise and just to widen the sphere of the good work and make it general both as to time and place. Personal liberty of man is just as worthy of respect on election day or on Sunday as any other day, and it is just as sacred within a block of a church or schoolhouse as a thousand miles from it. The truth is that any man who attempts to compromise in arguing against the gigantic evil of intemperance will find himself hopelessly involved in inconsistencies. There is in practice still a middle ground; but in theory there is none. A man must array himself either on the side of the Prohibitionists or take his stand

with those who sanction the use of strong drink, either legally or illegally.

In the chapter, *What Shall be Done With the Prisoner*, the author makes a strong plea for a more reasonable method of dealing with the offender than the one which now prevails. He recognizes the fact, which many well-meaning persons refuse to endorse, that many of our criminals are beyond the reach of reformation; and that the only way to deal with such is to remove them from society once for all in order to be freed, not only from their criminal acts, but to prevent them from reproducing their kind. Instead of the vindictive idea that prevails regarding the criminal, Mr. Boies would substitute that of disease. He would attempt to cure the curable and permanently seclude the incurable from society. In order to accomplish this he advocates the very sensible plan of abolishing all time sentences, for the reason that the judge from whom a convict receives his sentence can no more decide as to the time needed to work his reformation than can the physician tell by diagnosing a disease how long it will take to effect a cure. He shows that we are still acting on the plan of punishing a criminal rather than on the reasonable method of trying to restrain or prevent criminal tendencies. In support of this he adduces the fact that we have in the United States over 17,000 jails and only 44 juvenile reformatories. With forty times as many criminal hotbeds as reformatories he sees little hope of immediate reform.

In the chapter, *The Police as a Restrictive Agency*, he places great stress on the power of the police to restrain the criminal in his acts. With a model police force, such as he would have, crime would no doubt be lessened, for such officers would act as much to prevent those things which lead to crime, as to lay hold of the criminal after the deed is committed; but under police forces as they exist, we are inclined to think that they are often partly responsible for the very crimes which they are supposed to prevent, and many a depraved convict might trace his downward step to the ill-advised act of a policeman. While we do not propose to set ourselves up as authority in this matter, our opinion is that one half the police force in most of our cities

and towns could be dismissed without detriment to public safety. Especially would this be the case, if the body were to be made better, proportionally as it would become smaller.

This book as we have already said is a very valuable one and should find a place in the library of all those who are now taking an interest in the great question it discusses. We cannot close without expressing a hope, even a belief, that our condition is not so alarming as most writers on the subject appear to think. That crime of all kinds is very prevalent and that more reasonable and effective measures should be employed to restrain, reform, and prevent are true ; but that our condition is "appalling in the highest degree to our confidence in the future" as declared by Mr. Boies, we cannot believe. Even the statistics as furnished by the census reports from which he takes his figures can be made to show a silver lining to the black cloud.

From 1850 to 1860 the increase of population was 36 per cent and the increase of prison population 183 per cent, the percentage of gain in prison population being over five times the percentage of gain in total population. From 1860 to 1870 the general increase was 23 per cent and the prison gain 73 per cent, or three and one fifth times the gain in population. From 1870 to 1880 the respective gains were 30 and 78 per cent, or the prison gain two and three fifths times the general gain. From 1880 to 1890 the percentage of gains were 25 and 42 respectively, or the gain per cent in prison population was but one and three fifths times the gain per cent of the total population. At the same rate of decrease within a decade or two more our good people outside of prison walls will show a greater rate of increase than our unfortunate ones who spend a part of their time in durance vile.

THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS.

MAY, 1893.

INTERNATIONAL TRADE.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE HENRY GREY.

THE following letter was received from Earl Grey by Mr. Lawrence Irwell, of Toronto, Canada :

HOWICK, LESBURY,
NORTHUMBERLAND, }
February 15th, 1893. }

DEAR SIR:—I received some time ago a copy of THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS for December, containing your article on "The Fiscal Policy of Canada," which I read with the care it deserved. I think you have conclusively proved in this article that both the two parties now struggling for power in Canada are entirely mistaken in their views as to the fiscal policy it would be wise for the Dominion to act upon. You have succeeded, as I think, completely in showing how entirely unreasonable is the policy of both the one and the other party, and how injurious the adoption of either is to the Dominion; and I am glad to find that upon this point you completely concur in the opinion I expressed in the pamphlet I published some months ago. But though I consider your argument to be unanswerable so far as it goes, I cannot help regretting that you have not entered somewhat more fully into a discussion of the principles which lie at the root of the fallacies current among very large numbers of people on the subject of the commercial intercourse of nations with each other. Among these fallacies there is none which has had, I believe, so powerful and so

mischievous an influence as the idea so generally entertained that a nation gains anything by an increase in its imports, except an increase of its means of paying for a larger and better supply of the various articles required for the consumption of this population.

INCREASE OF EXPORTS.

If there is any other advantage gained by a nation from an increase of its exports, what that advantage is ought to be explained, but this does not seem hitherto to have been even attempted. In former and less enlightened times it was supposed that a nation was made richer by retaining in its possession large amounts of gold and silver and accordingly in this and other countries exporting the coins of the realm was made by law a punishable offense. The policy was carried to an extreme limit by the strongest regulations enforced in the vain hope of keeping in Spain the large amounts of gold and silver brought there from America after its discovery. It is now almost universally admitted that nations only require such an amount of gold and silver coins as will suffice to effect necessary transfers of value from hand to hand in carrying on the work of trade and industry. The immense improvements in the mode of transacting business accomplished in the last one hundred and fifty years have had for one of their principal objects to economize as much as possible the use of the costly medium of exchange afforded by the precious metals.

In order to be convinced that a nation can gain nothing by increasing its export trade, except the advantage of thus obtaining the means of paying for a better supply of articles it requires from abroad, it is only necessary to consider that the object of every merchant in sending goods to a foreign market is to obtain for them a price exceeding as largely as possible what they have cost them. The greater the excess of what he has received over what he has paid the larger is his profit from the adventure, and if he received less than he has paid it will have been a loss. The truth of this statement as regards each individual merchant is evident, and if it is true of each individual merchant it cannot be false as regards a body of merchants taken collectively.

If every English merchant trading with the United States can gain nothing by his business except by receiving more for the goods he has sent there than they have cost him, it follows that the nation can gain nothing by the trade of all these merchants unless the total amount of what they receive is larger than the cost of the goods they have sold. Is it not therefore idle to complain that this country must be impoverished by receiving from America imports of far larger value than the exports America will receive from us in return? Yet this complaint is constantly heard from the advocates of protection, and it might be supposed from their language that they imagine the British people to be paying a ruinous tribute to the United States by receiving from them such articles as cotton, tobacco, and corn to a greater value than the goods which the fiscal laws of the United States allow them to receive from us in return. If either nation is paying tribute to the other, it is surely that which gives more than it receives.

THE BEAUTIES OF EXCHANGE.

But in fact neither nation pays tribute to the other; each obtains from that with which it trades articles it is either unable to produce at home or only at a cost greater than it can obtain them for by importation from abroad, each paying for what it gets by exporting what it can produce the best and most cheaply, trade being thus a mere exchange between nations of what each can produce with most advantage. By this exchange both parties to it gain the enjoyment of a larger supply of necessities, comforts, and luxuries than they could otherwise command. Nor is this less true because sometimes the protected policy of a nation which exports to another much valuable produce prevents this produce being paid for as largely as it might be by direct imports from the country to which its goods are supplied. In that case the exchange is still effected, but merely indirectly. Thus it is said that the wines of France and the tobacco and cotton of the United States consumed in this country are not infrequently paid for by British manufactures sent to China to meet what is owed by those countries for Chinese tea they have bought. This may or may not be true, but at all events it

is certain in more than forty years during which British ports have been opened to the trade of foreign countries without regard to the terms on which they may admit British goods in return, we never had the slightest difficulty in purchasing and in paying for all the supplies we have needed from the nations that adhere to the policy of protection. The loss we can really have suffered from their persevering in this policy must therefore have been trifling as compared to that inflicted on their own population.

TAFFY FOR CANADA.

These considerations, as to the true nature of trade, and the fact that what a nation gains by it really consists in the better supply of its wants it thus obtains, and not in its exports, which only serve the purpose of paying for what it receives, might, I think, be brought with advantage in a plain and simple form under the notice of the people of Canada. They show so much intelligence in the management of their private affairs that there is ground for hoping that they might be led to perceive that the same rules of common sense on which they act in the ordinary business of life apply equally to the commercial dealings of nations with each other, and that to meet hostile tariffs by similar tariffs against countries which adopt them only renders them more injurious to the nations which take this unwise mode of showing their resentment for what they naturally regard as the unfair treatment they receive. The experience of this country proves that Sir Robert Peel was right in acting on the two essential bases of this policy; that the true way of meeting hostile tariffs is to open our own ports as widely as we can, and that in order to levy a large revenue by customs duties without laying an undue burden on consumers, these duties ought to be moderate, and never of a protected character.

I must apologize for having delayed this answer to your letter so long, but I was anxious to offer to you some remarks which might possibly be of use to you in further discussing (as I hope you will) the highly important subject of your article in the American periodical.

I am yours faithfully,

(Signed)

GREY.

THE SOCIAL SCHEME OF THE SALVATION ARMY.

BY GEORGE E. VINCENT.

THE social wing of the Salvation Army is in a great measure distinct from the regular religious work of that organization. It has its own bureau and officers, and its finances form a separate account. True, those employed in the social system are members of the Army, yet the evangelistic element is far from prominent. The statement is even made that of late the characteristic street meetings and processions have been largely abandoned in East London. Except for the influence of the army organization and its peculiar enthusiasm on the *personnel* of the social wing forces—a factor by no means to be overlooked—the new department is virtually an independent experiment laying claim to recognition and support on its own merits as theoretically and practically an efficient plan for ameliorating the condition of the poor in great cities, primarily the poor of London. The assertion of its founder, that “the social disease is at root an economic one, requiring an economic remedy,” calls especial attention to the industrial aspect of the device. The whole scheme falls naturally into three divisions, corresponding to three general needs :

FIRST—*The City Colony*. A term describing various agencies for relieving want, arousing self-respect, and stimulating ambition among the urban poor.

SECOND—*The Farm Colony*. A recruiting and training station in the country for the worthy in the city colony who either cannot find employment in town or wish to begin life again under wholly different conditions. The farm colony is designed also to furnish supplies to the city colony.

THIRD—*The Over-Sea Colony*. A settlement in a foreign country—a British possession formed by those who have been

fitted in the farm colony to meet the requirements of the new life.

These colonies are thus organically connected and in theory form a continuous highway from the worst conditions of crowded city existence to the most favorable opportunities which a new and rich land offers. It is no wonder that this plan, elaborated in detail, took the imagination of the public by storm. The first and second of these colonies have already been established, and the third is expected to become a fact within the present year.

This paper will deal with the city colony, which is the only part of the system that has been set up with anything like completeness. The city mechanism is arranged on the same principle of subordination and progression which characterizes the scheme as a whole. In a brief conversation General Booth thus epitomized the plan: "It's the old story of the Prodigal. The father knew the boy and took him right into the dining-room. We don't know our prodigals so well and we have to let them work their way gradually into our confidence." This is a suggestive, if not a very scientific, description of the system.

The institutions which make up the city colony are thus classified: MEN—(1) Penny Shelters; (2) Ex-Prisoners' Home; (3) Shelters or Lodging Houses; (4) Food Depôts; (5) Elevators or Workshops; (6) Poor Mens' Metropoles. WOMEN—(1) Shelters or Receiving Home; (2) Maternity Home; (3) Laundry, Knitting Factory, Book-bindery, etc.

The Penny Shelter is hardly more than a place of protection from the elements. A large room heated by steam is filled with wooden benches on which the casual guest may get what repose he can in a reasonably upright posture. If he is able he pays a penny for the night, but if he is penniless he does some small service in the morning by way of discharging the obligation. The shelters are by no means luxurious, yet they are clean and well ventilated.

The Ex-Prisoners' Home, significantly called "*The Bridge*," is a receiving station for released prisoners brought from the prison gates by a special brigade of the Army assigned to that service.

By means of this arrangement desperate, discouraged, or weak men and women are as far as possible put in the way of resuming normal relations with society.

The Food Dépôt is a cheap restaurant. The supplies are bought in large quantities at wholesale. The soups, tea, and coffee are made by means of steam apparatus, and the bread is baked in huge ovens on the premises. Everything is done on a magnificent scale, and apparently with the economy which usually attends wholesale operations. The kitchens are scrupulously clean and those in charge are personally neat. The food is served from a long counter whence the purchaser may take it to a table and eat at his leisure. Separate tables are assigned to women and children. The prices which prevail are low. A large bowl of thick bean soup with a generous square of bread is served for one penny. It is not an uncommon thing to see two urchins with two spoons sharing a portion of soup. The *menu* of a food dépôt is not limited to soup, tea, and coffee, but includes meat, vegetables, and even jam tarts, all sold approximately at cost. In cases of proved destitution, food is served free, usually, however, on some plan of credit for future services. Surplus supplies are distributed to families whose needs have been investigated by the visiting *corps*.

The Workshop or Elevator is the keystone of the system. If any of the persons who seek refuge in the shelters show a disposition to work they are directed to the workshop, where various activities, from the chopping and bundling of kindling wood to cabinet-making are going on. This great variety of industries offers scope to labor of different degrees of skill. By far the larger number of workers are wood-choppers, basket-weavers, brush-makers, etc. In the carpenter shop men are busy making benches for the shelters, cots for the lodging houses, combination platforms and tables for open-air meetings, and numerous other things used by the Army. In the paint shop perhaps some temporarily embarrassed artist is blazoning gorgeous emblematical banners destined to adorn the walls of Army barracks. Cabinet-makers are at work on chests of drawers and tables, many of them excellent in design and finish. The goods turned out from

the workshop are displayed for sale in a ware-room in the Army headquarters on Queen Victoria Street. The general impression made upon the visitor by the workshop is somewhat unsatisfactory—from the industrial standpoint. There is a lack of organization and division of labor, and in many cases an absence of vigorous effort. Yet this is inevitable in the nature of things. The wages of the casual laborers in the workshop are paid not in money but in tokens, which are received as cash by any of the shelters, food depôts, or lodging houses of the system. In this way the weak are protected in some measure at least from the temptations of public houses. For the first month mere means of subsistence form the compensation. One of the workshops deserves special mention. It is known as the "Salvage Wharf," and is in a sense a rag-pickers' clearing-house. Rubbish of all kinds collected in the streets and from house to house is here brought together, sorted, in many cases renovated, and in every possible way put to some useful purpose. This use of waste materials merits unqualified approval.

The Lodging House is an improved shelter. The beds are of two kinds, boxes and cots. The former are interesting from their simplicity and serviceable nature. Wooden frames six and one half feet long, two feet wide, and a foot high are placed in rows on the floor of a large dormitory. A mattress stuffed with sea-weed and covered with soft oil-cloth is placed in each frame. A side of soft tanned sheepskin serves as sheets, blankets, and counterpane. Every morning on rising the occupant of a bed is required to stand the frame on its side and place the mattress and leather cover on top. The floor is scrubbed daily and looks as clean as a ship's deck. The boxes cost 2d per night. The cots are of the usual type and are placed in separate "cubicles." The price of these private compartments is 4d. There is a large lavatory with ample supplies of hot and cold water, and a laundry and steam drying room which are at the service of the lodgers. Food is served from the house-kitchen. A reading-room with a small library forms a part of the establishment. The buildings themselves are for the most part ware-

houses, rather rudely remodeled, but heated by steam, well ventilated, and scrupulously clean.

The Factory is a systematized workshop for employing steadily the worthy who cannot find work, or for offering better wages and a more wholesome environment to operatives—especially to women and girls.

The brickyard has begun to turn out a marketable product and the match factory has given employment to more than fifty match girls, a notorious class of London operatives. It is too early definitely to determine the economic results of these new industries, but the influence of the match factory on the deportment and appearance of its employees is said to be very marked. The matches are of the "safety type," and their manufacture is not attended by noxious fumes. A large demand for these matches is created by the Salvationists themselves, who aim to use no other brand.

The Poor Man's Metropole is a cheap hotel. The cubicle system prevails, and the charges are 4d to 6d per night. There is a restaurant and a reading-room connected with each house. Payments are made in cash, not in tokens. The establishment is designed to offer a comfortable home to industrious, self-respecting people. It may be regarded as the culmination of the city system for those who wish to remain in town.

The Salvation Army penny savings bank has offices in the metropolises and every encouragement to the accumulation of surplus earnings is offered.

It should be added that these institutions which have been described are typical of a whole class. Thus there are several shelters, food depôts, lodging houses, workshops, and three metropolises. The institutions for women form a distinct department. They correspond in a general way to the main features of the men's system, but there are various modifications which somewhat different conditions and needs obviously render necessary.

The match factory, which has been mentioned, belongs specifically under Women's Rescue and Social Work. Not only are these provisions made for receiving those who apply for aid and

employment, but organized bands of visitors are constantly penetrating the worst parts of East London and discovering cases of destitution, illness, and unsanitary surroundings.

The Labor Bureau, another agency, is of genuine service in focusing the demand and supply of labor. The classes of persons who avail themselves of these different institutions are :

The temporarily unemployed, who, owing to stress of weather, strikes, or industrial depression, are compelled to tide over a period of idleness. These usually return to their work as soon as opportunity offers.

The dissipated and discouraged. Many skilled artisans and professional men for various causes fall into evil courses and sink to the lowest depths. The majority of these have good impulses and real ability. In many cases a few weeks in a workshop and lodging house restores these men to something like self-respect, and they return to their former occupations.

The temporarily destitute, the sick or disabled, the wives and children of sailors away on voyages, etc.

The submerged tenth, the great mass of the poor for whom especially the system is designed and who constitute the most discouraging material with which it has to deal.

CRITICISM.

Without discussing the plan as a whole, or raising the question as to whether the farm and over-sea colonies will do all or even most of the things expected of them, let us form some estimate of the city work.

At first glance the scheme seems to offer little that is new. Lodging houses, soup kitchens, wood yards, even artificially created workshops, are not in themselves innovations. As a matter of fact, it is perhaps safe to assume that to a majority of those who use them, these agencies seem familiar. The places are cleaner, there are evening meetings, the attendants wear red jerseys and military caps, and are, it may be, kinder than private proprietors or charity agents, yet the distinctions between old institutions and the new are far from clear to the poor. It is a mistake to suppose that those who gather in the shelters are so much raw material which a social regenerating

machine immediately begins to improve and refine. To the majority the shelter is only a shelter, the food depôt merely a better grade of soup kitchen.

These various agencies as separate factors have for a long time met with approval in proportion as they have been managed wisely with the aim of encouraging self-help. But we encounter here a combination of these institutions. What are the elements of strength in the city colony plan? (1) The most important is unquestionably its organization and power of coöperation. It is a part of the charity organization idea rendered more efficient. It is centralization rather than federation. Establishments of various degrees of excellence in themselves are related in a progressive series according to their functions. The scheme has a definite end and directs all its agencies toward the desired result. (2) The *personnel* of the management is a source of power. It has been pointed out that the social wing is in a sense distinct from the rather eccentric spiritual forces, yet the new work depends largely for success on the personality of those who owe their interest in humanity to the peculiar religious enthusiasm of this remarkable organization. After all deductions for fanaticism, self-interest, and human frailty in general have been made, the men and women of the Salvation Army in East London will compare favorably for altruism, self-sacrifice, and devotion to their work, with any body of Christians anywhere, and will far out-rank in all essential qualities the *corps* of employees in an average charitable or corrective institution. It is one thing to devise a social scheme; it is quite another to carry it out sympathetically and wisely. The Salvation Army plan has a decided advantage in the character of its managers and their subordinates. (3) The city colony embodies the theory of self-help carried to its furthest limit, and discountenances indiscriminate alms-giving and all directly pauperizing influences. In this respect it is in perfect harmony with the best modern social theories. (4) The industrial department of the scheme is generally strengthened by the fact of the compact centralized management of all the coöperating institutions whose needs create a certain real and

not artificial demand for work. The economic advantages of a "trust" are in a measure secured. The semi-organic connection with the whole army the world over tends to open a wider market for products.

On the other hand, there are certain considerations which must not be overlooked. (1) It is charged that the publicity and widespread interest attending the establishment of the system attracted large numbers to the metropolis and by so much increased the difficulties of the situation. This, however, ought not to be urged against the system itself. (2) The selling of food below the market price in proportion as it increases in amount cannot fail to affect economic equilibrium. It is a mistake to suppose that such discredit attaches to buying food at the Salvation Army depôts, as would deter fairly well-to-do people from taking advantage of the opportunity to get good food at cost. Moreover, the getting of something for less than it is worth tends in the wrong direction. (3) The paying of higher wages than the market rate—as in the case of match girls—can be carried only to a certain point before it will cause serious complications. Again, a product cannot long find a market or at least a wide one on anything but its own merits however worthy of encouragement they may be who make it. For the reasons suggested too much must not be expected from the social scheme industrially and economically. The estimated annual deficit of £30,000, to be made up by subscription, shows the loss inevitable in any mechanism for treating abnormal social conditions, but it should be remembered that this charity fund is so distributed and concealed in complex industrial operations which have the appearance of self-support, that it loses the dangerous character of direct alms.

To summarize, the city colony scheme seems to merit hearty commendation for its centralization, coöperation, and efforts to stimulate self-help, but approval of the industrial system should be qualified by the observation that economic laws may produce unexpected and questionable results.

GEORGE E. VINCENT.

THE QUESTION OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

BY HON. EDWIN W. JACKSON.

THE government of the United States recently inaugurated a celebration of the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus; a celebration in which "all the nations of the earth" have been invited to participate. We hear much of the achievements of the past; of our wondrous development materially; of the successful working of our New World political institutions. Let us glance at some of the problems and dangers which may affect our future.

The wealthiest nation in the world, with a vast continent holding in its bosom natural resources beyond measure; with the finest admixture of races in the world; "the heirs of all the ages, in the foremost files of time," our possibilities are well nigh infinite; our responsibilities are very great.

The problems which confront us are those common to the whole civilized world; but with our people, accustomed to self-government in political affairs, and impatient of oppression, it is strongly probable that these problems will compel thorough consideration from us in advance of other nations. Prof. DeLaveleye, an eminent French publicist, says that each century since the Renaissance has been characterized in the main by one powerful impulse. "In the sixteenth century religious reform was uppermost in men's minds; in the seventeenth, moral philosophy engaged their thoughts; in the eighteenth politics and natural political rights were the absorbing topics, and in the nineteenth, political economy and the amelioration of the lot of the greater number are the questions of great importance."

It is a happy thing to be able to say that the question of the civil or political equality of men is substantially settled. That question made fearful inquisition of blood in our own land; but

it is now at rest forever. England is in many respects even now more democratic than America; and throughout Europe the political rights of man are being asserted and more and more largely conceded. What of the other question, the question of the nineteenth century?

Mr. Gladstone, the British premier, who weighs words carefully, estimates that the amount of wealth that could be handed down to posterity produced during the first eighteen hundred years of the Christian era was equaled by the production of the first fifty years of this century; and that an equal amount was again produced in the twenty years from 1850 to 1870. He also estimates that manufacturing power is doubled by the aid of machinery once in seven years. Facts within the range of every eye confirm this judgment. In scientific discoveries and mechanical inventions, in simple and cheap processes for the production of wealth, this century is the wonder of all time. In daily business routine we do things that no genii ever accomplished; that no dreamer of dreams in any other age ever conceived. But wealth is yearly becoming more and more unequally distributed. If the great Genoese navigator, ay! if some one born within two hundred years after Columbus was laid in his grave, had been gifted with prophetic vision, and had seen how absolutely the means of satisfying human wants were at the service of man in this year 1893, he would have assumed as beyond question that a case of sound health and unavoidable poverty could not exist.

Why is it, then, that in our land pauperism, insanity, and suicide are increasing? Has the decadence of our race begun? Why is it that within a few months, in three states the military power has been called to protect capital from apprehended violence on the part of labor? Why is it that in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania, for the first time in more than a hundred years there are men under indictment for treason, the alleged acts of treason growing out of a controversy between employer and employee?

Cardinal Gibbons, the highest functionary in this land of the church in which Columbus was so devout a communicant, wrote

recently : "If we may believe those who stand upon the watch-towers and scan the signs of the times, a tempest of war to which all former wars were holiday tournaments looms big upon the horizon and threatens to overwhelm the world in horrors. Wealth and poverty, they say, stand more and more apart and glare across the widening chasm more fiercely. . . . How imminent the struggle may be no man can affirm precisely, but signs there are which may well fill us with disquiet."

The Episcopal Address, signed by all the bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, presented to the General Conference of that body in the city of Omaha in May of last year, declares : "The rapid accumulation of enormous wealth in the hands of a few successful speculators ; the tendency to concentrate in a limited class of not always the most worthy, the grinding and soulless arrogance of monopolies, working impoverishment to the masses and extreme inequalities among the people without respect of merit, are not only producing dangerous and widespread discontent, but are exciting hate and arousing tendencies which will be more and more difficult to repress, and which if not arrested will breed riot and revolution. There is danger to the social and civil fabric."

There is not a thinker of note in the world whose mind is not filled with the forebodings voiced by Roman cardinal and Methodist bishops in such vehement eloquence. *This* is the question of the nineteenth century. Wealth accumulates, as Mr. Gladstone says. Nay, more ; the political economist can take the microscope and the multiplication table and demonstrate that in many occupations wages are rising somewhat, that things necessary to subsistence have been and are falling in price. But man is never satisfied ; this trait marks the boundary line between him and the brutes. He is never content with his condition when he sees that it can be made better. To this we owe all the progress that has been accomplished. And while it may be admitted that wages in many occupations are rising somewhat, there is another fact, a hard, cold fact, supremely characteristic of the present civilization, more important than this ; to wit : that the ratio of the wages of the laborer to the

value of his product—the true measure of wages—is falling and falling rapidly. The truth is that while we are binding all the forces of nature to our service, and wealth is accumulating almost beyond conception, we have contrived, practically, nothing to secure its equitable distribution. It was the boast of slavery that it differentiated the white population of the South into social classes; that it bred a landed aristocracy. Yet slavery never produced so much as a half dozen millionaires—never a man having so much as three million dollars. When slavery existed a millionaire, North or South, was a man of national notoriety. Slavery has gone; millionaires jostle each other in our commercial centers; and lo! the shadow of the coming billionaire is upon us. Within the last quarter of a century the American people have been separated into classes by sharply defined lines. The “widening chasm” between wealth and poverty noted by Cardinal Gibbons has made its appearance since the War of the Rebellion closed.

Thomas G. Shearman, a statistician of acknowledged high standing, estimates that it is altogether probable that one third of the wealth of this whole country is now owned by one one-hundredth part of the adult population. Manufacturing enterprises can be conducted economically only by ever-growing aggregations of capital. Some law of gravitation is sucking with resistless force the helpless and dependent classes into the great cities. And there is bitter irony in the fact that more and more of the toilsome vocations of life are opening to women. The elevation of woman is the glory of Christianity. Will our homes long remain Christian when the day comes that she is driven to take her place beside man as a bread-winner? And we are passing laws everywhere to prohibit child labor! The half-heard cry of suffering womanhood and the wail of neglected childhood goes up in our great cities constantly. This in the wealthiest country of the world! This among a people who confess the name of Him who gave us the Golden Rule as summing the law and the prophets; who commanded us to pray, “Thy Kingdom come—on earth!” When He was upon the earth the divine alto of children’s voices rang through the

temple shouting Hosanna! to their King and Lord ; no woman ever looked upon His blessed face and failed to trust Him fully ; "the common people heard Him gladly." Is it quite certain that these are the classes with which the church ministering in His name is now in closest touch ?

These conditions cannot and will not continue. That they present graver questions than have confronted us in the past is certain ; and unsettled questions are merciless.

In what will they issue ? In socialism or individualism in the state ? We must respect the iron logic of the socialist ; for he takes as his premises orthodox doctrines : the Malthusian law of population, and the iron law of wages, and runs them out to their logical conclusion. We cannot dismiss as a phantasy the prophecy that state socialism is inevitable ; and that the only question is whether it shall come in peace or "shod with fire" ; for the present trend of things is toward socialism. The legislation of to-day in this country, in European countries, dealing with the economic question, is, so far as it is anything, socialistic. Nevertheless, if the writer is firmly convinced of any matter, it is that socialism, with its military plan of industrial organization, is a fallacy. Governmental restrictions should be lessened, not multiplied ; we need liberty rather than regulation ; we need justice instead of paternalism. The coming state will not be socialistic.

What then will be the solution ?

This is a Christian nation ; so recognized and pronounced by the highest judicial tribunal of the land. We know that the Christian Church could not live but for the recognition of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. In the court of last resort the moral sense is supreme ; the question, "Will it pay ?" must yield finally to the question, "Is it just ?" The eye of faith already sweeps a horizon tinted with the light of a coming day ; and the heart of faith anticipates the coming of the kingdom in the fullness of the time of Him who "shall not fail nor be discouraged, till He have set judgment in the earth."

Some day we will recognize two things heretofore almost utterly ignored by all classes :

First—That every man has the right to the full measure of all that he produces ; and

Second—That all men have equal right of access to natural opportunities ; to what God created and man cannot produce.

These correlative truths cannot be longer ignored, and when they are accepted as living things the dream of Columbus will be realized. This new world will yield richly to the blessing of mankind and to the glory of God. In the language of one potent in influencing thought : "The law of human progress, what is it but the moral law! . . . Political economy and social science cannot teach any lessons that are not embraced in the simple truths that were taught to poor fishermen and Jewish peasants by One who eighteen hundred years ago was crucified."

E. W. JACKSON.

SOME FICTIONS IN FINANCE.

BY EDWIN MEAD.

IT IS generally supposed that subjects financial are those most profound and abstruse, and it must be conceded that the usual discussions of questions of finance are largely unintelligible to the average citizen. Whether some of those who pass for financiers more clearly comprehend the financial question, seems somewhat doubtful, when we recall the many blunders of legislators in dealing with the subject.

There may be various reasons for this, but the one great cause of the hazy and nebulous conceptions of matters of finance is the element of myth, of fiction, that almost invariably enters into the discussions of the subject. This is true of the discussion of all economic problems; but especially is it true of those that consider the question of money.

As very few people give any careful thought as to the nature and functions of money, they are unable to discern fiction from truth: to see that such phrases as "basis of money," "intrinsic value," and "standard or measure of value," are financial fictions.

One writer will tell us that gold is the "basis of money"; another, who styles himself a bimetallist, assures us that both gold and silver must be the "basis of money," while still others have written much to prove that some other commodity, as land or farm products or labor, is the only true and natural "basis of money." But what becomes of all such arguments when we consider the simple truth that *money has no commodity basis*. Such "basis of money" is a pure myth. We might as well say that our railway or telegraph systems have a commodity basis. Man wanted to facilitate transportation and communication and he built railroads, invented locomotives, telegraphs, and tele-

phones. He wanted to facilitate exchange of commodities and used some commodity as a medium of exchange and called it money. Later, when social development had made possible a better material condition, and had resulted in establishing a greater confidence in business circles, he found he could more easily and safely accomplish the same purpose—the exchange of commodities—by means of a system of bank credits, such as drafts, checks, bills of exchange, warehouse receipts, etc. And so we find such paper comprising more than ninety per cent. of our present medium of exchange. To serve as such a medium was, no doubt, the first use of money, and it was but a natural consequence to thus become a commodity—a common denominator—for expressing values, not a “standard or measure” of value, as that is another popular fiction usually found, even in the financial writings of most political economists. Such error survives because of the indefinite, if not erroneous, idea of value, that prevails.

In economics, value is “not an *intrinsic* QUALITY but an *extrinsic* RELATION,” and therefore cannot be measured, though it may be expressed. By some fixed standard we measure time, space, or a commodity; but is it not a manifest absurdity to speak of measuring value, which is the relation between different commodities, resulting from their exchange? Without trade, economic value would never have existed. It was only when man began to exchange service or commodities that value, or price, could exist; and so when money came into use as a medium of exchange it soon became the common denominator for the expression of value.

Without the use of money we would have to say a certain amount of wheat was worth a certain amount of dry goods; or a day's labor was worth a certain amount of groceries; using money to express value we state the value of all service and commodities in \$'s or other money terms. So money does not measure value, but is used to express how much of one thing shall be exchanged for another; and since bills of credit have come to be by far the greater part of our medium of exchange, the *expression of value* has now become the *chief function*

of money. To appreciate how insignificant a part is now played by money in our modern world of business we need but note the statement of the president of the First National Bank of Chicago. In a recent lecture on banking, he stated "that in the daily transactions of the First National, but five per cent was in cash ; that the business of a modern bank was not so much the transferring of money as the transferring of credits." To illustrate : A man wishing to borrow \$20,000 applies to the bank and deposits with it satisfactory security. He is given not \$20,000 in cash, but that amount is placed to his credit, against which he issues his checks, and these checks, though calling for cash, are more likely to be credited to other accounts than to be cashed.

It is of the utmost importance that we understand this fact, that the bulk of the business of to-day is carried on without using money—except for denoting value—but by means of a system of bank credits as a medium of exchange, and that, therefore, the principal function of money is to *express value*, if we are to have a rational conception of the money question. To ignore such facts and to confuse the economic meaning with the ordinary meaning of terms, is almost certain to lead to false conclusions.

In view of many painful experiments of mankind with a depreciated currency—notably those of France, of the Argentine Republic, of our own country during the colonial period, and more recently during and after the Civil War—it should need no argument to prove the disastrous consequence of such financiering. The business world has learned by bitter experience the importance of having only one kind of money—of *having every dollar exchangeable, at par, with every other dollar*. No one can be more interested in maintaining such condition than the wage-earners, as they lose relatively more than the wealthy by a depreciated currency—by having two kinds of money—and they cannot afford to sustain even small losses. Furthermore, owners of wealth can take precautions against loss and the toilers cannot. So we see to-day the significant action of capitalists in stipulating, when making long term contracts

or leases, that payments shall be made on a gold basis. Without doubt, such action is largely the result of the present popular demand for free coinage of silver, with its absurd talk of "gold kings or gold bugs" and "honest money." No class of people has a monopoly of gold. Anyone with property or service to offer can easily obtain it. Those without either will find it just as difficult to obtain silver as gold. The owners of silver mines show no disposition to dispose of silver without receiving something in exchange, and are even willing that the country at large should suffer financially if only they may get an artificially high price for their product. As to the inept term "honest money," it is quite evident that honesty is a quality that pertains to man and not to money. One kind of money is as honest as another; but the man who desires to pay his obligations in money of less purchasing power than that under which such obligations were assumed, is hardly honest, and it has yet to be shown how else any one can be a gainer by having two sorts of money in circulation; or rather, by having a poorer instead of a better currency, as inferior money always banishes better money from circulation.

When we appreciate the import of existing conditions in the financial world, we see the absurdity of the popular cry for "more money"—"for an immediate increase in the volume of money to \$50 per capita," or for "money enough to transact the business of the country on a cash basis." Such demands can come only from those who have yet to understand that modern business exchanges are made by a system of credits, instead of money; that it would require not twice the present volume of money, but nearly twenty times that amount to transact the business of to-day in cash. The foolishness of such demands is akin to that for the free coinage of silver when advocated "not as something new but as only a return to the policy that prevailed previous to 1873." If we should ask these advocates of old and discarded things to return to the methods of transportation or communication that did service fifty or one hundred years ago, they probably would consider such request as a jest; yet they fail to see the humor of their demands, which ask us to

transact the great financial business of to-day with the facilities of a primitive past.

If the above definition of value be correct, we see that the phrase "intrinsic value" is entirely out of place in economics—is another financial fiction.

To speak of gold as especially fitted for use as money because of its "intrinsic value," is to confound intrinsic or inherent worth with economic value; two quite different things. Gold, like all other commodities, has a certain intrinsic value, but that has nothing to do with its commercial or exchange value. The intrinsic value of an ounce of bread is far above an ounce of silver, gold, or diamonds, yet its exchange value is as nothing when compared with such articles.

An authority on legal terms defines "intrinsic value" as, "the true, inherent and essential value of a thing; not depending on accident, place, or person; the same everywhere and to everyone." Surely this has nothing in common with the ever changing value caused by exchange. Is it not most essential that we avoid all such confusing of the meaning of words; that we discard all such fictions; in short, that we leave the world of myth, and enter the world of truth, following wherever the light may lead?

A few words more on the silver question may not be amiss, now that the money question involves the question of the position of silver.

There may be good arguments for favoring the free coinage of silver, but they are not those that ignore the fact that the chief function of money to-day is to express value, and not to serve as a medium of exchange. The necessity for more money will neither justify the free coinage of silver nor the present immense purchases of silver bullion by the government. If it had been made unlawful to use anything but money as a medium of exchange, there might be some reason for demanding "more money" and for complaining of the "monopoly of money." But as business transactions use less and less money, as the system of bank credits is extended, whence comes the great necessity for more money? Free coinage, no doubt,

would give us *more* money, as did the Sherman act of 1890 ; but would it give us *better* money ? Has the heavy purchase of silver during the past two years given us better money ? On the contrary, is it not already threatening the soundness of our currency and the stability of values ?

Congressman Bland, the champion of the silver interests in the present House, complains because men of wealth desire the *best* money, namely, one kind of money and money least liable to depreciate in value. Is this a morbid or vicious desire peculiar to rich men ? What reason can any one honestly have for desiring anything else ? Do not we all, especially all of us wage-earners, desire the *best* money ? The interests of the rich and the poor are not always identical, but they are in this instance, for the man who invests the few hundreds of his savings is relatively, if not absolutely, a greater loser by lowering of values than he who can invest his millions. Those with the hard earned savings of years laid by in the bank have more to lose by a disturbance in values than many who can draw their checks in six figures.

As free coinage cannot be justified on the plea of a need of more money, the only remaining consideration is—how will it affect the *value expressing* function of money ? How will it affect credits ? It is quite certain that values will always be expressed in terms of one kind of money, never in more than one. And where two kinds of money are in circulation, one inferior to the other, values will always be expressed in terms of the inferior money. So the question is, Do we want gold or silver in which to express value, or values being now expressed in terms of gold, wherein is the advantage of changing to silver ?

What is the judgment of the commercial world on this matter ? The business of international commerce long since found it convenient to have all values expressed in terms of gold. There must have been some advantage in choosing gold, or else any commodity would have answered as well. In what respect would silver have answered better ?

The inference from the talk of some politicians, that such condition is the result of the action of foreign governments,

especially that of England, is equaled in absurdity only by the inane nonsense about England's attempts to ruin American industries by helping to establish universal free trade. With questions of finance and commerce the government of Great Britain has learned not to interfere, and ours must, sooner or later, learn the same lesson.

Gold was adopted in foreign trade to express value, presumably for certain reasons of advantage to business, and for similar reasons most of the great nations either have adopted or are adopting it for that purpose.

Such has been the progress—the unconscious evolution—in the business world, and for governments to ignore such changes or try to reverse such conditions is as useless as it is senseless.

Our currency is now such that values are expressed in terms of gold dollars, and if reason prevails will continue to be so expressed. In spite of our heavy purchases of silver during the past two years, we are yet able to maintain all currency at par, even though the metallic value of the silver in a silver dollar is now only sixty-three cents; but the only reason that such dollar or its paper representative known as a silver certificate passes at par with gold is because the government will exchange them on demand for gold. If it should cease to thus redeem silver in gold—and it might do so at any time without violating any promise or agreement—silver dollars and silver certificates would at once sink to the market price of silver bullion.

That men of wealth realize the possibility of such a condition in the financial situation—even without free coinage, unless we cease the folly of purchasing large quantities of silver for which we have no use—is evidenced by their stipulating gold payments in making long term leases and contracts; and there is no way of preventing such action without violating the freedom of contract which is the inalienable right of every citizen.

The present policy of the government of maintaining silver at par with gold, together with the fact that it is the silver certificate and not silver itself that is in circulation, discloses the somewhat startling fact that the four hundred millions in silver dollars and bullion might be swept away without changing the

value of the so-called silver notes. If all such silver at present in the treasury vaults was to be dumped into the ocean it would hardly affect the value of the notes which are supposed to be issued on it. Such, however, would not be the case if the plan suggested by the late Secretary of the Treasury, Windom, had been adopted. He proposed to have a five dollar certificate call for five dollars' worth of silver instead of, as at present, for five silver dollars. Such a plan would not interfere with the common denominator of value and would make use of the vast pile of silver in the treasury as a basis of credit. But why the government should continue to purchase the bulk of the country's output of silver, paying for it an artificially high price, except for the invalid purpose of "encouraging a home industry," is most difficult to see. For exactly the same reason it might purchase large amounts of farm products or of manufactured articles, and in so doing would be just as rational as its present action regarding silver.

Is it not true of money, as of everything else, that it is worth just what it will buy and no more? Again, as the value of an equation is not changed when all the terms are multiplied by the same number, how is it possible to gain anything by an increase in the volume of money if its purchasing power is correspondingly decreased? And again, is it not absolutely essential that no agreement to pay a certain number of dollars shall lose a large per cent of its value by making it possible for payments to be made in a depreciated currency? If I, for services rendered, have contracted to receive a stated amount in dollars of a certain purchasing power, shall I be content to receive in payment dollars of only two thirds or possibly one half of such purchasing power? On the other hand, if I have agreed to pay a certain amount in dollars of the present purchasing power, can I honestly make payment in dollars which have decreased one third or one half in value? Underlying all questions of policy is the question of morality, of ethics. Beneath the question, Is it expedient? is the greater question, Is it right?

Such view of the money question does not necessitate a

worshipping of gold, as something sacred and especially designed by Divine Providence for its present use. Neither does it uphold the popular delusion that the holders of gold are greatly advantaged, while all others are equally disadvantaged by gold being used as the sole commodity for expressing value. It is for those who indulge in the cry about "money kings" and "money monopolies" to show how we shall all be benefited by changing the present arrangement or by using some other commodity than gold to express exchange value. Such talk might be excusable if money were the only or even principal medium of exchange, but as it has ceased to be such and is now important chiefly for expressing value, is it not desirable, *above all things*, that the term dollar should mean a certain value; not one amount to-day, a different amount to-morrow, and possibly a still different amount a week hence?

Is it necessary to repeat the experience from 1862 to 1879 in order to emphasize this fact? There is progress in the financial world as well as in other things. We must not overlook the fact that the present condition of gold and silver as regards their relation to money was not attained by royal decrees, or the legislation of government (but largely in spite of legislation), or any international agreement; but is the result of a natural evolution to meet the demands of new conditions in human affairs. During the course of such growth of society, all sorts of things have served their time as money; shells, tobacco, grain, iron, copper, silver, gold, and finally bills of credit. We may help or hinder, to some extent, such social progress, but we can no more reverse it than we can reverse the motions of the earth.

As there is an order of growth in the life of a tree or a man, or a solar system, so there is an order of development in the life of society. Social development is just as natural as physical development, and the one goes on according to the same unchangeable laws as does the other. Growth in either case may be suspended with the certain result of decay and death; but if development is to continue it must be according to the natural order; it cannot proceed contrary to the laws of nature.

EDWIN MEAD.

A SUBSTITUTE FOR THE LIQUOR LICENSE SYSTEM.

BY LINTON SATTERTHWAIT, ESQ.

THE prohibition wave which recently threatened to sweep over a large part of our country has receded, and the advocates of heroic treatment for the liquor evil now find themselves drifting on an ebbing tide. But the drink evil remains in all its hideous proportions, and men who think at all are forced to consider what may best be done to lessen the ill effects of men's propensity to "transform themselves into beasts." Conceding that constitutional or statutory prohibition were desirable, the most enthusiastic believer in that remedy must, if his vision be clear, admit that for the present and for an indefinite time to come it is unattainable. We are compelled, therefore, whether we will or not, to choose between methods now in force and other methods which will stop short of prohibition. The necessity for that choice cannot be escaped by impassioned tirades on the iniquities of selling liquor. Action or inaction, as the case may be, will determine our choice. If, in the present condition of public sentiment, that form of license which prevails where prohibitory laws do not exist promises the best results, nothing need now be done looking toward a better system. If, on the other hand, one does not believe the license system the best attainable method of dealing with the liquor traffic, then it becomes one's duty to weigh any scheme possible under existing conditions of public sentiment, which gives promise of even partial relief from the evils of the trade in intoxicants. Such a scheme must embrace, substantially, the good features of the license system, and must at the same time avoid the abuses of that system. It must give relief not only from evils of the liquor traffic, but also from evils of the system of licensing that traffic. A plan will be here suggested which it is thought will meet this test.

It is assumed that the license systems in force in the various states do not differ materially in their essential features. Apart from the discretionary power of the licensing officials, the characteristic effects of all license laws must be the restriction in numbers, either by force of the license fee or tax, or by reason of the refusal of license by the officials in their discretion, or by both these causes combined, and the right of the citizen through remonstrance to prevent the locating of a saloon too near his dwelling or place of business in certain cases, the effectiveness of such remonstrance depending upon the faithful exercise of their discretionary power by the officials. Whatever the varying forms, this, it is believed, is the substance of all license laws. Restriction in numbers and as to place are the two practical and beneficial results secured where license laws are faithfully and successfully enforced. While the sifting of the character of applicants may be included in the duties and powers of the officials, that function practically is disregarded. The moral character of those applying for saloon licenses is not likely to be of an exalted kind, and licenses are not likely to be refused on that ground. Proved violations of law may become a bar to granting of license, but in such a case, as in other instances of legal punishments, it is the overt act, not the proneness to that act, which incurs the penalty. Character test, in granting license, is a myth. If, therefore, we can secure the restriction in numbers and the restriction as to place by some other method, we shall lose nothing, so far, by abandoning the license system. But the discretionary power of the licensing officials! How shall we dispense with that? Can we let go that protection to the community which is afforded by the official's power to refuse a license when in his judgment to grant it would be detrimental to the public good? While in theory this discretionary power is the strong point of the license system, in practice it is the one conspicuously weak feature. General experience will bear out this statement. Isolated cases, in favored localities, may furnish exceptions, but the rule will no doubt prove to be as here claimed. The discretion too often is not exercised at all, and still oftener is exercised against the public weal. Indeed, a

law whose successful operation depends upon the exercise of intelligent discretion is the most difficult to enforce. That form of law demands such a high degree of personal integrity that it should be avoided wherever possible. The average of officials selected under our democratic system will not measure up to such requirements. In positions comparatively few and conspicuously elevated, like the judiciary, we may hope to secure the grade of officials fit to be trusted with the discretion necessary for such trusts. But speaking generally, it is hard to secure an intelligent discretionary discharge of duty when perfunctory performance will complete the round of official tasks and will secure the emoluments of office as well. Hence the general failure of licensing boards to confine their grants of licenses to persons "of good repute for honesty and temperance," and to houses which will not be "kept for the encouragement of gaming, tippling, drunkenness, and other vices." Practically, the discretionary feature is a failure. Officials can technically apply the test without making it an actual test at all. We would, therefore, save possibly in a few exceptional localities, lose little if we should discard this system for a law whose provisions should be such that its successful working would not depend wholly or chiefly upon the personal character or degree of civilizing culture, of those whose duty it should be to enforce it—a law so nearly self-enforcing that they whose salaries should depend upon its ostensible execution could not, even thus formally, enforce it without accomplishing the end for which it was enacted. Such is the ideal law and such a law is possible in this case. The aim should be so to frame its provisions that it must of necessity become either positively a dead letter or an efficient living statute. There must be no middle ground for lax execution.

The Gothenburg system will not here be considered, for while its excellencies will be freely admitted, it secures for its success a degree of coöperation of philanthropic people in public affairs not yet to be found in the average American community. That system probably would do for some communities, and wherever desired should, by a sort of local option be given a trial.

The inquiry here is for a system which will serve generally for average communities until we shall have arrived at such development in public spirit or public sentiment as to warrant the application of the Gothenburg system or of prohibition. We must seek to be spared the evil effects of the license system, while retaining its beneficent features. And this is the plan proposed :

First, place as much restriction around the sale of liquor as may be thought advisable, or as will be sustained by local sentiment. Then throw open the business, within the limits of those restrictions, to every citizen, without any favoritism, thus abolishing license courts, excise boards, and the entire license system. Thus we should be freed at once and forever of the corrupting influence in our local politics of the efforts of saloon keepers to make themselves "solid" with the licensing boards. By this measure we should at a single stroke go far towards relieving municipal politics of one of its most corrupting, most debasing elements. For the necessity of securing license, with the possibility, nay, the probability, that that license may be granted or withheld by the will or caprice of corrupted members of the licensing body, is the inspiring cause of very much of the evils of "saloon politics." Though the saloon keeper would in any event become more or less of a "politician," our license system forces the saloon for self-protection as an institution into politics. The demoralizing influence of the saloon is thus immensely increased by the favoritism of the license system. While our municipal politics seem to be prone to evil as the sparks fly upward, we nevertheless unnecessarily have thrust into them a force which fearfully aggravates the evil. Anything, therefore, which will remove the saloon even partially from politics, will be of incalculable benefit to politics, and ultimately of great detriment to the saloon itself. For while the saloon is a blight on politics, politics is life and thrift to the saloon.

With the scheme so framed as to remove the saloon, as such, from politics, next place a tax analogous to the United States internal revenue liquor tax on the business of liquor selling, so

high that the number of saloons will necessarily be kept down to within reasonable limits. If preferred, this might be done by fixing a minimum, to be increased but not decreased, by local action. Whatever rates "the traffic will bear," in this instance, should be imposed; for liquor selling is the most wasteful and destructive to society, of all occupations, and the business should be compelled to pay liberally to the public treasury by way of partial restitution. The wages of workingmen are absorbed by the saloons, and the workingmen's children are thus deprived of the comforts and advantages essential to their development as useful members of society, while much of the poor relief extended by the community is simply the substitution of the savings of the sober and industrious for the money previously given, with princely generosity, by drinkers to the saloon keepers. Under a system of high license, with the number of saloons restricted by the licensing officials, enormous profits may sometimes be made by fortunate recipients of license, but under the plan here urged that matter would regulate itself. The number of saloons would approximate to the ability to realize profits at the prescribed rate of tax. There would be no monopoly, no favoritism. Favoritism always is a fruitful source of corruption, and is, therefore, always to be shunned. Should the number of saloons appear to be unnecessarily large the rate of tax could be advanced by additional legislation until the numbers should fall to within acceptable limits. In all cases the public would receive its full share of revenue, since the lower the tax the more saloons, and the fewer the saloons the higher the tax. Revenue, however, should not be the object sought, in fact, an intelligent person must admit that it would be desirable to lose the entire revenue, if we could, at the same time, actually be rid of the saloon.

So far as outlined the proposed substitute would preserve the restrictive features of even high license to the extent that the license fee restricts. Nor need this plan fail in other restrictive features of so-called high license laws, notably such as operated in Philadelphia to a great reduction in the number of saloons in that city the first year the Brooks high license law was put in force.

There the licensing power was lodged in the courts, and renewals of license were refused to all who were proved to have violated the law. The success of the Pennsylvania law as applied in Philadelphia was due largely to the fact that the law was administered by the courts, whose judges were accustomed to dispensing law and justice on lines differing widely from those which usually obtain in licensing boards. What these courts might ultimately become should they continue to be the instrument of granting licenses no one can tell. That will depend upon the vigilance of the people in frustrating the efforts of the liquor interest to gain control of the courts, as it generally has secured control of the excise boards of our cities. Success in Philadelphia was due, therefore, to the fearless administration of the law by the courts, not by testing the personal character of applicants, but virtually by punishing infractions of the law. Inflicting penalties for violations of law is peculiarly the functions of courts, and in nowise properly belongs to excise boards. There is no necessity for turning a court into an excise board in order to bring violaters of liquor laws before it. Breaches of the restrictive and regulative provisions of the law as here proposed could just as easily and with much more propriety be referred to the court, which should have power on conviction before it to disqualify the offender from carrying on the business thereafter. Subsequent disobedience could be provided for as in the case of ordinary law-breakers. There being no favoritism, the law-defying liquor seller would cease to be a martyr, and he would stand in the estimation of the community alongside other criminals. This scheme would, then, make the business free for all within the prescribed limits, but not free for all without limit.

It will be observed that up to this point nothing has been proposed which might not be included in schemes already tried, as in the state of Ohio, where a few years since, and presumably now, a tax restrictive in its nature was laid upon the liquor trade, but no licenses were granted. But the distinctive feature of the substitute here advocated is the securing to the citizen an effective right of remonstrance. That right the license systems theo-

retically give him, but, practically, too often deny him. His appeals generally fall on deaf ears, are addressed to prejudiced or purchased men. The right of remonstrance must not depend upon accident or caprice, if it is to be recognized at all. It must be certain and effective. To secure to the citizen, therefore, this right so imperfectly guaranteed under the license system, let every man who shall intend opening a drinking place where none shall exist prior to the enactment of the law be compelled publicly to advertise such intention for a given time, or better still, to serve a written notice, say one month in advance of his proposed opening, on every owner of real estate or his agent in charge of the same, or on the president or secretary or other similar officer, of every corporate body or association owning real estate within a certain distance upon the same street or highway of the building in which it is proposed to establish a drinking place—say one hundred yards in cities and boroughs and say two thousand or twenty-five hundred feet outside corporate limits. This notice would apprise every owner of real estate within the limits fixed by statute that a saloon is to be located near his residence or place of business unless he shall act. Provide further that if any one of the owners of real estate situated within the limits prescribed shall within the prescribed time file with the designated officer, as the city or county clerk, a declaration of his objection to the opening of the proposed saloon, which declaration should be duly verified as to ownership, and acknowledged, it shall not be lawful to conduct a saloon at the place proposed unless the objector shall himself be a saloon keeper, in which case his objection shall not prevail. This last provision would prevent monopoly and favoritism—a thing carefully to be guarded against if we would not invite corruption. This right of objection and consequent prevention on the part of the citizen would not only preserve all that a license system could do by way of remonstrance, but would be far superior, since it leaves nothing to the whim or even discretion of the official. It is, as it should be, an unqualified veto. If the citizen who owns real estate does not want a saloon near him he need not have it. His protection is in his own hands, where it

belongs. His remonstrance is self-effective. The law is self-enforcing. Personal integrity, or lack of it, in officials, matters not. Political "pull" will be unavailing. The only way to circumvent the objecting citizen would be to buy him out. To this there could be no objection. Nor is there anything unjust in this restriction. The right to carry on the liquor business, like the right to store gunpowder or dynamite, must be subordinated to the rights of those whose property would be injured or endangered by the unrestrained exercise of the rights referred to.

Advocates of the Gothenburg system urge a still harsher treatment of the liquor "merchant," for they propose to close him out entirely by making liquor selling a municipal monopoly. This proposed citizen's veto is mild in comparison. A peaceful, law-abiding citizen, possessing a home—the fruits of his labors—has a right to protection from having placed next to him that which would impair the value of his property and disturb the peace and quiet of his home. In the very nature of things his rights and the rights of the would-be saloon keeper cannot be placed on an equal footing. The owner of the home and the man engaged in productive business is an upholding, an up-building unit in society. The saloon keeper is at his best a negative quantity in society, at his average is a drag, and at his worst is one of society's most insidious and destructive foes. Where, therefore, the interests of the business man or of the home owner conflict with the interests of the prospective saloon keeper, the business man or the home owner must have the right of way. No other conclusion would be consistent with human progress or consonant with justice. Under the license system as actually enforced in some of our cities, a citizen may virtually be deprived of part of his property values without compensation. Practically, private property is taken by public authority for private purposes—a proceeding forbidden, if done openly, by the fundamental law. The result of this restriction as to place would probably be that the saloons would be driven by a sort of process of natural selection into certain quarters, as in St. Paul they have been so driven by design. Or, if the saloon

keeper would locate where saloons do not abound, he would be compelled to secure control of property within the established limits, and one capable of doing this might ordinarily be expected to be a man of more substantial character than the average saloon keeper of to-day. Reference has been made only to owners of real estate. Occupiers as tenants are not considered, though perhaps they should have like power with owners until the expiration of leases which might be in force at the enactment of the law. If they are of the class to object to the proximity of a saloon, they may remove from the neighborhood, and doubtless the self-interest of the landlord would cause him to be vigilant where he should have a tenant likely to object to saloons. Not to make the law too harsh, the right of objection should be confined to ownership or its equivalent.

Such a law would be juster were it also to confer the right of objection on the wife of an owner, living with him, since for the purposes of the act she would be as much a head of the family as he. But public sentiment probably would not yet go so far. Save in exceptionally progressive communities, women must yet continue, in the eyes of the law, to be represented by their husbands.

Another consideration is the probable fact that convictions for violations of the regulative features of liquor laws could much more readily be secured if the business of liquor selling were free to all without favor, under prescribed limits applying to every one alike. It is not difficult to convict violators of the United States liquor laws which impose a tax for revenue indiscriminately on everyone who sells. Yet juries taken from the same communities often will refuse to convict violators of the liquor license laws, even when the evidence is overwhelming. Why this difference? A possible explanation is that the offender against the national law commands no sympathy, because he has sought a personal advantage by evasion of a law which bore no more heavily on him than on others in the same business who, as law-abiding citizens, observe its provisions, while he who evades the provisions of the license law is sought to be punished for doing that which another is permitted to do,

because of the often accidental circumstance of having license. There is an element in the community which looks upon such distinctions as unjust, and which not infrequently prevents the enforcement of the law which embodies them.

This then, is the proposed substitute for the license system. To retain all the restriction in numbers that license can secure, by a tax levied under the police power of the state ; to throw around the traffic all the safeguards that may be practicable and to send those guilty of breaches of the law before the courts for punishment ; to guarantee to the unwilling citizen perfect immunity from a saloon at his very door ; and, perhaps, the most important of all, to take the saloon, as an institution, out of municipal politics by abolishing all license boards. When the very existence of the saloon keeper's business shall no longer hang on the turn of the municipal election, we may begin to address our efforts to the problem of reform in city governments with some hope of success.

A fraction of the energy which has been expended in several states in vain efforts to engraft prohibition on the organic law would secure the adoption of such a law as is above suggested. It is merely sketched in outline. Details may be filled in to suit local surroundings. But it is seriously submitted that the plan here advocated would be a vast improvement upon the system of license laws, the most captivating provisions of which have almost without exception, proved illusory.

LINTON SATTERTHWAIT.

CURRENCY REFORM.

BY WILLIAM KNAPP, OF THE DENVER BAR.

ONE of the live questions to come before the next Congress, from present indications, will be the readjustment of the currency, which must necessarily be attended to in the near future. It is a matter for which we are all to be most thankful, that a good portion of the bonded indebtedness of the government will mature in a few years, leaving no support for a banking system of currency founded upon this indebtedness; and, as a near necessity, intended to be temporary.

To create a further national debt for the purpose of perpetuating that or any other plan of banking upon which to base a currency or to use municipal or coöperate bonds for that purpose, would meet with the just indignation of the masses of the people, and render any such scheme most unpopular.

A correct settlement of the question becomes more difficult because of the radical differences of the opinions between the respective friends of the debtor and creditor classes, as to what shall be the monetary standard of values in the future. A second attempt will doubtless be made to secure the unconditional repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase act of 1890, which so signally failed during the closing days of the last Congress; and this will indirectly involve a most vital economic question, and one in which all of our people are very deeply interested either as debtors or creditors—that of a just monetary standard of values in our currency system.

There is a manifest intention shown in some quarters in the effort to stop silver purchases, to absolutely eliminate silver from our currency except in the form of subsidiary coin. In view of this fact I will call attention to the attitude of the two old parties and also of Congress on this subject. The party in

power was successful upon a platform favoring the repeal of the Silver Purchase act ; the use of both gold and silver as the standard money of the country, under such safeguards of legislation as shall insure the maintenance of the parity of the two metals ; and the repeal of the tax of ten per cent imposed by Congress, March 3, 1865, on state bank circulating notes. The defeated party also declared in its platform that the American people favor *bimetallism*, and demand the use of both gold and silver as standard money, with such restrictions as will secure the maintenance of the parity of values of the two metals. Is not the coincidence of an apparent friendliness to the cause of the white metal most remarkable, as made in these official party utterances ? But we all know what they are for—to secure votes. And more than this : Section two of the Silver Purchase act itself declares, “that it is the established policy of the United States to maintain the two metals on a parity with each other upon the present legal ratio, or such ratio as may be provided by law.” The friends of silver demand that the executive and legislative branches of the government provide for, and enforce these principles, at least as far as they go.

While these sentiments do not clearly indicate whether the coinage of the two metals shall be *free* and *unlimited* by the people, or in limited amounts by the government, they do infer at least the use of silver in some form as money above the character of subsidiary coin, and may be considered a progressive step towards the final adoption of the double standard. The language used can have but one meaning. By the terms “standard money,” “bimetallism,” and “parity of values,” must be understood the *unrestricted* right of the people, *not the government*, to take their gold and silver to the mints for coinage into money at a parity maintained at the ratio of sixteen ounces of gold to one ounce of silver, as fixed in the United States by law in 1834 ; and we understand this to be the free and unlimited coinage of silver equal with gold *by the people*, as distinguished from the limited coinage by the government, as under the Bland law of 1878.

While Congress has always been very friendly to silver in the

interests of the people, the friends of the single gold standard have managed to manipulate conventions and secure an unfriendly executive ; so that a free coinage measure, if passed by Congress, could not go through the portals of the White House and return approved. It was for this reason that during the almost superhuman effort made last winter to secure repeal, Congress did not, and will not in the future, risk the executive approval of satisfactory substitute legislation for silver, if the Sherman act should be unconditionally repealed. It was apparent that no outgoing or incoming administrations ever acted more in unison on any great public question, or were more mortified at defeat. The effort was a winning or a losing one, and it lost. The lobbies of Congress were continually graced with the presence of noted characters ; the tables of Congress were loaded down with immense petitions from chambers of commerce, monied institutions, and representatives of vast financial interests ; the strong arm of patronage was invoked under the flush of a great victory ; the cabinet was constructed ; the incoming Congress was sounded through the national committee with a view of calling an early extra session of Congress to repeal the obnoxious Silver Purchase act, that the gold standard enemies of silver may dictate the future banking and silver policy of the country. There is a most significant object lesson in the fact that when it was settled that silver purchases must go on until free coinage of silver comes, the unusual exports of gold immediately closed, and gold did not go to a premium. Here is a pointer : The European gold standard countries, from a reflex influence of the Brussels conference, did not deceive Congress into a repeal of the Silver Purchase law. Congress is impregnable.

It is evident that since the formation of the finance committee of the United States Senate, the belief has prevailed at Washington that silver purchases must continue until some measure satisfactory to the silver sentiment of the country is at least proposed, if not passed ; and it remains to be discovered what device, if any, will be proposed which will degrade silver and still continue its enlarged use in our monetary system. This

much has been recently disclosed : The repeal of the Sherman Purchase act, and the tax of ten per cent imposed in 1865 on state bank issues, will be recommended. This will revive the old state bank system, with power to issue demand notes to be secured, as under the national system, by the deposit of state, municipal, or railroad bonds with the treasurer as trustee for their ultimate redemption ; also to continue the present national plan in a greatly modified and restricted form, and all to be under the general supervision of the general government.

But the inference is justifiable that whatever recommendations may emanate from the executive branch of the government, the aim will be to perpetuate the single gold unit or standard of value in our currency, with the use of silver as token money only. All will admit it to be of the utmost importance that any changes in our currency should be with a view to the interests of our own people, as a whole, and not of any particular class. The position assumed in this article is that a currency based on the single gold standard, and subject to the conditions of the old world wants and necessities, and monopolized by the monetary institutions of our own and other countries, is wholly insufficient for the requirements of the great majority of our rapidly increasing and progressive people.

When the currency is changed it should be reformed upon liberal and intelligent lines. It should be made more uniform, elastic, sufficient, free, sound, and stable, and withal more just and popular. This should be done in two respects : First, in the monetary standard—its basal support ; second, in the abolition of the issue of circulating notes by banks, and the prevention of the use of the currency in any manner so as to harmfully contract its volume.

Before attempting to show some of the advantages of a double standard as a basis of our currency system, it may be well to call attention to a simple and well-known rule showing the principle upon which a monetary standard of values is formulated, to better show the effect of the rise of the actual value of the single standard metal (gold) above its standard or coinage value, on the value of all domestic commodities, and

others not otherwise affected, and also upon their production.

It must be remembered that gold and silver, always precious metals and best suited for money, are commodities like all articles of common barter and sale. It is an old rule in reference to which it is only necessary to refresh the recollection, that the monetary unit of values, by which all dealings between individuals are measured, is determined by securing the aggregate value of the principal domestic commodities most suitable for the purpose, for a long period of years, and divide this aggregate sum by the number of those commodities, and that the quotient will be their average value. This average is made the unchangeable legal standard by which all values are measured, while the actual value of commodities is continually undergoing fluctuations, from one cause or another. The object of such a rule is to get a standard which will remain for a long period of time as near the actual value of commodities as possible, without unduly enhancing or depressing prices.

The first reason to be given for a double standard, while not new, is nevertheless a most conclusive one, and should always be kept in the front; that gold is too dear in actual value, and therefore depresses prices to the extent that it rises above the standard. It is estimated from good authority that for thirty years gold has appreciated and is appreciating on an average of one per cent a year above its fixed standard value. In 1834 the United States established the coinage value of gold to be 25.8 grains in a dollar; 25.2 grains fine gold. The ratio between gold and silver was fixed within a slight fraction of sixteen grains of silver to one grain of gold.

By continuing the single standard as fixed in 1834, when gold was very much cheaper as a commodity, the value of all commodities, not artificially affected, has been depressed below that standard by the great rise in gold above it, in the same proportion that gold has appreciated above the standard; and silver has been forced down in price from this cause to about 83 cents, an average of 87.05 cents during the past year. That the price of silver has fallen below, as gold has risen above the standard, in actual value, is not questioned by those well informed on the

subject. Tables of the average prices of the principal commodities in the New York market, compared with the average prices for a half century before, as given in a report of the director general of the mint several years since, clearly establish the fact ; which is also confirmed by the report of the royal commission made in December, 1886.

The law which creates and maintains value is use, and an enlarged use causes an increased demand. An artificial or auction price would result from an increased production of an article, without a corresponding demand for its use. A forced or speculative demand would be no index of the actual and normal price of a commodity. The price of silver, like all other articles of commerce, is controlled by the demand for its use. The annual supply of silver has not and does not exceed the demand. The increased world's production of silver and gold, as reported by the director general of the mint, has nearly kept pace with each other for the past twenty years—that of gold being about \$30,000,000, and of silver, \$100,000,000 a year, at its coinage value. The increased world's production of the white metal during the last calendar year was much less than formerly—being only 7,650,000 ounces. Another fact in this connection is, that for several hundred years before the increased production of gold incident upon its discovery in California, the silver product averaged twice that of gold, and from that time until the demonetization of silver in 1873, the gold product was several times that of silver ; and during all these hundreds of years the bimetallic standard was maintained at the same ratio.

The friends of the single standard assert that the low price of silver is due to the diminished cost of production of the past five years ; and the statement has been made that it costs only thirty cents to mine an ounce of silver, when it is clearly established by the report of a committee of the United States Senators on that subject, that it costs at least \$1.30 an ounce. Anyone would be convinced of this fact who had ever been engaged in silver mining or had expended money in that business.

The statement is also made that the decline in the price of silver is caused by the increased production as well as by the

diminished cost. If this is true, how is it that within a few months after the increased demand of 25,000,000 ounces of silver annually, under the Silver Purchase act of 1890, silver rose to \$1.21 an ounce, and under the same continuing demand, unaffected by other causes, it sank back to 83 cents, its price ten years before, when the world's production was over \$44,000,000 less, when reckoned at its average commercial value, without an over-supply. The only explanation is that silver is not bi-standard with gold, and the dearness of gold drives silver down in the same proportion with all other articles, as gold appreciates above the standard. The apparent object of gold standard financiers, as confirmed by recent events, was to cause a run for our gold, and by depressing the price of silver if possible induce a repeal of the Sherman Silver act. But silver still remains a precious metal, and its cost of production remains about the same as for former years.

The average increase of the annual gold production of the world has been so slight, and it has become so precious, that it is a very great injustice to our people to longer maintain that standard, in connection with European countries, under present conditions. The world's production of gold has been subject to great fluctuations during the past twenty years. It was greater, as appears from the last report of the director general of the mint, in 1883 than it was ten years before, and \$24,000,000 greater in 1878 than in 1883. It has not been as large in any year since 1878 by a considerable sum as it was in 1889, when it was several millions larger than in the next succeeding year. The increase of the world's product of gold was only \$12,000,000 during the last calendar year, the total of which was about \$131,000,000.

When it is considered that the arts require an annual consumption of gold amounting to about \$80,000,000, which is increasing rapidly, with a greatly augmented demand for export to Asiatic countries, and the amount lost each year in numerous ways, it must be clear to any who will investigate the subject that the annual supply is not sufficient to meet the yearly demand of our \$30,000,000 new gold, which must come out of

this annual product, needed for coinage purposes. For this reason, and among others because the supply of gold is not sufficient to be made the single standard, it is in transit from one country to another in large quantities much of the time, and while building up the resources of one country greatly weakens those of another. As a result, the aggregate exports of gold from New York for the year ending February 18, 1893, exceeded the imports over \$58,000,000, greatly injuring business here and prolonging the already very serious business depression.

The adoption of the gold standard by the United States in 1873 linked us in an entangling monetary alliance with Europe, a hundred times more disastrous to our industrial affairs than the political alliance, against which President Monroe warned the country in his celebrated message to Congress of December 2, 1823, wherein he counselled us not to suffer the powers of the old world to interfere with the affairs of the new. A few facts will show the truth of this assertion. Of the estimated world's stock of gold money, amounting to about \$3,600,000,000, those effete, pauperized, European countries have about \$1,300,000,000 locked up from use, as an inviolate reserve for military emergencies, and the later run upon us was made more to replenish these war reserves than for other purposes.

We are subjected to another most disastrous reflex result from becoming a gold ally with the single standard countries of Europe. We are forced to pass through a protracted period of severe hard times, which originated with them—not with us. It will be remembered that the continent was recovering from a severe period of hard times, caused by the failure of the Panama Canal company and the French copper syndicate, when an old English house failed in 1890 for \$150,000,000, from reckless speculations in South America. The Bank of England borrowed \$75,000,000, and became the head of a plan to guarantee the creditors of this firm to that amount, which greatly prolonged the liquidation of losses occasioned by that collapse, and gave us a renewed lease of bad times. The exports of gold from the United States to Europe within a few months following amounted to over \$75,000,000 taken out of

our circulation, returning in part the following year, because of crop failures on the continent.

The calls upon the banks of New York became very great because this sum was withdrawn, and the government within a few months, to relieve the stringency, purchased nearly \$100,000,000 United States bonds to meet this outflow of gold. This state of things continued until the recent unexplained run upon the treasury; and the liquidation of losses is still going on, and will doubtless continue under the present system until some large house here or in the old world fails, precipitating another panic before this is over, with like results. Why should not these reckless speculations on a large scale, from which great panics spring, causing ruin and distress to millions of innocent people, be made criminal offenses?

There is no reason why we should have been subjected to a suspension of business enterprise since 1890, except from the extreme folly of being bound in the grasp of the creditors' vise—the single standard. There is an excess of money in European countries, which has been accumulating through many years of extreme economy, and at a very slight cost as compared with the expense here, and which has pauperized over one third of their population. This vast surplus seeks investment here as in all parts of the world where there is any development going on. The annual drain upon us on that score is estimated to be about \$125,000,000. Those who secure money from the old world and are willing to make contracts to pay in gold, do so with the full knowledge that bimetallism is an open question in the United States. The Bland and Sherman acts both look to the ultimate remonetization of silver. The silver sentiment of the country is not on the wane, as will again appear if an attempt is made to stop silver purchases without providing a better substitute. It is well to note that revolutions go forward when in the right. Those who have made contracts under the circumstances to pay in gold, not the only legal tender here, do so at their own peril, and cannot appeal to the people as injured innocents.

The claims that continued silver purchases will drive gold to a premium, is a pure evasion, made to force an unintelligent and

hasty repeal of the law. Silver purchases might go on until the bullion would fill the Capitol, and gold will not go to a premium for that reason. Treasury notes based on this bullion are payable in both silver and gold, and greenbacks can be redeemed in silver. There never has been a time when the government was driven to redeem them in silver, as it is not required to do under the gold standard. The contingency which would send gold to a premium would be such an unforeseen demand as would drive the gold reserves out of the country, because of its scarcity and insufficiency for monetary purposes as a single standard.

If gold should go to a premium, our friends who have taken the risk of binding themselves to pay in gold could well afford to do so, because of the very low rate of interest paid for their money. It would, however, be a just retribution for them to be required to pay their gold contracts at a premium. Under bi-metallism, however, the danger of gold going to a premium would not be so great, because under the consequent lessening demand it would be cheaper. The true American policy should be to develop our own country by the use of our own money; and if it cannot be secured at home, with our great wealth and increasing population, then we had better delay until it can.

The last reason for a double standard given at this time is that by using the two precious metals their respective values will always be more than their coinage or standard value. It will be found that, under an alternating standard, as one becomes dearer or cheaper than the other, the gain of one will be equivalent to the loss of the other, and the total volume of money will at no time be lessened. Gold would not be thirty per cent above, and silver twenty per cent below, the standard in actual value. Justice would then be done between the debtor and creditor classes, and both would receive fair treatment at the hands of the government.

If gold and silver are treated equally in all efforts to remodel the currency, questions of banking, and the character of paper money, not yet considered, would become of much less importance.

WILLIAM KNAPP.

THE NEW SCHOOL OF CRIMINOLOGY.

BY WESTEL W. WILLOUGHBY, PH. D.

“CRIMINALITY, like insanity, waits upon civilization,” says Ellis. Statistics prove the truth of this assertion. There seems to be no doubt but that criminality is upon the increase in the civilized world generally, and in the United States in particular. So startling appears this assertion that credence in its accuracy is with difficulty obtained. In the face of an increasing material prosperity, a rising standard of comfort for the working classes, a widening diffusion of knowledge, an increase in the criminal class seems almost impossible. Statistics unusually trustworthy, however, prove this beyond all cavil or doubt. The testimony of those conversant with penological facts, is almost unanimous upon this point. “Every nation provided with the means of computing such evidence,” says Superintendent Brockway of the Elmira Reformatory, “reports a steady growth of the evil far greater than the corresponding increase in population. The proportionate difference is especially manifest of late years. *It is conceded that within the past two decades, crime has more than doubled.*” Still more startling to us is the fact that it appears that among all the civilized nations of the world, in the United States is to be seen the greatest increase of this evil. Whereas in 1850 the proportion of prisoners in the United States was 290 to each million of the population, the proportion had risen to 833 in 1870, and to 1,169 in 1880, and the census figures for 1890 show a still further increase. In the last decade the number of inmates of penitentiaries, jails, and reformatories increased 45.2 per cent, while the whole population increased but 25.5 per cent, showing thus an increase in crime almost double that of the total population. It is true that the definition of crime, or the strictness with which

the criminal laws of the country are enforced may have changed during this time, but there is no reason to believe that this abnormal increase in crime can be thus wholly explained. In 1890 there were ten thousand more convicts in our prisons than in 1880. In 1850 the proportion of criminals to the total population was 1 to 3,500, and in 1890, 1 to but 786.5, showing an increase of criminals of 445 per cent, as compared with an increase in population of but 170 per cent. Relative statistics show us further that the number of deaths by murder in the United States in proportion to population is more than double that in the most criminal countries of Europe. It is estimated furthermore, that not more than one in sixty of those actually tried for murder in the United States receive legal capital punishment. In 1882 there were 1,467 persons tried for murder, 121 legal executions, and 117 lynchings. In 1892 the number of those tried for murder had risen to 6,791, but from this number but 107 were legally executed, while the number of lynchings was 236. In a recent work dealing with our subject by Mr. Boies, figures are cited to show that in the last decade, taking the state of Pennsylvania as an example, the number of criminals had increased 54.6 per cent faster, and that the cost of county jails in that state had increased four times as fast as the population, and that in 1890 the cost of the penal, reformatory, and charitable institutions of that state was equal to a burden of a bonded debt of nearly two hundred and seventy-five millions of dollars bearing interest at four per cent. Finally, the figures of the last census show us 79,617 inmates of our prisons and reformatories, and this number, based upon the estimate given us by experts that at any one time probably not one third of the total number of criminals are in imprisonment, gives us a total criminal population of nearly 250,000.

The cost to society of crime in all its degrees and phases is enormous, and can be only roughly estimated. To the loss arising from the destruction of life and property by illegal acts is to be added the expenses of preventing, detecting, and punishing crime. It is only this latter item that can be even approximately calculated. In the United States there are fifty

large penitentiaries, with equipment, workshops, etc. There are over 17,000 county jails and numerous police stations and city prisons. It is calculated that \$500,000,000 would be a low estimate of the cost of erection of these institutions. This is all dead capital. Placed at five per cent interest this sum would produce a yearly income of \$25,000,000.

But even this yearly waste sinks into insignificance when compared with the cost of maintaining these institutions, and of our penal systems generally, including the maintaining of courts and police forces. At the last Prison Congress it was stated that the amount of money now spent by society for the detection and punishment of crime amounts to over \$400,000,000 annually, an amount sufficient, if expended in a scientific manner, to banish absolute want from the midst of us.

One would think that with this enormous expenditure for the prevention of crime, there would surely be a diminution of this evil. Instead of this, as we have seen, criminality is increasing. The significance of this abnormal growth of vice is appalling. Unless checked, it would seem to threaten the very life of society. It demonstrates, as Superintendent Brockway further says, "that the measures heretofore adopted for the prevention of lawlessness have signally failed in their purpose; that whereas created for the purpose of repressing crime, they have witnessed, have favored, and abetted its development."

Education, which at one time was thought would largely solve this problem, has not had this result. It has, to an extent, modified the form of crime without diminishing its amount. Even material prosperity does not seem to have the direct relation to crime that one would expect. Mr. Morrison, who has thoroughly investigated the question in England, reports that instead of facts pointing to poverty as the main cause of crime, they seem to point in the opposite direction.

Facts, such as have been given, have naturally attracted the serious attention of sociologists, and within recent years has arisen a new school of criminologists, the members of which have set themselves earnestly to work upon the solution of the problem of criminality and its increase. This new school,

termed Criminal Anthropologists, by following entirely new methods has arrived at conclusions as to the nature and causes of crime differing radically from those which have been formerly held, and which, if they be proven true, must result in revolutionary changes in our present penal methods.

Reversing the former method, this school has studied the criminal rather than the crime, and the result of the investigations carried on along this line has been to bring into prominence the conception of the criminal as a being physically and psychically degenerate. Every crime, no matter by whom committed, or under what circumstances, is to be explained in but two ways: either as the act of the individual's free will, or as the natural effect and as the necessary result of social and physical causes. Our present methods of punishment are based upon the first idea, that a crime is the free act of a person who deliberately contravenes the law, actuated by motives of gain or passion. Now and then is raised in our courts the plea of insanity or temporary aberration of mind or kleptomania, but in the vast majority of cases the criminal is considered as not differing in body or mentality from honest men. He is considered as wholly responsible for his own act and is punished accordingly. Punishment and retribution to society have thus been the controlling ideas in our penal methods. According to the estimated enormity of the offense, the convicted criminal is sentenced to a period of imprisonment, at the expiration of which he is again liberated, and allowed to mix with society. The idea, of course, is that the punishment inflicted will prove a warning to the offender, and will deter him and others from the commission of like acts.

According to the new school of criminal anthropologists this theory of crime and its punishment is radically wrong. Crime, they say, is in the great majority of cases due to disease, to a mental state of the criminal which predisposes him to the commission of illegal acts, and that the study that has been made of the brain and mental peculiarities of those convicted of criminal offenses clearly proves this to be so. This being so, our penal methods should look primarily to the cure of the criminal and not to his punishment. No man, whatever his offense,

should be discharged from restraint except upon reasonable evidence that he is morally, intellectually, and physically capable of leading an honest life. It may sound strange, but it is correct to say that it is as natural for some people to commit crime, when under provocation or temptation, as it is for a dyspeptic to have indigestion after overeating, or a rheumatic to suffer from the result of an exposure. Crime is due to some fault in the organization, which renders the individual less able to withstand temptation or to control improper desires. Whenever in anyone's mental outfit there is any mal-adjustment (and the doctors tell us that none of us are sound in every particular) there is present the tendency to peculiarities that affect our motives and actions. The criminal is to be judged as one whose mental peculiarities are such as to make the commission of crime more easy to him than it is to others.

Between the violently insane, the idiot, and the one whose moral faculties are merely blunted, and the sense of right and wrong indistinct, there are all grades of criminality. On the border line of lunacy lie the criminal populations. The criminal has been defined as "an individual whose organization makes it difficult or impossible for him to live in accordance with one's standard, which the civilization in which he lives sets up, and makes it easy for him to risk the penalties of acting anti-socially. By some accident of development, by some defect of heredity, or birth, or training, he belongs as it were to a lower and older social state than that in which he is actually living. It thus happens that our own criminals frequently resemble in physical and psychical characteristics, the normal individuals of a lower race."—*Ellis*.

That the conception of crime is due to defective mental organization of the criminal, explains to us many of the points that have perplexed us and before remained unsolved to us. In the first place, it gives us a reason for the repeated instances in which we find persons committing crime where there seems to be no sufficient motive, and when it must be apparent to the one committing it that immediate discovery and severe punishment is sure to be the result. Murders are frequently committed upon

the most trivial grounds, and nothing is more common than to find prisoners who seem to take a genuine delight in thieving, even though not in want. Secondly, the definition of the criminal as one of defective organization, who is on a lower plane of civilization than that in which he is actually living, explains the increase of crime in the face of an advancing civilization and a widening diffusion of wealth and education. With the instincts of a savage of a lower type, the criminal is forced to live among civilized people.

"Criminality, like insanity, waits upon civilization." With the growth of society in complexity and delicacy, the demands upon the social nature of the individual become greatly increased. Organized as modern society is, intellectually, morally, and politically, the duties of the individual to his fellow-man and to society at large are immensely greater than they are in savage countries where there exist no mutual rights and duties outside of the family, where law, if it may be so called, covers only a few points, and each one lives only for himself, and his actions do not conflict with the rights of others. So far then as society has within its bounds members who are mentally unfit to meet the requirements of its civilization, it will have violators against its laws, and these it will have no matter what its economic prosperity or the severity of the punishments meted out to the offender. The increase, then, in crime which has been noticed, may be said to be due to the fact that as the demands of civilization have increased the chances of having members of the state not able to meet these standards have increased, and that our methods for the prevention of crime, aiming at punishment rather than at cure, have not kept this increase in check. Modern civilization represents the last and final efforts of the wisest, and with its development there is an increasing need of proper treatment of, and assistance to, those who are by organization unqualified to keep pace with it in its onward march.

Again, the conception of crime as due to a pathological condition explains the difficulty of reforming criminals. It explains also why our methods of punishment seem to have so little

deterrent effect. It is because they have no power to reform the diseased condition of the prisoner's mind, and are not imposed for that purpose. As showing how little really deterrent effect even the severest punishments have, Rev. W. Roberts, chaplain of Bristol jail, says, that out of 167 attended by him under sentence of death, 164 had witnessed hangings. George III. added 156 crimes to the list of 67 which had already been made capital crimes, with a result that from 1806 to 1819, during which time this code remained unchanged, the number of indictable offenses increased threefold. "If deterrence enters as an element into the calculation of habitual criminals," says Mr. Dugdale, "it acts chiefly as a stimulant for contriving new methods by which the penalty may be avoided."

Finally, the hereditary nature of criminality shows its character as a disease. The investigations of experts leave no room for doubt upon this point. Mr. Morrison states that statistics that he has collected show that more than one fourth of criminals have received a defective organization from their ancestry, and further, that between forty and fifty per cent of convictions for murder are cases in which the murderer is either insane or mentally infirm. The most startling and conclusive proofs of the inheritability of criminal tendencies have been furnished by the American investigators, Mr. Dugdale, in his famous study of the Jukes, and Mr. McCulloch in his book upon the "Tribe of Ishmael." The results of these two investigations have become so well known as scarcely to need repetition here.

WESTEL W. WILLOUGHBY.

THE TOWN MEETING IDEA APPLIED TO THE GOVERNMENT OF CITIES.

BY J. F. THOMAS.

THERE is a growing sentiment in this country that democracy is a failure, and that the people cannot be trusted to govern themselves. The inefficiency and corruption of our so-called republican form of government, especially in the large cities, seems to warrant this assumption.

The most discouraging thing about our politics is, that not only are they now corrupt, but they are continually becoming more corrupt. The fault, however, is not in democracy, it is in the machinery. Democracy is not a failure. The people can be trusted. If we cannot trust the people, whom can we trust? Government by the rich and intellectual alone is demoralizing, and always ends in tyranny. The true government is that by common men truly representing other common men, their neighbors and friends.

Brilliant men are often dangerous, and the proportion needed by one community is small. To-day we are ruled by politicians, while the people have little to say about the government. The politicians of one party nominate their officers, those of the opposite party theirs, and then voters, like sheep, are driven to their respective folds, having been previously taught that the duty of citizenship consists in following party leaders, whether good or bad.

Whichever party succeeds, the chances are that the officers elected have little or no interest in the people, since they owe their election to the ring, and dare not displease their masters.

Good men are often put forward as cat's-paws, and used to delude the people. Men who would scorn to do a dishonest act themselves, are willing to shut their eyes and know nothing, in

order to obtain the favor and support of the power behind the throne.

The only remedy for this state of things is to devise some means by which the people can control the politicians, not temporarily and with great effort, but always and easily. To be sure, the people do sometimes rise in their might and drive the professional politicians out ; but this cannot be done except with enormous effort, and with but temporary results, for although the politicians yield for the moment, they soon regain the supremacy after the popular excitement subsides ; or they may even pretend to be reformers themselves, and while glibly talking of reform, carry out their selfish schemes with impunity. Even the occasional election of a good man but dams the current for the time, giving it ten-fold force when the dam is removed. This is because the election of a good man of itself establishes no principle.

The best are handicapped under our system, which is so organized as to render it difficult for the good to continue honest, and easy for the unscrupulous to evade all constitutional checks.

It is generally admitted that our present system makes nobody responsible. This has led to the suggestion that more power be given to the executive, thus locating the responsibility. Such a course may indeed enable us to know who is to blame for any misconduct; but conviction is one thing, punishment another.

A man cannot be made responsible unless held so by some definite tribunal with power to enforce a penalty. Responsibility to the people means nothing. What is everybody's business is nobody's business. If we could be sure that perfect men would always be elected to office, almost any machinery would do. But we have to deal with men subject to human passions, who are often ambitious, avaricious, revengeful, cruel, and dishonest.

The problem is to provide a system by which these men shall be made to serve the state honestly if they serve at all. This can only be done by pouring floods of light on every action, and by making the punishment for political misdeeds immediate and certain.

At present the executive is elected to serve for a stated term,

and there is no way to get him out except by impeachment, and impeachment is an impracticable method of punishment for political offenses.

Of course it will be said that the fear of defeat at the polls is to be relied upon to enforce this responsibility. But it does not do it. For the election being more or less remote, our so-called "practical politician" feels little or no uneasiness, knowing that the memories of voters are short, and believing that adroit management will give him more influence than upright actions.

It has been the custom in this country to regard the division of responsibility between the executive and the legislature as a means of securing honesty in democratic government. But it has the opposite effect. In the end the legislature gets the power without the responsibility. This is the source of most of the evils existing in our governments to-day.

The executive is tempted—indeed almost compelled—to use patronage in order to have measures passed necessary to the carrying on of the government, and finally he becomes the mere tool of the legislature.

But this cannot be corrected by giving more power to the executive. The proposal that has been made to give more absolute power to the mayors of large cities is utterly opposed to all the principles of a republican form of government. What would be more dangerous than to elect an officer for a stated term, with no means of getting rid of him during that term, and then give him power enough to make him independent of the legislature?

Thus we see that by dividing the power between the legislature and the executive we get a weak, inefficient government, full of corruption, and constantly growing worse. But on the other hand, if we make the executive strong enough to correct these evils we destroy democratic government, and might as well enthrone a king at once.

There is a way, however, that will enable us to avoid both of these extremes. It is to adopt the essential principle of the town meeting, which is said to be the ideal government for a free people.

If ten members of the assembly object to any candidate for the council, his appointment must be submitted to vote of the assembly, otherwise his nomination by the mayor is sufficient.

The mayor and council must be chosen from the members of the assembly and they should retain all their rights and privileges as delegates. It should be a part of their duty to attend all meetings of the assembly to explain and defend their acts.

As soon as they are elected, the mayor and his council should assume control of the executive department of the city government. They should also originate all appropriation bills; and these bills should be adopted or rejected by the assembly without amendment or addition unless such amendments or additions are accepted by the executive.

In consideration of the time and attention required of the executive officers by the meetings of the assembly, there should be a permanent head of each department who should be the real executive officer, but subject in all matters to his chief. The second chiefs and all other employes of every department should be appointed to office and continued there according to the most approved civil service rules.

Whenever the assembly shall pass a vote calling upon the mayor to resign, or whenever it is unwilling to support the mayor in any of his measures, or whenever for any reason there is a want of harmony between the mayor and the assembly, then the mayor shall either resign or dissolve the assembly, and order a new election. If he orders a new election, it will bring the question in dispute before the people, who will then decide by their choice of delegates whether they support the measure advocated by the mayor or that advocated by the majority of the old assembly. If the new assembly is not in harmony with the executive then he must resign and the assembly elect a new mayor, the old mayor continuing in office until the new mayor is chosen.

The resignation of the mayor carries with it the whole council; but any member of the council may resign without affecting the rest. It might be well to add to the above that an election of delegates shall take place at least once in every two years.

their best judgment when their livelihood depends upon their continuance in office. This may seem to exclude the poor man, but in fact it does not. A man who earns an independent living, however small his income, is a safer person to intrust with authority than an adventurer who expects to make his subsistence or his fortune out of politics.

Our plan aims to give every citizen an equal chance for political honors; and to take away from political schemers the exclusive privileges, which, like the robber barons of old, they have usurped for the benefit of themselves and their friends.

By giving every district absolute freedom in regard to its choice of representatives, without restriction of residence, we encourage members to be free and outspoken in the expression of their opinions; they are also rendered less liable to be controlled by political rings.

This independence of conduct and speech can be obtained only when the representative feels that ability and honesty of purpose will secure him an election from *some* district, even though the one he represents at the time is dissatisfied.

To those who think that two assemblies are necessary as a bulwark against bad legislation, the single chamber of this plan may seem a defect. It is true that vicious bills have often been defeated in the second house after passing the first. But there does not appear to be any good reason why the last determined fight could not be made just as well in the first assembly as in a second, third, or tenth.

It is a mistake to suppose that bad legislation can be averted by "checks and balances," or by additional assemblies. Every barrier interferes more with good government than with bad; inducing citizens to relax their vigilance and rely on the barrier.

The only safeguard that is of any value to a state is the individual efforts of its citizens, and the only way you can force them to make that effort is to put the responsibility upon them by abolishing all artificial barriers.

Then we might expect to see again that exhibition of public spirit that we have had in the past, but which appears to be greatly lacking at the present time.

We need hardly call attention to the great advantage a city would gain by having its plan of expenditure made up by men who know its needs, and who will be held responsible for the execution of their plans, and thus be forced to have due regard to both efficiency and economy.

Having the fear of adverse criticism from an ambitious minority always before their eyes, they must not be niggardly in furnishing the city with all things necessary for the comfort and safety of its inhabitants, and at the same time they must avoid all wasteful expenditure. To the minority, the constant liability that the responsibility may be thrust upon them, will act as a reminder not to be too vehement in their criticisms of those in power.

It may be urged against this system that it will make elections too frequent, and thus create instability in the government. It is true that in the beginning elections may be somewhat more frequent; but as the new arrangement becomes understood, and old prejudices disappear, men will perceive that nothing is to be gained by violent measures; and elections will be forced only when some great question comes to the front, which cannot be decided in any other way.

This will not, however, make the citizen take less interest in politics, but on the contrary will tend to increase his interest, because every question of importance that comes up for discussion will claim his attention from the fact that he may be required to vote upon it in the case of disagreement between the executive and the assembly.

Thus the constant liability of becoming a judge of a well-defined question, will interest and educate the citizen vastly more than voting, as now, on a confused mass of questions upon which no judgment can act intelligently, and which often have no relation to city affairs.

In fact it will finally separate city from state and national politics, and cause each question to be decided upon its merits, instead of being decided in the interest of some set of politicians, who think more of being elected to office than of being in the right.

This would not only educate our citizens ; it would also be a training school for statesmen, and have a most beneficent effect upon politics in general. Town and city politics are the fountainhead. If they are pure all are pure ; but if they are corrupt they will poison the avenues to the higher places, making them corrupt also.

It is not claimed for this system that it is able to reform everything at once. To the politicians its simplicity will seem weakness ; their methods could hardly succeed in its assembly. But when it comes to be seen that here is a field upon which men of energy and ability may honestly win power and fame, where defamation of character and sharp practices will gain less favor than honest argument of a question on its merits, *then* politics will begin to improve.

And after all this is the greatest thing that can be said in its favor : that it is a form of government that will admit of constant growth and improvement. It has the elasticity of nature, the power to throw off the old and take on the new, not violently and with great effort, but gradually and almost imperceptibly.

J. F. THOMAS.

UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION DANGEROUS TO AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS.

BY WILLIAM R. WOOD.

THE eleventh census gives the total population of the United States as 62,622,250, against the 50,155,783 of 1880. While the rate of increase for the decade from 1870 to 1880 was 30.08 per cent, it was only 24.86 per cent from 1880 to 1890, showing a decrease in the percentage of increase of the general population. For the decade ending with 1880 the increase in the native-born population was 31.78 per cent, while the foreign-born showed an increase of 19.99 per cent. On the other hand, in 1890 the native-born had increased 22.76 per cent, against a corresponding increase in the foreign element of 38.47 per cent. We see that our *foreign population doubled its rate of increase*, whereas the *native lowered its rate nearly one third*. To-day we have nine and a quarter millions (about one seventh of our total population) foreign-born, and if we take into consideration those of foreign parentage, the number will nearly double itself. In eighteen states and territories the foreign-born represent from twenty-five to fifty per cent of the native-born population, nine of these states and territories being in the western division. Taken as a whole, 41.67 per cent of the males of voting age in the western division are foreign-born, and 43.66 per cent of these are ignorant of the English language. In California the percentage is much higher. There 50.21 per cent of the males of voting age are of foreign birth, and nearly one fourth of them cannot speak English. The percentage of foreign-born in Montana is 32.61 per cent, in Nevada, 32.14 per cent, and in Arizona, 31.52 per cent. These figures illustrate simply the comparative numbers of foreign to native-born, and if we include those of foreign parentage also, the proportion of foreign

to native population will be much larger. During the decade 1880 to 1890 the percentage of males over that of females has increased, owing mainly to the fact that the ranks of immigration are filled more largely by men. This is proven by the fact that in those sections where immigration has been most extensive, the proportion of males has increased. This is especially true in the west, where the foreign element is greatest. Not only has our foreign population multiplied nearly three times as rapidly as the native, but in thus multiplying their political influence is growing in an ever-increasing ratio. This greater voting power which the foreigner possesses, will one day burst forth and assert itself with more terrific force than did ever Goth or Vandal.

From the foregoing statements we see what a mighty human tide has been peacefully flooding our country during the past quarter century. It is needless to enumerate the many alluring influences which attract these millions. They seek freedom, wealth, power. America is their asylum—their ideal Utopia, and true to the instincts of the human race from time immemorial, they cry “Westward Ho!” and rush across the continent, taking possession of our fairest heritage. Seventy-five per cent of these foreigners go west, and according to a very correct calculation, at the present rate, two thirds of the population of the west will be foreign by 1900. Such multitudes flowing into the formative west *must* influence our future as a nation. The west, with all its vast, undeveloped resources, its land area, and its natural advantages over the east, is destined to rule. As through the ages, the seat of empire will still westward move, till stopped by the blue waters of the Pacific.

Taking these facts into consideration, the question of immigration becomes one of vital interest to the American citizen. It embraces and operates with and through the liquor power, Catholicism, socialism, ignorance, combining their mighty influences to undermine the machinery of our government. We will therefore consider each of these forces separately, endeavoring to show their attitudes toward our government, and that of immigration operating through them.

THE LIQUOR POWER.

The liquor traffic is opposed to the great ends of government. Bentham says : "The sole object of government ought to be the greatest happiness to the greatest possible number of the community." What is not beneficial to society is injurious in so far as it fails to be a benefit. The aim of government should be to crush what is pernicious and support what is beneficial to society. Drink is the national curse. It enslaves men ; it crazes their minds to the commission of crime ; it produces pauperism by creating within them that ardent desire which requires a transfer of their hard earnings from food and comforts to the dram-shops ; and death is its ultimatum. It robs man of his freedom of will, causes violations of the laws, and brings misery and vice in the same cup.

Intoxicating drink is a serious hindrance to industry and trade. From an economic point of view it impoverishes the nation. We know that our wealth is increasing much more rapidly than our population, but the labor required for the manufacture and sale of liquor is unproductive, inasmuch as that which does harm rather than good would better not be created. So that while a great deal of time, labor, and capital are thus expended, we have in the aggregate as a nation nothing to show for it except a train of evils, whereas were this capital and energy employed in the production of necessary articles, we would have a largely increased stock of the comforts of life and a largely diminished share of crime, pauperism, and misery.

The use of intoxicants unfits man for labor ; and for his industry in the manufacture of liquor he receives, on an average, in proportion to the value of the article produced, as compared with other commodities, not one-tenth the remuneration. Supposing it requires ten men in the manufacture of necessary articles to the value of one hundred dollars—only one man would be needed to produce drink of the same money value. Thus by draining capital and labor from the channels of productive employment, the liquor traffic causes a decrease in the demand for the necessaries and comforts of life (to say nothing of the luxuries), thus limiting their production and depressing trade ;

this, without forgetting the vast numbers unfitted for labor, and the vast amount of grain destroyed annually by the brewers and distillers, which would feed millions of the world's poor.

Not only is drink a curse, but it is particularly so as related to immigration. The vast majority of these miserable people, having depraved appetites, are peculiarly attracted by liquor. Intoxicated already with a consciousness of freedom, they are easily led to excess. They are ignorant, and ignorance and vice ever walk hand in hand. The foreigner is not only tempted to indulge in strong drink as a beverage, but he heartily engages in the traffic, and deals out destruction to the thousands of his brethren who come after. How many distilleries or saloons have American proprietors? The percentage is small indeed.

By far the larger per cent of crime resulting from the use of intoxicating drink is committed by foreigners. As immigration increases the drink bill of the nation increases, and the more liquor consumed the longer the list of criminals. · Maddening in its influences, drink saps their energies, empties their pockets, and blasts their hopes. They become desperate, debauchery and crime ensue, and, ripe for adventure, they fall victims to Romanism, Mormonism, socialism. Thus we see that while immigration strengthens the liquor power, it plays into the hands of the other great forces, combining for the ruin of our country.

ROMANISM.

Romanism is a block to progress. It is inimical to liberal ideas; it cramps the mind; it tyrannizes the body. How should every lover of civil, moral, and religious liberty regard such a power? We now enjoy liberty of conscience and speech, a free press, and a free school system. The pope claims infallibility—which is an attribute of God only. His rule is absolute, perpetual, and uncontrolled. He recognizes no civil authority, and claims the perfect loyalty and obedience of all Roman Catholics. Catholicism forbids liberty of conscience, and is antagonistic to our free institutions. "Ignorance is the mother of blind devotion"—and their maxim is closely adhered to, for in Catholic countries the minds of the people at large are care-

fully kept from any tendency to liberal thought, which is fatal to ecclesiasticism of all forms, and especially to Romanism.

The priesthood already controls a large proportion of the voters in our great cities, and thus influences legislation and tampers with our free school system. Ours is a system of *self-government*. The Romish church holds its adherents conscience-bound—they are no longer freemen, but slaves temporally as well as spiritually, for they have sworn allegiance to the sovereign of Rome, to the exclusion of all civil power. The pope is therefore *absolute* monarch of the Catholic world. Papal rule is as inconsistent with our republican constitution as is the absolutism of the Russian government.

The danger of allowing Catholicism a place in civil affairs has been fully demonstrated in Europe. England has curbed the pope, but she is in constant dread of Catholic conspiracy under the mask of Irish insurrection. For centuries Romanism has been in a state of permanent conspiracy in France, and until the advent of Victor Emmanuel, Italy was the seat of Catholic oppression. Such a power is a menace to good government. In Catholic countries it conspires against the liberty of the people; in others, against the existing government.

When we consider that three fourths of our immigrants come from Catholic countries, the wonderful growth of Romanism in the past quarter century is easily accounted for. Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Ireland, to say nothing of France and Spain where emigration is much smaller, send thousands each month to swell the Catholic ranks. Many are not alive to the fact that Romanism is becoming a powerful factor in the affairs of our government. This is especially true in the West, where new states are born yearly. There the foreign element is greatest—consequently the Roman power is strongest. New laws are being framed; new constitutions are receiving the impress of the heterogeneous populations, and it follows, directly or indirectly, that the western states will be molded to a greater or less degree by the Romish clergy. In a number of these states and territories their adherents are greater than those of Protestantism. The Catholic watchword is secrecy: they blow

no trumpets, but steadily strive for the upbuilding of their church, and it is alarmingly true that immigration, more than any other force in operation, strengthens Romanism.

SOCIALISM.

In dealing with the subject of socialism, we propose to speak, not of the many complex systems of social fraternity which convulse Europe, but of that type which is most largely represented in the United States. We refer to German socialism, of French origin, which is represented in this country by the "International Workingmen's Association"—the agitators—what Mill calls the "revolutionary socialists."

Our constitution secures to man his natural and civil rights—life, liberty, and property. Its basis is that of private property and individual competition.

The doctrine of socialism is community of property, an equal distribution of the results of production, and direct legislation by the people. Its basis is not competitive, but coöperative. The community of property necessarily involves the abolition of collateral inheritance. It is a system of state ownership and direction of all industrial operations for the common benefit of society. A part of the theory of socialism is the dispensing of the national wealth "to each according to his needs"—a leveling up, as it were, of wealth—grounded on the dogma that "all men are born equal"—which is "opposed to that equitable principle of proportion between remuneration and exertion." Labor is the measure of value ; genius and stupidity receive the same reward. It is obvious that the time of a scientist is worth more to society than that of a cobbler, but under the code of socialism, each is entitled to the same share of the grand product. Thus we readily perceive its inferiority to the competitive system, in that it stops that "stimulating collision" of mankind, which is the soul of progress, by deadening energy and ability into mediocrity.

Socialism, like communism, boasts of a grand *fraternity* of unselfish aims and ends, of undisturbed tranquillity in the enjoyment of the fruits of labor, and of equal rights. Yet, while we admire this beautiful theory of Utopian perfection, we stumble

upon the discovery that the socialist has no rights, for man's rights consist in ownership, and if he own nothing, he can demand no rights. The schemes of these reformers are food for the philanthropic mind, yet in their exalted ideas of a great human brotherhood they overlook the nature of the beings they would bind together in mutual love. Selfishness is the very core of the human heart; and selfishness and universal brotherhood are utterly incompatible with each other. That "all citizens are equal before the law," is just and right, but the minds of all are not naturally equal, their physical organizations are not equal in strength, their inborn impulses and ambitions are widely different. Can we expect the eagle to nestle on the earth because the lion cannot soar to the skies? Would it be right to chain a Milton or a Cromwell to the realms of ordinary life because nature has not endowed their brethren with faculties as strong, and ambitions as great? No, each has his station appointed by a divine decree; such a theory put into practice would stifle ambition and benumb the faculties.

The right of private property is necessary to liberty. That the few may be permitted to exercise the right of property to the exclusion of their brethren is apparently the grossest inequality. But *perfect* equality, in its simplest sense, would be as injurious to society as would the other extreme. "Every man is equal before the law"—but, stopping just here, let us consider that man is a free agent; he is placed side by side in the race of life with his fellows, each endowed with special capabilities with which to "carve out his own future." There is a goal of success which they all strive to win. Were all alike possessed of an equal share of property, having the power neither to increase nor diminish it, this goal would be removed. But necessity often points the way to fortune. Want is the stimulus which constrains men to exertion; and want and genius, progress and poverty will always be coupled in the march of civilization. Rob society of competition, giving in its stead perfect equality, and apathy would be an inevitable result. Strong minds will ever predominate over weak ones. It is a well-known fact that as the centuries multiply they

more clearly demonstrate the superiority of mind over matter.

Direct legislation by the people would necessitate universal education and involve the free administration of justice by the populace. Universal education, could it be realized, would be of inestimable value to the human race, but would not remove the inequalities of nature. We should still be faced by the problem of mind arrayed against matter. We should still find the weak intellect clinging to the strong for guidance and support. It was not meant that all men should be equal. It is the unequal state of humanity that keeps the world alive, and were such a thing as direct free administration of justice by the populace inaugurated, these inequalities of nature would clash in anarchy and insurrection.

But American socialism goes still farther in its revolutionary schemes. It descends from exalted fraternity of interests to *individualism*. Let every man be a law unto himself, is its maxim,—therefore “away with private property! away with the state! away with religion! away with the family and home relations!” Socialism in the United States means anarchy. It is pernicious in the light of our free institutions; it is immorality, ignorance, fanaticism, death, to the liberal mind.

We have seen what socialism is as related to our government. It remains to be shown how it receives its strength and impulse from immigration, and how through that agency our government may yet totter on its foundations from the upheavals of socialism in our land. A starved man is apt to indulge to excess when food is placed before him. He does not realize that in the gratification of his appetite he is working his own ruin. The immigrant hungers for freedom, but when he lands on our shores he is dazed by his comparatively unfettered condition. He seeks to enjoy that liberty of which he has heard so much, and in the anticipation his mind is fully prepared for any wild theories that socialistic leaders may advance. Cut adrift from home and native land, he is particularly susceptible to the schemes of these agitators, he rejoices that he is received as one of an organization whose sublime motto is “*Fraternity*.” Germans, more than any other nationality, are flocking to America,

establishing themselves in our strongholds, making parts of the west German colonies, and asserting their socialistic views. This was demonstrated in Chicago in 1887. That socialism is peculiar to the German nation is proven by the fact that "in 1884 the socialists of Germany cast 700,000 votes and elected twenty-four members of the Reichstag." Italians also play a prominent part in the ferments of our heterogeneous population. New Orleans is an example. Not only is it true that socialistic circles are being enlarged abroad, but in the United States their numbers and the influences which combine to accelerate their growth, are multiplying in no small degree.

IGNORANCE.

"Intelligence is strength; and in proportion as the many grow intelligent they must guide the world." Education, then, is a necessity—it is pre-eminently so as related to human progress. It must mold and shape the minds of men, touch the springs of action, give direction to their thoughts, causing them to vibrate with the grandest, most sublime ideas of man's greatness, developing the soundest principles of government under which he should exist.

Ignorant men are dupes, credulous and superstitious, subject to the leadership of the few, therefore envious of their higher attainments, and ultimately vicious. Ignorance of the masses is stagnation, and can exist only under the scepter of despotism.

Ours is a progressive *régime*. The prosperity of a nation will depend, in a great measure, upon the wisdom exercised by Congress in the enactment of laws, and the intelligence and energy of the executive in enforcing those laws. The vast majority of our foreign population are of the most ignorant type, and are utterly incapable of an intelligent understanding of our principles of government. They have existed under the crushing rule of despotism, their minds are stunted by its withering influences, and they come to us totally ignorant of the science of self-government. What then are we not to fear from such a population? If the West is to rule our country, and foreigners are to control the West, it follows that aliens will decide the destiny of the nation, legislating for us, and executing

their decrees. Ignorance and progress are contradictory terms. Were it not a fact that seventy-five per cent of these foreigners are adults, we might hope to educate them in the underlying principles of our government—but as it is, they see only the outward forms, not understanding them because their minds have become crystallized in the service of kings and emperors. Can we then hope that with their inborn monarchical ideas, the seeds of despotism will grow the plant of republicanism? Can we hope to sustain the germ of our constitution? Can we hope to maintain the Declaration of American Independence against the peaceful invasion of foreign races?

While it is an undeniable fact that many of our most enterprising and intelligent citizens, many of our wisest legislators and most successful business and professional men are of foreign extraction; while, in a large measure, we owe the rapid and unparalleled development of the West to aliens, it is nevertheless true that during the past decade especially the character of immigration has changed very materially. While from an ethnological standpoint the amalgamation of races is thought to be beneficial to the human family, the product is nevertheless modified by the quality of the various races which go to make up the amalgam. Can we hope that the sloth and uncleanness which characterize the lowest orders of immigrants, when carried through the so-called process of Americanization, will produce the highly strung nervous organization and the refined polish which distinguish the American nation? While it is highly desirable that a certain class of immigration be encouraged, we owe it to ourselves and our posterity to check this mighty torrent in time, before it shall wash us down into the surging vortex of revolution. We welcome intelligent, honest, well-meaning foreigners, but we surely have a right to say whether seventy-five per cent of the Irish convicts shall find their way to our doorsills. We surely may determine whether Germany shall empty her socialistic elements into our population, and whether the nihilists of Russia and the desperadoes of Italy shall steal peacefully into the heart of our democracy.

While an absolute prohibition of immigration would be an

extreme measure, the nation should more carefully inspect the character and inquire into the intentions of the would-be immigrant. Not only do these people lack a certain general education and moral tone, but they show no inclination to study our institutions. They do not easily assimilate with our native population. They come here with the avowed intention of making money and then returning to their native lands. We suppress contract immigrant labor, but are confronted with another class of labor which as seriously affects American workingmen. Instead of being enlisted in Europe by American agents and brought over for some definite labor, their friends forward them passage money, and when they have landed here form them into a socialistic labor party or labor unions, thus not only securing to themselves occupation, but often controlling and leaving Americans out of employment. Thus arise our great strikes and riots. So that while they show a disregard for our institutions, they form combines against us in the very heart of our land. It is said that three fourths of these immigrants are unskilled laborers. If this be a fact, we are asked why it is that American workmen do not more successfully compete with them? I answer simply, that a large majority of these immigrants can live on what a respectable American would cast aside. The average foreigner will grow rich at less wages than an American can subsist on. But these people can do the drudgery and save the American workmen for more skilled labor, it is argued. Ay, but Americans are not all skilled laborers, and those who are displaced are often left out of employment altogether, because an Italian can exist on decayed fruit and stale bread, working for less money. The employer profits by this means, while the American workmen pay the penalty for being respectable. American industries have been rigorously *protected*; why not protect her workingmen against the pauper labor of Europe? If the great corporations, trusts, and syndicates need protection, does not the laborer and his family? It is a question whether at this advanced stage of civilization we do not need less of this unskilled labor and more of that genius and originality peculiar to the American.

Ours is a land of liberty, a place of refuge for the weak and persecuted, but should we submit to the mercenary designs of these strangers? Should we permit socialistic leaders to weld these people into mighty machines for the accomplishment of their evil designs? "Knowledge is power," but ignorance, when led blindly by shrewd, designing men, is often an equal, if not a greater power—from the very fact of its blindness to results.

A nation naturally divides itself into three classes; viz.: the aristocracy, the gentry, and the common people. As all know, in this country aristocracy is not synonymous with nobility. It owes its existence more to wealth than blood, whether that wealth be inherited, or accumulated by proper exertion. At any rate, the person who can afford to live in idleness and affluence, and possesses a certain moral tone, is considered an aristocrat, while, on the other hand, the laborer who lives from hand to mouth, struggling hard with "the ups and downs of life," the drudge, who can scarcely exist, battling with his fate, and wondering the while, "Is life worth living?" and the vulgar, represent the third class. The gentry strike that happy medium which combines industry with solid enjoyment, strength of character and activity of mind, contentment, energy, progressiveness. These are the bulwark of the nation—her strength and support. They compose the motive power—they generate the electricity of civilizing influences. We have seen that ignorance and discontent lead the van of immigration, that these foreigners are a mighty horde of fortune-hunters who look with hatred upon wealth and power, and it is too conclusively true that their numbers swell the ranks of the common people. As this class increases more rapidly than the gentry, to just that extent will the nation weaken. So that while all three classes alike are growing with the increase of the native population, the common people, almost exclusively, receive into their ranks the tide of immigration.

Foreigners already control many of our great cities. In 1880, sixty-three per cent of the population of Boston was foreign, of New York, eighty per cent, and of Chicago ninety-one per cent.

Here Romanism prevails, here the liquor dens are most numerous and powerful, here materialism finds a lodging place and enervates the life of the people, here are the hot-beds of socialism. These are the forces controlling our centers of civilization.

Can we *Americanize* these foreigners? It is enough to know that we have not been successful thus far. They become naturalized, but *not* Americanized. If we cannot assimilate the millions we already have, is it reasonable to expect that by increasing their numbers the process will become easier? No, immigration has reached its legitimate limit, for a period at least. Restrictive measures should be passed, and when passed rigorously enforced. A dilatory policy will be ruin to the nation. Now is the critical time. Our destiny hangs upon the acts of this generation. Our safety imperatively demands a restriction of immigration; it is vital to our moral welfare. We are not to fear enemies from without, but to protect ourselves against these within; we are not to meet the invader, but to grapple with the incendiary. History repeats itself—Babylon, Persia, Greece, Rome, in turn owe their fall not so much to the arms of their enemies as to internal decay—effeminacy—superinduced by drunkenness, luxuriousness, strife. We are not to dread foreign war, but civil discord. If it be true that “there is nothing beyond republicanism but anarchism,” we have much to fear. Let us be wary. The greatest giant, becoming gorged, may be easily overcome. Powerful though we are as a nation, we are becoming *gorged* with this foreign element, and it is gnawing at the vitals of our government.

WM. R. WOOD.

THE JEW IN POLITICAL, BUSINESS, PROFESSIONAL, AND SOCIAL LIFE.

BY ADAM E. BLOOM, ESQ.

THIS subject is alike interesting to Jew and Gentile ; it embraces one and all, both native and foreign. When the fathers of our colonies in 1776 declared that all men were born free and equal—endowed with certain inalienable rights—such as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—the freedom of thought and speech from pulpit and rostrum, they proclaimed to the world the existence of a country upon the occident that recognized no king, prince, or potentate, but was a land for the people, of the people, and by the people—for universal manhood ; a country that has become second to none other.

With what marvelous strides has America moved onward and forward in the great struggle for supremacy. How from the thirteen small enfeebled colonies struggling for liberty and self-government, have we become a nation with forty-four states, aside from the territories, several of which are now seeking to have their stars added to the blue field of our flag ; a nation with sixty-five millions of people, free, happy, and prosperous ; a country that is honored and respected the world over. Beneath our flag, wherever it may be unfurled, the American citizen is protected in life, liberty, and property.

What a blessed privilege is ours, that we are citizens of such a land ; how fortunate indeed are we, who can partake of, and participate in all the enjoyments of life and liberty vouchsafed to us under such a constitution. We love this, our home ; here in America the Jew, worthy and deserving, is on an equality in every respect with his Christian neighbors ; the same law protects them both in their rights—punishes them equally for their wrongs.

The Hebrew, green from Russia's frozen soil or from Poland's historic ground, is beneath our flag, a man, a human being, no slave, nor vassal—entitled to equal protection under our laws, to liberty and life, with the aristocrat and millionaire, though American-born.

What have we done and what are we doing now to merit and deserve these heaven-born privileges? In a country numbering 65,000,000 people we are less than 1,000,000, or 1 to every 65 of its people. Nevertheless, although numerically small, we claim to wield no uncertain influence in the affairs of state and government. A nation is judged by the thrift, sobriety, and culture of her people. How do we compare in this regard with our friend and neighbor? We therefore judge the Hebrew from his social, political, commercial, and moral standard.

From the record thus gauged, do we have our claims to citizenship, worthy and deserving. The Jew socially is looked upon as a recluse, that is, he does not mingle freely with his Christian neighbor and friend; that he finds more comfort, pleasure, and enjoyment when among his own people. This stricture is made, and justly so, by our Gentile friend; yet we must not forget that the social barriers, that have for centuries held them so widely apart, although rapidly disappearing, are still, to some extent, seen and felt, even in our boasted land of liberty. The Jew prides himself upon his race and creed; he loves to think that he belongs to, and is one of, the chosen people of God. How often do we hear, when in social gatherings, the remark, "He is a Jew," or "She is a Jewess," although no intentional harm is meant. Our people are unobtrusive, not forward; they do not thrust themselves nor their religion upon others. When the word Jew or Jewess shall no longer be whispered in friendly assemblies as words of distinction, but when one and all shall meet and greet each other as friends in common, then, and not till then, will the apparent indifference manifested by the Hebrew to the companionship of his Christian brother, pass away.

The many centuries of bitter and relentless persecutions of the Jewish people in the Old World has been the means of hardening

the Jewish heart—compelling a clannishness among them that to-day is so apparent to the Christian world. History informs us, how in old England the Jew for many years was compelled under a heavy penalty to wear a yellow cap, so that he would be known as a Jew ; ostracized and tabooed socially, commercially, and politically. Can we blame the old patriarch, who so devotedly adheres to his faith and finds his comfort and pleasure when among his own ? How, year after year, the Hebrew was elected to the English Parliament, but, because as a Jew he could not subscribe to the oath required, he was unable to take his seat. It was not until 1856—thirty-six years ago—that a Jew, Baron De Rothschild, for the first time, could subscribe to the oath and take his seat in Parliament. The barriers, once removed have so remained, and many of our co-religionists have honored themselves and their boroughs as representatives in Parliament, besides filling other important positions of honor, profit, and trust, to wit : Sir George Jessell, master of the rolls, ex-Mayor Phillips of London, Judah P. Benjamin, queen's counsel, and others. In Berlin and Vienna, the great cities of Germany and Austria, our people suffered equally ; here the Hebrew was compelled after 4 p. m. to go to certain quarters of the city, ~~there~~ closed in with a heavy iron gate, to remain until 8 a. m. next day, when the gates were reopened and he was permitted to come forth and resume for a few hours his daily trade or vocation. These persecutions have seared the Jewish heart and race, and what generations have done cannot be undone in a decade ; they were almost universal wherever the Hebrew dwelt ; the whole world revolts to-day in the light of modern civilization at the unwarranted persecutions of the Jewish people.

The Jews of America, therefore, offer their prayers of praise in the synagogues of our land, that the era of persecution and tyranny has long passed away, never, we hope, to return. That the Hebrew in the sanctity of his house of worship may offer up his prayers : "*Sche Mai, Yis Ro-ael Ado Noi Alohanne—Ado Noi—Arhut,*"—"Hear, Oh, Israel, the Lord our God—God is One," feeling assured that in America beneath our flag, no

yellow cap or iron gate awaits his departure from the temple of worship. Social equality and companionship will and must come with the young and rising generation ; a new era and age awaits us. The dawn of another civilization has followed the night of persecution. We can be Jews and yet be sociable, agreeable, and companionable with our Christian friend and neighbor. We must remember the words of that sainted Rabbi Lillienthal of Cincinnati, that in America we are Americans first, Hebrews next. America stretches forth her hand to the down trodden of every foreign land and bids them welcome ; says unto them : "Come to our shores, enjoy our liberties, share with us and participate with us in the blessings of a free and happy country, where you can worship your God according to the dictates of your own consciences without fear." Here is our Mecca, here is our Palestine, here is our Jerusalem. The Israelite of to-day in this country must banish many of the old habits and customs and become an American citizen, living in fraternal accord with one and all of every creed.

We now address ourselves to the political position of the Jew in American politics. We frequently hear that the Jew is so engrossed in monetary affairs—the accumulation of wealth and utter indifference to the welfare of the government—that he becomes unmindful of, and derelict in his duties as a citizen. Forget not, Christian friends, that in the Old World he was forbidden to hold office, or to take active part in political affairs. The foreign Hebrews who emigrate here are generally quite advanced in years, strangers to our land, language, customs, and habits—much cannot and should not be expected from them. We are patriotic and love our country with a devotion sincere and true ; we are active in every political contest ; we have filled important positions with fidelity to government and credit to race. During the last twenty years such able men as Simon Wolf, Benjamin Peixotto, Oscar Strauss, and Moses Hirsch have filled high diplomatic positions abroad with credit to themselves and approbation of government at home. In our national halls of Congress have Jewish representatives honored themselves and their race. Yulee, Benjamin, and Jonas have creditably served their states

as United States Senators. In the lower house of Congress the Jewish people have been ably represented by Morse, Frank, and Wolf; Solomon of Wisconsin, discharged the duties as governor of that state with the highest credit. The legislatures of our various states contain our co-religionists, who are ever active, taking deep interest in the affairs of state. The younger generation of Hebrews, now arriving at manhood, are not unmindful of the responsibility of citizenship; they realize the necessity and importance of active participation in the nation's politics; to them must we look for representation, honor, and credit.

The older ones are dead to all active participation; they give way to the younger generation. The coming decade will find active, ardent, and brainy men of our faith in all useful and important functions of life. The school system, so dear to every American, finds a warm, devoted, and zealous friend in the Jew; none so poor but that his child is sent to reap its benefits.

Throughout the land, the Jewish people firmly sustain our free school system. And here must I urge upon our foreign Hebrew the necessity of sending his children to our public schools; let him instruct them more in the English language and less in Hebrew, and he will do much to prepare them for the battle of life, when he has passed away.

In this country the Hebrew language will do them no earthly good—give them a good English education. I also beg of them to keep their children off the streets as newsboys and match peddlers; to work a little harder themselves and give the boys the benefit of our schools. The few dollars they earn amount to nothing. When they, growing up in ignorance, are compelled to battle for life they will regret the opportunity lost in early life and blame you for their want of education. In the legal profession the Jew has honored the bench in about every city in the land. As authors their works have become standard textbooks in the profession and are recognized as such by the bench and bar. Judah P. Benjamin, at an early day a United States Senator from Louisiana, was an able lawyer and profound statesman. Although his reputation later on became marred by his conduct—in his resigning from the senate, and casting his

fortunes with the confederacy—yet, while living in London, he handed down to posterity a work on jurisprudence that has become a living monument to his genius. What lawyer, backed by “Benjamin on Sales,” does not feel confident of success? What jurist, giving his opinion, supported by this work, who does not feel sanguine that he has justly and rightly expounded the law? The profession opens up to the young aspiring Hebrew the opportunity to achieve honor, success, and reputation; the bar of every city in our land numbers the Jew in its membership. We must therefore urge the old fathers in Israel to realize the benefits and advantages of the education of our children, so that when they grow up and arrive at manhood they will become something else than pawnbrokers and clothing merchants.

The press of the United States has also many able Jewish writers and editors. The leading papers of the country, I might say—one on the Pacific slope, the mold of public sentiment of the far West, the *Chronicle* of San Francisco, at whose helm stands Michael H. De Young, a Jew; the other—the leading paper of New York City, our London of America—the *New York World*, owned and controlled by Joseph Pulitzer, a Jew. The *Omaha Bee*, one of the leading papers of the Mississippi Valley, is owned and edited by Rosewater, a Jew.

The pen, mightier than the sword, has hewn the way for modern civilization, and it is indeed fitting that the Hebrew should also have a hand in wielding public sentiment against bigotry, persecution, and prejudice.

Our universities and high schools embrace our talent; the medical profession is not wanting for Jewish practitioners. We find them entering every avenue of life, and as a people we feel honored that they are seeking to achieve success in the arts, sciences, and professions.

They must also learn the trades; all cannot be merchants, doctors, lawyers, and scientists; they must become painters, carpenters, artisans skilled in their labor, as well as learned in the trades. Many Jews now living in our crowded cities would become independent if they were farmers; now living in poverty, they could then live in luxury and comfort. The

land is rich, the soil fertile and easily had. All that is wanting is willingness to take it. Why not embrace it? We must have Jewish tillers of the soil; they cannot all dwell in towns and cities, and when this is done, and we can find the mechanic, the farmer, the carpenter, painter, carriage maker, the jeweler, and every trade represented in the Jew, then indeed, much will have been done in burying the seeming prejudice now existing against us. In the countries of Europe no Jew was permitted to till the soil—much less to own it; he was compelled to earn his daily bread by engaging in the trades—not so here—the land is ours and we must enter this field as well as all others if we wish to succeed in life and become independent and prosperous.

In the commercial and financial fields of America has the Jew obtained a noteworthy and prominent position. The shrewdness and business tact attributed to him, the result of centuries of persecution, has made him unequaled and unsurpassed in the marts of the New World. In the great business center, New York City, the Hebrew merchant stands pre-eminent. Four fifths of all the importers of New York City are Hebrews; they control the imports of America. The silks and satins, diamonds and laces, the tobaccoes, are all in their hands and under their control. What a power indeed does this handful of people exert. They have been and are now the leaders of New York City. They do not hoard their wealth, they improve and benefit the city wherein they live and do business; hundreds of business blocks and thousands of costly and palatial houses are owned by the Hebrews; they are active and pushing—never blocking the wheels of progress. Other cities of our country bear witness to this. Philadelphia, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Buffalo, San Francisco, Denver, and our own beautiful Detroit, owe much of their progress, wealth, and prosperity to the thrifty and active Jew. During Grant's administration as president of the United States, Seligman Brothers of New York City were made our fiscal agents for the negotiations of our bonds abroad; ably and well was this duty performed. The Jewish brokers of the great metropolis of our country are among the most stable and

reliable. May they continue to wield honestly and justly a wholesome influence for the welfare and benefit of one and all for generations to come.

In the domestic circle the Israelites can be justly proud of their record as a people ; their homes, however humble, are never blighted by drunkenness and debauchery. Their children are taught obedience to parents, and seldom are wanting in their love and affection. Profanity and vileness of conduct have no place at the Jewish hearthstone. When do you hear of a patricide, matricide, or fratricide in the Jewish home ? In the 117 years of our national existence, not ten Jewish murderers have stained our record with the blood of their fellow-men. Over 4,100 homicides in the United States last year, and I believe not one committed by a Jew. They are not idle nor shiftless ; they are not found lounging around low dens of infamy, concocting some hellish crime or lying in wait as midnight assassins. The mothers likewise guard with watchful eyes and zealous care the rising daughters in Israel ; the tempter's wiles have no inducement to lure them from the path of virtue and chastity. Our daughters pride themselves in holding aloft Israel's fair name. Our women are worthy of praise ; firm and devoted in the tenets of their faith, they are deserving of and merit the approbation of mankind. The Jews are charitable and hospitable ; the poor are looked after and cared for by their own people. Our Gentile friends are never asked to contribute to Jewish charity by soliciting alms. Within our circle are the afflicted and needy provided for. Charity is firmly impressed upon every Jewish heart. Jewish charity is not confined to the relief of the Jew ; it springs to the relief of woe, misery and want amongst all people ; the purse string is ever open to the calls of charity whenever and wherever made. The orphan child—the ward of our people—is watched with a mother's care and a father's love. The Jewish Orphan Asylum at Cleveland, with its 500 fatherless and motherless children, is sustained wholly by the Israelites of the western states. Jewish benevolence and charity alone support this noble institution. When we visit that asylum and look into the faces of those

bright and happy little ones, our hearts, though saddened at their misfortune, yet rejoice at their happy home, where they are so well clothed and educated.

The Jewish pulpit in America has done and is doing great work in broadening and widening the spirit of religious toleration. The age of fanaticism and narrow-mindedness has passed away. Our college at Cincinnati is sending forth broad-minded and able rabbis. May the synagogues in the future be honored with them and noble results will follow their teachings and precepts.

The world is progressing; religious toleration follows in its wake. From the pulpit in the synagogue, the Christian minister is heard with respectful attention. The rabbi is called upon by the Christian divine to exchange pulpits. Free interchange of pulpit is the death of prejudice and hatred. What great and rapid progress in toleration has our country made in the last twenty years.

While comparisons are odious, may we not safely say to the impartial observer of a nation's record that the Israelites of America are, as a people, worthy and deserving of all the rights and privileges of citizenship.

May this spirit of toleration and brotherly love continue, bringing us nearer together in the brotherhood of man and Fatherhood of God.

ADAM E. BLOOM.

UNJUST STRICTURES OF AMERICAN CATHOLICS.

BY REV. T. M. CROWLEY.

IN THE April number of the JOURNAL OF POLITICS Mr. B. B. Cahoon essays to criticise the Catholic Church from the standpoint of Americanism. While the general tendency of the article manifests a spirit of fair-mindedness, yet there are many assertions which struck me as being at variance with facts, and which seem to exhibit the vestiges of early educational prejudices and a want of knowledge pardonable in a non-Catholic.

To quote *in extenso* the first paragraph of his article, he says : "The instinctive distrust of the average American for the Catholic Church has not been without reason."

For this "instinctive distrust" Mr. Cahoon assigns several reasons. He says first : "He (the average American), saw in the ritual strange ceremonies." Undoubtedly the ceremonies of the Catholic Church are as strange to the average American (non-Catholic), as would the absence of those ceremonies be to a Catholic. But is ceremonial display sufficient *per se* to excite "instinctive distrust"? If so, why is the American public so fond of ceremonial display? Why, to use the undignified jargon of our day, does it "whoop it up for all it's worth" whenever occasion presents?

But perhaps the average American did not understand the nature of those ceremonies. His ignorance was not the fault of the Catholic Church, which attaches a sublime religious sentiment to even the most apparently insignificant of those ceremonial observances—a sentiment which the most Americanized American might be glad to cherish. It seems to me as accusing the average American of unfairness and narrow-mindedness to

say that he had an "instinctive distrust" for something which he did not understand and would not inquire into.

"He heard Mass," says Mr. Cahoon, "in an unknown tongue." Another reason for the "instinctive distrust." I dare say that comparatively very few of the average Americans (non-Catholics) have ever heard Mass in any tongue. And if the Mass is said in Latin, why should that fact excite "instinctive distrust" any more than the German of German Protestants or the French of French Protestants or the Danish tongue of Danish Protestants? Does the average American know all these other languages? I trow not.

"He witnessed in the communicants, for the most part, discordant foreign elements who had not fused with his fellow-citizens in the work of charity, religion, education, and politics." And yet in the next paragraph but one, Mr. Cahoon quotes Macaulay's famous eulogy of the church and tells us that the splendid organization used "where they could be useful, the labor of all, no matter at what devotion and sacrifice to advance the creed of Christianity."

"Its universality," he says, "caring for, and making no distinction between the rich and poor, zealously guarding and teaching the young and weak . . . impressed the student with the conviction that the spirit of the Savior of mankind animated the Catholic Church." And this we are given to understand, has been the perpetual policy of the church. Why should the policy of that church change when it found a footing on American soil?

It has not perhaps entered into direct and formal coöperation with other religious denominations in the erection of charitable institutions; but neither do these other denominations join hands to any great extent. It's a case of "each one for himself" and all doing works of charity according to means. And the charitable institutions that have sprung up all over the land under the fostering care of the Catholic Church—and into many of them men of all religious denominations are received—bear witness to the fact that the Catholic Church is not behindhand in works of charity.

As to religion, why should the fact of the Catholic Church not fusing with other denominations be a source of "instinctive distrust?" It is our proud national boast that America is the land where one may worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience. If a Catholic believes in the truth of his religious tenets, he would be false to his God should he abandon them, and his allegiance as a good American citizen may be called into question. Do Baptists fuse with Methodists or Methodists with Episcopalians, or Episcopalians with Congregationalists? And yet these sects excite no "instinctive distrust." It is but faint and damning praise of the average American that he felt "instinctive distrust" of the Catholic Church, simply because within the scope of constitutional rights it worshipped God at its own altars.

"The average American," says Mr. Cahoon, "beheld the clergy . . . holding itself aloof from all participation in or sympathy for our national festivities." Had Catholics and the Catholic clergy no share in the events which called those national festivities into existence? Are not our interests as a religious denomination closely allied with the national achievements that made Independence Day and Decoration Day and other national holidays, as sacred and as hallowed to the Catholic heart, native or foreign-born, as ever they were to the "average American"? Why then should we hold aloof from participation in them? As a matter of fact, have we held aloof from such participation?

In the various centennial celebrations that have taken place within the last fifteen years, have not Catholic bishops and priests earnestly exhorted their people to enter heartily into the spirit of the occasion? Mr. Cahoon knows but little of the vast body of Catholic clergy in America when he says they have had no sympathy with national festivities, and I feel secure that I do not transcend the bounds of truth when I say that scarcely one among them but would resent such an imputation as a personal insult. And such, to my knowledge, has been the sentiment of the Catholic clergy for the last thirty years at least.

In his final remarks upon the American priest, Mr. Cahoon

says : "The sight of a thoroughgoing American priest . . . who was proud of his country and gloried in it, has been rare." This, to my mind, is the "most unkindest cut of all." He loses sight of the fact that, in the ranks of the American priesthood there is a considerable number of native-born, who cherish the love of their native land with an intensity that would make them glad and willing to shed their blood for it, were such an extreme measure necessary.

But even among the foreign-born there are, and have been, intensely thoroughgoing American priests. My early boyhood days were of necessity spent under the spiritual guidance of foreign-born priests, and to-day I can look back, as one of the most pleasurable reminiscences of youth, to the lessons of patriotic love for America that were instilled into my mind from the lips of a foreign-born priest.

Five years of my life I spent in a preparatory Catholic college, where all the professors (priests) were, with one exception, foreign-born, and apart from the instruction that came under the regular curriculum of studies, I heard nothing more frequently nor more earnestly inculcated than the grandeur of American institutions, the love and veneration we should entertain for them, and the gratitude we owed to God for such rare blessings.

Four other years I spent in the study of philosophy and theology under professors who represented Poland, Hungary, Italy, and Germany, and I dare say that the professors of Yale or Harvard, or any other educational institution in America, were not more enthusiastic in their appreciation of our republican institutions, nor labored more persistently to impress their students with the loftiness of their dignity as Americans than did these representatives of Poland, Hungary, Italy, and Germany.

The last nine years of my life I have had the honor to be numbered among the Catholic priesthood of America ; and whilst from one who claims it as his proudest boast to have been born under the stars and stripes of America, it might reasonably be expected that he would have a deep innate love of his native land, yet during those nine years my lot has been cast among

priests who were foreign-born, and among all, young and old, I have never found anything but a sentiment of deepest respect and veneration almost, of America and her institutions. Policy toward his church, if no higher motive, would make the foreign priest a thoroughgoing American, for the foreign-born priest above all others knows by contrast how much more favorable to the diffusion of his faith is liberty-loving America than are the despotic, bigoted, and semi-atheistic governments of Europe.

I cannot therefore well understand how Mr. Cahoon asserts that a thoroughgoing American priest was rare unless he evolved that fact from the deep recesses of his own inner consciousness or has acquired his knowledge from the malicious and mendacious cant of such men as members of the A. P. A. association, or else his acquaintance with the Catholic clergy must have been very limited. I can assure him, however, that he may lay aside his fears as to the thoroughgoingness of the American priests. We recognize the wisdom and justice and broad-mindedness of American institutions and would not exchange our American inheritance for the costliest diadem that bedecks the brow of foreign potentate.

He himself mentions an incident that "teaches more than an essay the ease with which mutual prejudices between Catholics and non-Catholics may be dispelled." The incident is the recent Columbian celebration, where in the town of Mr. Cahoon's residence the children of the public and of the parochial schools united to honor an occasion worthy alike of honor from all. A similar incident was not rare in our Connecticut cities—a fact that goes far to show that there is nothing inherent in Catholicism to keep the adherents from fusing with others in all that concerns our national honor. Catholics never built up the wall of separation—they found it already constructed and could not be expected to climb over it. It may interest Mr. Cahoon to know that in many of our smaller Connecticut towns there occurred on that same occasion incidents of a different nature but little calculated to allay religious prejudice, and which would tend to fan its smoldering embers into a glowing blaze. I refer to the preconcerted action of the A. P. A. (who

claim to be the only genuine Americans—*quod avertat Deus*) in excluding children of the parochial schools from joining with those of the public schools, or inviting them only at the eleventh hour when, if not previously prepared, they must show to disadvantage. Surely there was no display of true American spirit evidenced in such action. But unfortunately, for the A. P. A., that was the time they “were hoist by their own petard.”

There are other assertions open to criticism which time will not permit me to consider. And as they seem in the design of Mr. Cahoon’s article to but pave the way to a consideration of the school question, it is perhaps as well to leave aside all preliminary matter and consider his views on that all-absorbing topic, that is agitating all classes who have the welfare of our future generation at heart. He makes the assertion that “where Catholics were sufficiently numerous to maintain parochial schools they have been commanded by bishops and priests to do so under a penalty of denial of communion with and absolution by the church.” That such extreme measures have been taken in some cases cannot be denied; but that they have been general is an assertion which does not coincide with facts. The Catholic diocese of Hartford is one of the most prosperous in the country; and, while parochial schools have multiplied at an astonishing rate, the increase has not been made under the compulsion of ecclesiastical censure. The late council of Baltimore invests bishops with the right of inflicting such censure, but I feel secure in saying that but few (I know of but one) have exercised that right.

It is asserted again that “many of the male communicants of the church were educated in the public schools of this country and know the charge that they are ‘godless and fountains of vice’ is unjust and false.” Not only many of the lay communicants were educated in the public schools, but also many of the Catholic clergy. Most of my schoolboy days were spent in the public schools of my native city (New Haven), and I indignantly repel the charge that they were “fountains of vice.” Some rabid and over-zealous champion of parochial schools may have

made that charge, but investigation will not prove that the bulk of Catholic clergy ever held such unjust opinions. That the public schools were and are "godless" in the sense that no religion is taught in them, is true, and that is the true signification of the term "godless" as applied to the public schools by Catholic clergymen.

But Catholic bishops and priests are not alone in holding that view. Many thoughtful men of our day who have adopted education as a profession, seem to concur directly or indirectly in the same opinion. President Eliot of Harvard, not long ago wrote as follows: "I am persuaded that it is a great error to 'secularize' the public schools, first, because education would thereby be degraded and sterilized; secondly, because the attempt is too unnatural to succeed; and thirdly, because this policy never can make the public school the school of the whole population."

Said the late bishop of Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, John Henry Hobart Browne: "I plead again, as formerly, for the establishment and maintenance of church schools. I recognize fully the usefulness of much of the knowledge imparted in secular schools and the wisdom of upholding, in such a nation as ours, some system of instructing all classes of children. But it is the height of folly to elevate the worth of intellectual training and feeding above the worth of spiritual education, or to neglect the souls of our children because the minds of other children should be cultured. I wish that every parish could have its own grammar school, where the church's catechism and history could be taught along with writing and arithmetic."

Rev. Dr. Talmage published the following in his Sunday magazine: "It is not alone the Roman Catholics who are advocates of separate schools. Many clergymen and laymen of the Episcopal Church are open in their denunciation of what they term Christless, and even Godless, education." Trinity parish, he says a little further on, is educating some four thousand future voters, who have no sympathy for the present public school system.

Rev. W. H. Platt, of San Francisco, said of the public school

system : " We should Christianize our education ; because, first, if our secular schools were instituted exclusively to build up Protestantism, they are a great blunder, for they are breaking it down ; second, if to destroy Romanism, they are an utter failure ; and, third, if to break down all religion, they are a crime against civilization." One more quotation will suffice, that from the late Dr. A. A. Hodge's article in the *Princeton Review*, where he says : " Education involves the training of the whole man, and of all the faculties, of the conscience, and of the affections, as well as of intellect. The proposed attempt at erecting a complete national system of public schools from whose instruction in all grades all positive religious elements are to be expurgated, is absolutely without precedent in the history of the human race. Besides, this new principle of the absolute exclusion of God and Christ from the instruction of our common school, is in direct opposition to the spirit and declared conviction of their founders."

I could readily multiply many times these quotations, but those given suffice amply for my object, viz.: that, whilst not contending for the soundness of these views, they do coincide with the views held by bishops and priests as to the "godless" nature of public schools. They do more than coincide with Catholic views ; they furnish one of the strongest arguments that could be used against the present school system. When such men of broad culture and vast experience, whose natural inclinations would be to defend the public schools as natural (so-called, at least) institutions, find it necessary to denounce them, there must be something amiss. Where there is so much smoke there must be considerable fire. Is it, therefore, urgent to heap abuse on Archbishop Corrigan and Archbishop Ryan, and the majority of the Catholic clergy, whilst such bright lights of Protestantism are strenuously advancing concordant views ?

Mr. Cahoon tells us : " They (the Catholic clergy) excluded Bible reading from the public schools because the translation was not that approved by the church ; then they denounced them as godless." To take the latter statement first, they de-

nounced them as godless before the Bible reading was excluded, for they had common sense enough to see that mere Bible reading by a teacher who did not begin to have the qualification to explain its difficulties, is a very poor substitute for religion. They denounced Bible reading, not so much because the Bible read was not approved by the church, but because not being approved it was forced down the throats of Catholic children, thus treading upon their religious feelings. For often controversial passages were selected and Catholic children made to listen to scathing denunciations of their faith. In some places, rural districts especially, the Protestant minister was called in, or came in at least, to give his instructions. And these things are not from hearsay or taken secondhand. I witnessed them in my own schoolboy days. If Mr. Cahoon's children held any positive religious truths, would he not have denounced any system that so lacerated the most sacred feelings of his offspring?

But, apparently Mr. Cahoon does not believe in positive religious views. He would rather take shelter behind the vague, undefined spirit of Christianity. Every heretic and schismatic since the days of Christ have found there a haven of rest—a fact which goes far to prove the necessity of defined forms. Christ himself taught his religion in definite forms. His commission to his Apostles was “to teach whatsoever I have commanded you,” and if the spirit of Christianity means anything, it means the continuance of positive religious forms, it means dogmatism however distasteful that may be to the agnosticism and false liberal-mindedness of our day.

All creeds may contain something good; but, full of inconsistencies, as they are collectively considered, it is evident that not all can be true, for “consistency is a jewel that sparkles only on the brow of truth.” If we have religion at all in the schools, let it be something positive, not the undeterminate something that breathes forth Christianity (not always) in the text-books.

Holding such views, I am not surprised that when Mr. Cahoon enters the field of logic against the reverend archbishop of Philadelphia, he argues against himself. He tells us that

religion is "godliness, or real piety in practice, consisting in the performance of all known duties to God and our fellow-men, in obedience to divine command or from love to God and His law." If this is the species of religion Mr. Cahoon would have in the public schools, I think there is not a Catholic in the land but would shake hands with him and call him brother. But the difficulty will be how, without positive religious forms, we shall be able to know all our duties to God and our fellow-men. A duty implies a positive obligation which we ought to know in some determinate manner. The commandments of the decalogue are nothing indefinite or ambiguous. Surely we would not be expected to learn our duties as citizens to the temporal authorities from the garbled and fragmentary excerpts that might appear in text-books. With much less reason may we be expected to learn our duties to our God. Again, if the motive of our performing our duties to God and our fellow-men is "love of God and His law," we must know what that law is, and there are very few text-books that will give a child anything more than an exceedingly hazy view of his duty to God from a love of God's law. "*Ignoti nulla cupido*," is the old maxim which holds good here. If a child does not know the law it will never be desirous of obeying it. By all means then, give us this religion in the schools, but give us at the same time the means to acquire. "*Qui tenetur ad finem, habet jus ad media*." With us Catholics it is not a question either of ruling or ruining the public school; but since we pay our share of the school taxes, we would like to see such an adjustment of the difficulties as would free us from the burden of double taxation, and, at the same time, would enable us to send our children to schools where we could feel confident that they are receiving education in the truest and broadest sense; "the harmonious development of both body and soul of the child, by external training, according to the idea of the Creator; the developing and perfecting of all his faculties, whether corporal or spiritual, natural or supernatural; the bringing out of the image and likeness of His Creator which is impressed upon him; his habilitation for the fulfillment of his duties toward himself, his fellow-men, and his

Creator—above all, the practical initiation and direction on the way that leads to eternal happiness.”

But one more comment and I am done. Mr. Cahoon seems laboring under the delusion that it is only recently that the Catholic clergy have recognized in the state any right to educate. Now, if I mistake not the position of the Catholic clergy, our contention is that, not only has the state the right to educate, but also a duty to provide religious education—if that be done in a manner not detrimental to the conscience of the subjects.

Our difficulty has always been, either with what we as well as many non-Catholics, call “godless” schools, or with compulsory state schools into which the children are forced regardless of the primary rights invested in the parent over the education of children. Neither the “godless” system of our own country nor the compulsory system of some European countries have been “howling successes” as far as decrease of crime is concerned. There has been in many minds a misleading idea that intelligence is necessarily the enemy of vice and crime and that moral delinquency decreases in proportion as illiteracy is removed. The many educated rascals whose crimes blacken the records of our courts, is a sufficient reminder that something more than mere intellectual education is necessary to make good citizens. Mr. Brooker, who was in 1888 chairman of the Board of Directors of the South Carolina penitentiary declared that “it is a fearful fact that a large proportion of our prison population is of the educated class.” Statistics give further proof of the same lamentable inefficiency of mere intellectual development. According to the tenth census, while the population had increased thirty per cent and illiteracy ten per cent (an actual relative decrease), the increase in criminals was eighty-two per cent. In 1850 there was one criminal to every 3,442 inhabitants. The ratio increased so that in 1860 there was one criminal to every 1,647, in 1870, one to every 1,021, in 1880, one to every 837. What the ratio is for 1890 I am not able to say. It has been attempted to saddle this increase on the influx of foreigners; but the attempt in the light of census figures, proves a failure. For while in 1850 the ratio of foreign criminals to population was

five times that of native-born, in 1880 the ratio of criminals among the foreign element is but little in excess of that for native whites.

So much for our system. Let us take a glance at the compulsory state school system in the stronghold—Germany. The results are not gratifying to say no worse of them. In 1873 a Berlin preacher is reported to have said: “At present the prison cells allotted to juvenile criminals are so crammed that there is no longer any room for them.” The following statistics I take as I have seen them quoted: In Prussia from 1871 to 1878 the percentage of increase in crime was an average of 100 per cent. Increases of crime against morality 148 per cent; personal outrages, 143 per cent; murders, 45 per cent; against property, 226 per cent; the increase in population was 4.4 per cent. In Saxony: Murders increase 85 per cent; against morality 181 per cent; personal outrages 200 per cent; the increase of population was 7.4 per cent. A similar state of things prevailed in Baden, Bavaria, Würtemberg, and other places, so that Herr von Puttkamer, the minister of public instruction, said: “I am convinced that on the day in which we cease to make the saving teachings of the gospel the basis of education, the fall of our national civilized life will be inevitable.”

As to Americanizing the Catholic Church that is impossible, as but a small proportion of the children belong to America and those who are here, for the most part, need no Americanizing. They are just as patriotic, have just as deep-seated a love for America, have the interests as much at heart as have any other religious denomination in the land. And if in the future events shall so shape themselves that circumstances will demand of them a pledge of their love of country, they will not be wanting in sacrifices and in valorous deeds, as they were not in the past. If America has no greater danger impending over it than that which threatens from the Catholic Church, the time-honored and cherished institutions will long survive and the stars and stripes of America will long wave over a happy and a prosperous people.

T. M. CROWLEY.

THE CLAIMS OF CIVIL SERVICE REFORM ON PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

BY ANDREW J. PALM.

“**T**O FIND honest men and having found them to put them in office and keep them there is the great problem of American politics,” says Mr. Bryce in his “American Commonwealth.”

Whether this be the most vital question of the many that present themselves for solution at the present time, I am not prepared to affirm, but that it is one of vast importance and that now is the time to meet it will be admitted by all except professional politicians and those who desire to get to the public crib, imagining that they are more likely to reach it through partisan fealty than on account of their fitness for places of public trust.

Professional politicians have but little use for either civil service or ballot reform, for they prefer a ballot that can be manipulated when they consider it necessary, and a tenure of office that can be prostituted to their own selfish interests. They are in politics as a business; for what they can get out of it; and whether they conduct it as honest straightforward business, or on the lowest plane of deception and bribery depends partly on the men who are engaged in it, but mostly on what is necessary to reach the desired end. For this reason they should be ruled out of court when these questions of reform are on trial. The testimony of the man personally interested in a cause is taken with due allowance for the reason that his self-interest is rightfully considered as likely to influence his general impressions of the case, even if it does not go so far as to destroy his respect for the truth. For a similar reason the opinions of “office brokers” or “political middlemen,” who force themselves to the front to gratify their wants and ambitions, whose highest conception of a

man's fitness for office is that he can boast, "I am a Democrat," or "I am a Republican," as the case may be, should be taken with great allowance, for their self-interest most certainly obscures their judgment as to what is best for the public welfare. They are always ready to talk reform and praise reform and put it in platforms, but when it comes to putting it into practice they may be counted out every time only as they are driven to it by the overwhelming force of public opinion, and not infrequently have they been known to thwart a strong public sentiment by raising a dust to hide it from sight. If all those who have the "office itch" and their friends were left out of the count, for the good reason that their self-interest renders them prejudiced arbiters, civil service reform would be speedily settled and settled permanently, too, on those sensible business principles that should characterize public as well as private service.

Thoughtful men, whose judgments are not warped and whose motives are not rendered questionable by visions of holding "a bit of an office," are coming more and more to take an interest in this important subject, and as each recurring administration comes into power, the disgust at the indecent scramble for the spoils of office becomes more widespread; and thus the hungry horde of place hunters are themselves doing their full share toward killing the iniquitous system that has made them a parasite on the body politic. When the number of prayerful applicants for two or three subordinate situations in a distillery reaches over two hundred, as is the case in a Pennsylvania district, it has a tendency to make the member of Congress "tired," and to disgust all sensible men with the system that makes such a condition not only possible, but probable. This is only an illustration of the state of affairs all over the country, and such a condition will continue to disgrace American politics and lower the self-respecting tone of American citizenship as long as the spoils system is recognized as right in principle and good politics in practice. It has caused Congress to be aptly described as composed of men elected to distribute the spoils and turned out for making mistakes in the distribution.

Washington is swarming with office brokers, importuning

President Cleveland or some of the heads of departments to appoint men to positions on the ground that it is due for their disinterested services to the party, though the truth is that in most cases it is for personal services rendered the politician who is asking the appointment. The public places will not satisfy a tenth part of those who desire to reward personal favors with public positions, but unless the President sets his face like a flint against the outrage, as far as the offices will reach, they are likely to go as rewards to men for having served the interests of some politician.

Those private employers who gave notice "No Irish need apply," were considered harsh, unreasonable, and as exhibiting a principle worthy only of contempt; but infinitely worse is the principle of the spoils system. When Democrats rule, on every public building is the notice, "No Republican need apply. No matter what his nationality, character, or religion; no matter how deserving, competent, or needy, no man need expect recognition here unless he votes the Democratic ticket." When Republicans come into power the change of a single word is all that is necessary to make the same old weather-beaten sign answer another four years.

It is surprising that the American people, who boast of their practical, common sense methods of doing things, should have permitted the unbusinesslike spoils system to continue as long as it has. The executive machinery of the government is largely, almost entirely, a matter of simple business. There is no more politics in handling letters, or in gauging the contents of a barrel of the fiery products of a distillery, or in ninety-nine hundredths of other work for which office-seekers are clamoring, than there is in husking corn or selling peanuts; and it would be just as sensible for the appointing power to ask the man who aspires to be his hostler whether he is at present a Presbyterian and has always been a Democrat, as to inquire whether the man who wants to be postmaster at Coon's Corners thinks there should be a tariff on potatoes. There is no office so trifling that its duties may not be better performed by one who is familiar with them; and if the work of any public position is done honestly

and faithfully it is all the public welfare demands and all that a sensible public expects. Just what the holder of such office may think of either religion or politics is none of the public's business, and he should be retained during good behavior, which includes, of course, faithful performance of duty.

Under the spoils system ability counts for nothing in favor of the incumbent, and lack of it but little against the fellow who is clamoring for his place. All that is necessary to displace the most efficient employee is to have some influential politician go to work with a determination of getting that particular place for some political favorite who can, of course, though he be a chump, furnish petitions by the yard and letters from prominent politicians by the score. The boss may ask the favor on account of friendship for the office-seeker, or because of political or other services that he has received from him ; or possibly, it may be he is asking it as the consideration of a certain amount of cash or for a share of the salary ; all these considerations have their share in the demoralizing methods of conducting spoils politics.

In no case can he be said to have the public welfare in view where the public interest is already in good hands ; and whether he makes his demand on account of friendship or of a bribe, if it be granted, the outrage against the public is equally plain. If it is bribery for a politician to pay cash to a friend for his vote and influence, it is bribery in a still meaner sense to remunerate him by getting the government to pay the price of the infamy.

If it be possible for a universally admitted evil to afford compensating results, sufficient to justify its perpetuation, we should expect to find the spoils system to be such an evil ; but after reading all the arguments I have been able to find in its favor, from the exquisite sarcasm of Ingalls down to the maiden effort of the young lawyer, I can sum it all up as follows : 1. That the offices should go with the successful party in order to keep up a proper party spirit. 2. That on a change of administration there should be a change in all the agencies that aid in conducting it to insure its highest success. 3. That offices

should go round and be held by the many instead of by the few.

These reasons seem puerile when compared with the well-founded charges against the system. It is an imputation against the intelligence of the American people, a charge that they are incompetent for proper self-government, to say that they must have party spoils continually flouted before their eyes to remind them of their duty to the government and incite them to discharge the duties of citizenship. The man who takes no interest in public affairs only as he hopes to receive a reward in money or its equivalent is not a good citizen, and his interest would better remain dormant than to be excited by so base a motive. Party spirit is one of the most baneful influences in our public system, and it has the one inevitable result of unfitting men to take an impartial and unprejudiced view of political questions upon which they are to pass judgment. The voter to whom is entrusted the responsibility of deciding grave political questions should be as free from partisan bias as ought the judge who is called to render an important legal opinion ; but the experience of every sensible man has taught him that party feeling runs away with judgment. Times without number we have seen the humiliating spectacle of men in Congress and our state legislatures opposing certain measures with all their powers of eloquence and logic, and then when the decisive moment came, that unreasoning corrupting partisan spirit asserted its sway, and these men have stultified themselves by voting with their party, against their judgment and against their declared convictions of the right. When the bonds of party spirit or party prejudice, which is synonymous, have such an effect on men who are supposed to be liberal, broad-minded, intelligent statesmen, what a blinding influence might we not expect them to have on the minds of the rank and file.

We have an apt illustration in the discussion that took place in the United States Senate a few days ago when the resolution to turn out the employees of that body was under discussion. Half a dozen of the most prominent senators declared that they had no fault to find with any of the employees whom they were about to remove. Their ability, courtesy, and general fitness

were all that they could ask and they expressed a regret that they could not be retained. One, who is perhaps the recognized leader of the Democratic side in the Senate, went so far as to express his sorrow that permanency in office in the Senate might not be maintained ; and thought that, from the highest down to the doorkeeper, it would be better if no changes should be made, except for cause. And yet he and all his venerable colleagues stultified themselves by voting for the resolution ; and in order to make amends they will perhaps put in an appearance at the next national convention and solemnly dedicate their party to the sacred cause of civil service reform. "Actions speak louder than words," and if one of the men who voted for the resolution should ever raise his voice in a public address to speak in favor of civil service reform, he should be hissed from the platform.

It was not a sufficient excuse to say that they would do a foolish thing and turn the Republicans out because the Republicans had done a foolish thing and turned Democrats out. If precedent is all a body of men desires on which to base an act, every crime in the catalogue may be committed without delay. It is always safe and creditable to establish good precedent, always dangerous to follow bad ones.

Those who profess to belief that party spirit is a desirable aid in managing affairs of government have not studied Washington's farewell address with the care that it deserves, especially the following paragraph :

"Let me now take a more comprehensive view and warn you against the evils of party spirit generally. This spirit unfortunately is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled, or repressed ; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy. There is an opinion that parties in a free country are useful checks on the administration of the government and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true ; and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose ; and there being

constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it consumes."

There is no chance to misconstrue this language of Washington and there is just as little to doubt its truth. There are authorities without number, and of the highest character, that confirm this opinion and bear witness to the dangers of party spirit. In fact, I can recall no unprejudiced author who has ever risked his reputation in attempting to show that such a spirit is to be recommended.

Albert Stickney says : * " It is said that parties are combinations of citizens for the purpose of carrying measures. I maintain, on the contrary, that these combinations which we call parties, never can be anything but combinations of office holders or office seekers to carry elections. With the men who manage these parties, however upright may be their intentions, the end which is first is in time to get office for themselves ; to this end they must have the support of other party men ; to this end they must give their support to other party men. The party organization naturally and certainly becomes an organization of men who combine and work together to secure their own election to the different places under government. It becomes, try to disguise it as we may, a system of trading in office."

Wm. D. LeSuer : " It is not the bitterness of political discussion that seems to us the worst result of the party system, it is its amazing hollowness. A reasonable man is simply lost in amazement as he reads, day after day, in ably edited journals, whole columns of writing in which there is hardly the faintest gleam of sincere conviction to be discovered. Day after day the same miserable evasions, the same varnishing over of unsightly facts, the same reiteration of unproved charges against opponents, the same taking for granted of things requiring proof, the same proving of things that nobody questions, the same hypocritical appeals to the good sense of electors whom every effort is being made to confuse and misinform ; the same dreary, unmeaning platitudes—in a word, the same utter abuse of the reasoning faculty and of the functions and privileges of a free press. That party controversy is, in general, the merest parody of anything like legitimate and serious political argument, is easily shown to any one who is not himself a hopeless thrall to party."

Ezra C. Seaman : † " The tendency of party spirit is to tolerate no man as leader, who is not blind to the faults of his own party, and to the merits of his opponents. Men of sound understandings, who look

* " A True Republic,"

† " The American System of Government,"

at both sides of political questions and judge fairly and impartially of their merits, soon lose the confidence of violent partisans, are distrusted by them and no longer recognized as leaders. A fair-minded man who looks at both sides of political questions and considers them carefully with a view to judge of their merits, is unfitted for a party leader, and must stand in the background. Partisan enthusiasts, and men who have one blind side, and are accustomed to see and appreciate the merits of one side only, must occupy the front seats. The violent party spirit and party organizations of the present day tend to make sharp, one-sided and narrow-minded men, and cunning politicians—but not statesmen. They tend to discourage freedom of inquiry, freedom of thought and freedom of speech upon political questions; to destroy freedom of action; and to unfit men to become statesmen however long they may be in public life."

John C. Calhoun: * "That which corrupts and debases the community politically must also corrupt and debase it morally. It is accordingly found that in the violent strife between parties for the high and glittering prize of governmental honors and emoluments—falsehood, injustice, fraud, artifice, slander, and breach of faith are freely resorted to as legitimate weapons—followed by all their corrupting and debasing influences."

Fraser's Magazine: "Party government has made politics a perfect religion of hate—hate which reaches its height in those who, if they are to command our respect, ought to be more free than ourselves from vulgar passions. It is the duty of everyone, in proportion as he is active in politics, to see the character and actions of every member of the opposite faction in the worst possible light. If accident happen to throw a man into a different political combination from that in which he has been before, though his measures and sentiments may remain essentially the same, his whole conduct and every feature of his mind undergo a complete metamorphosis in the eyes of his quondam friends."

Henry Clay: "A standing army has been in all free countries a just object of jealousy and suspicion. But is not a corps of one hundred thousand dependents upon government, actuated by one spirit, obeying one will and aiming at one end more dangerous than a standing army?"

Sir Henry S. Maine: † "Historically speaking, party is nothing more than a survival and a consequence of the primitive combativeness of mankind. It is war without the city transmuted into war within the city, but mitigated in the process. Party strife, like strife in arms, develops many high but imperfect and one-sided virtues; it is fruitful of self-denial and self-sacrifice. But wherever it prevails, a great part of ordinary morality is unquestionably suspended; a number of maxims are received, which are not those of religion or ethics; and men do acts which, except as between enemies and political opponents, would be very generally classed as immoralities or sins."

* "A Disquisition on Government."

† "Popular Government."

Sidney E. Williams :* "Public spirit is crushed out by party spirit, and with few exceptions our legislators lack the courage to be honest. The advantages of party discipline are almost insignificant beside its evils, beside its moral cowardice and insincerity, its want of principle and indifference to public interest. No one can view without some feeling of disgust the caviling and bickering, the maligning misrepresentation and calumny which pass for political criticism, and which are the chief artifices of party welfare. The party system is rotten to the core."

E. de Laveleye :† "The spirit of party resembles the spirit of *sect* ; it calls into being a special conscience which believes everything permissible for the good cause ; it is so intolerant, and the creed so rigid that whoever fails to defend it as a whole is a traitor. All independence of thought disappears ; every one becomes the slave of the official program. The statesman with originality of mind becomes a peril ; he is 'a horse which kicks out in the ranks'—he must be reduced to the yoke or expelled. Those eminent minds which consider affairs under all their phases, which desire that circumstances should be considered, which, knowing the past foresee the future, are held in distrust."

It must be evident to any man who has studied the question that rotation in office cannot be defended on the ground that it stimulates party spirit ; for clearly what we need is less party spirit and more sense, less partisanship and more statesmanship. A man who declared he would vote for the devil if his satanic majesty were running on his ticket may have been more outspoken, but not much more unreasonable, than the majority of his partisan associates.

Neither is there any force in the assertion that all the subordinates should be in political sympathy with the administration. An honest employee will do his work equally well under any administration, and he would be particularly free to be faithful if he knew that an honest discharge of duty meant a continuance in position.

Our congressmen do not feel safe in having chaplains to pray for them, and ask the divine blessing on their partisan work unless their political faith is above suspicion ; and yet, strange to say, no one has ever advocated a change in the military every four years, which would be much less foolish than changing

* "Party and Patriotism."

† "Democratic Government."

chaplains and other civil officeholders. Is it not especially important that the military be in harmony with the administration? If peaceable, unarmed civilians cannot be trusted as clerks and postmasters, unless their political opinions harmonize with the powers that be, it is surely more dangerous to have the men who control the guns, arsenals, forts, and men-of-war as political enemies. If there is an iota of truth in the assertion that the employees should be in political sympathy with the administration, a careful examination should be made of the army and navy at each change of the presidency, and every soldier and sailor, every officer from the major general and admiral down to the cadet, whose politics is off color, should be sent adrift and their places filled with men elected by politicians to be in harmony with the spoils system.

A forcible illustration of the evil results of having non-political positions filled with men friendly to the administration, is furnished in the present condition of the Michigan state prison. For years it was regarded as one of the best managed institutions in the country; and men, interested in prison reform, went from far and near to visit the Jackson prison to learn something of the methods on which it was conducted. Warden Hatch, one of the ablest prison managers in the country, was in charge; and everything was moving along smoothly until the governorship fell into the hands of the other party. Then the stupid, and in this case the criminal, policy of removing a tried and trusty officer and appointing one in political sympathy with the governor was tried, with the usual results. It has demoralized the prison, disgraced the governor and the management, and been a shame to the state.

The argument that offices should go round has as little force as the others. Even granting that they should go round, there is no reason why the going round should be confined to one side of the political fence. If offices were created for individual benefit, there might be some reason for having as many of them as possible and having frequent changes; but they are intended purely for public purposes and as long as they are properly conducted no risk should be imposed on the public in making

changes. Let well enough alone is the only safe policy to pursue. If a man is performing his whole duty in a public office, no one else has any right to it, no one should be given any reason to expect it; and least of all is he likely to deserve it, who has the presumption to ask that a worthy man be crowded out simply in order that he might get his place. Such men, in the language of trades unions, are denominated "scabs," and a more unfitting term might be applied to them in matters public. If office could go round so that all would have a "pull" at the public soup house, the plan might have some advantages; but it is simply impossible for offices to go round if changes were made every ninety days; and the gain between having them go a very small part of the way round and a very little larger part of the way is too small to be taken into consideration.

Whether public office be regarded as a public trust, as it is in political platforms, or a private snap, as it is practically considered by politicians, it proves under the spoils system to be a double curse—damning both him that gives and him that receives. The power that names a man for a position is secretly, if not openly, denounced by all the disappointed applicants and their friends; while the successful one, under the short tenure of office, soon finds himself out of a job, unsettled in business, dissatisfied in mind, and frequently unfitted for ordinary employment. He becomes, in many cases, a sort of chronic loafer, living on hope and his political friends between administrations, doing nothing but a little dirty party work, expecting again to secure a petty office when his "set" gets into power. It is an undeniable fact that office-holding proves a curse to a very large part of those who engage in it; and the man in New Jersey, who willed his proverty to his son a few days ago on condition that he should never engage in politics, gives evidence of being a man of sense and observation.

The business and social relations of life should receive man's chief attention; but under the spoils system the desire of holding public place has been so stimulated that a large percentage of our citizens take more interest in politics than they do in their own business or in their social relations; and are

anxiously, impatiently waiting and scheming to get the reward that is held out to them as the price of their fealty to party leaders.

If, as has been said, "Hypocrisy is a sort of homage that vice pays to virtue," civil service reform must possess extraordinary virtue; for the number of its hypocritical supporters is legion. Every national platform of both the old parties, beginning with 1872 and ending with 1892, without a single exception, has solemnly pledged its respective party to the cause of civil service reform; and every administration has willfully and flagrantly dishonored both the letter and spirit of such reform. Platform makers seem to have vied with one another to see which could make the most emphatic declaration on the subject. Sometimes one party could claim the honor, sometimes it belonged to the other; but thus far all have proved but hollow mockeries, intended to deceive the few who have protested against the demoralization resulting from peddling out public offices as rewards for party services.

Republicans profess to believe in the theory of civil service reform all the time; but they are in favor of it practically only when the Democrats come into power. Democrats have professed a continual belief in its principles, but they seem to be anxious about its practice only when Republicans bear rule.

No man ever had a better opportunity to place himself above the domination of party dictation and make for himself a name that should be one of the most illustrious in our history than had Benjamin Harrison when he took the reins of government four years ago. Many good men of his party were honest and earnest in their demands for civil service reform, and they would have heartily seconded his efforts in trying to fulfill the solemn pledges, made for thirty years past in the national platform of his party. Besides, his party had been in power continually for twenty-four years out of twenty-eight, and well could he have afforded to be magnanimous as well as just. The desire for fair play that exists even in the crudest minds would have acquiesced in a fair division of the "spoils," as the responsibilities of office are vulgarly called. But Mr. Harrison

did not take advantage of the greatest opportunity of his life to win distinction as a liberal-minded statesman, and to confer an inestimable blessing upon his nation; but instead, he unceremoniously hustled his political opponents out of seats that they had scarcely warmed.

It is true, he succeeded in renomination himself by his shrewd partisan appointments; but what proved his strength among the spoilsmen, who are powerful in dominating conventions and forcing nominations, turned to weakness when tried before a full court of the American people. It would be an insult to Mr. Harrison's judgment, an attack on his sense of justice, honesty, and good public policy to say that his own feelings did not incline him to carry out, in letter and in spirit, the principles of civil service reform as demanded by the platform upon which he was elected. And would he not occupy a much more enviable position to-day had he done so? True, he might have incurred the displeasure of his political henchmen and have been defeated for renomination; but he would have been honored for the enemies he made. Even under his narrow partisan course he alienated a large number of his party leaders and was overwhelmingly defeated at the polls. In one case defeat would have come full of honor, as death comes to the martyr; in the other it had more or less of discredit, for it came after he had shown that he lacked the courage of his better and higher convictions of duty. He proved to be what so many others have been, the ruler of a party and not the executive of a nation.

Next to Mr. Harrison's lost opportunity the call is extended to President Cleveland to prove what many already believe, that he is greater and better than the spoils jobbers of his party. He has thrice been honored with the nomination for the highest office in the gift of any people on earth, and twice triumphantly elected. No mere partisan administration, however honestly and ably conducted, can add anything to his enviable reputation. He can, however, do that which is a higher mark of statesmanship, patriotism, and courage than has been reached by any president since the spoils system was inaugurated; he can be the president of the whole people; he can insist that the only quali-

fication for public place shall be ability and character, and that the one that gives best proof of these shall be the successful applicant, no matter whether he be Republican or Democrat, Prohibitionist, Populite, or Independent, or whether he have any influential political friend to intercede in his behalf. They are alike loyal American citizens, and all are equally entitled in justice to a share in managing what may be called the machinery of the government, granting that strictly national and international policies are rightfully dictated by the majority through the president and his advisers.

As the ill-advised action of one president was sufficient to inaugurate the iniquitous system that has clung to us like a millstone for sixty years, a firm stand of one fearless executive in favor of the right will re-establish our political system on a sound business basis so firmly that no succeeding president will ever dare to transgress the unwritten law. Public sentiment which for a time might be pretty equally divided would soon adopt a reasonable view of the case, indorse his wise policy and protest against a return to the savage spoils system. A howl of indignation would rise from those who have only a "bread and butter" conception of politics; but the louder this howl the stronger would be the evidence that he was acting in the line of his duty; and for every one of these fair-weather friends that he would lose, he would gain a dozen whose friendship reaches beyond cold-blooded self-interest. The "office brokers" are but a small portion of the whole people, nor do they represent the honest, thoughtful public sentiment; and it is a shame that their protests and threats should have turned the scale against those who desire reform for reform's sake as they did under Presidents Lincoln, Grant, and Hayes, who were disgusted with the corrupt system, but stood amazed and helpless at the Augean task before them.

Reform is urgent in our elective as well as in our appointive systems; but it must begin at the top. If President Cleveland will declare that political belief shall have no weight in the appointment of a clerk or postmaster, the people will begin to consider the utter folly of making political faith a test in the

election of school directors, judges, and, in fact, of most municipal and county offices.

The question comes to President Cleveland with the regular quadriennial indorsement of his own party for three decades ; it comes having his own emphatic utterances four years ago and again but recently in its favor ; it comes with the petition of every man who believes that principles should come first and party afterward, and who feels that our executive should look to the best interests of the whole people, minorities as well as majorities.

The needed reform does not inquire as to the political opinions of men who are in office ; nor does it keep its eye constantly on the record to see at what hour their time expires ; neither does it ask as to the party proclivities of those to be appointed to fill vacancies. There seems to be an opinion prevalent that an administration is carrying out the principles of civil service reform if it but allows those who are in office to serve out the terms for which they were appointed and then send them out, making political faith a necessary qualification in filling their places. This is not civil service reform at all ; it is simply the more decent way of carrying out the spoils system.

Mr. Cleveland's friends have reason to expect something better than this from his administration. If he shall rise equal to the occasion, and succeed, during his second four years at the White House, in destroying the iniquitous system that makes public life a burden and a reproach, his administration will stand out pre-eminent in all future history of the country.

We believe he has the power and courage and inclination to drive the spoils brokers from the halls of government as the money changers were driven from the temple ; and, if he will but do so, he can rely on his judgment, on his conscience, and on the good sense of the American people to vindicate his noble action.

ANDREW J. PALM.

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WHITE SUPREMACY IN THE SOUTH—HOW PERPETUATED WITHOUT VIOLATION OF LAW.

BY J. H. PITMAN, MEMBER OF THE GEORGIA BAR.

IN A recent publication entitled "Prisoners and Paupers,"* the author, departing from the suggestions of his theme, indicts the Southern people with charges which, but for the weakness of his testimony and the folly of his subsequent propositions in discussing the race problem at the South, might result in unjust judgments. He has been informed "that it is the policy of the Southern courts to convict the negro of crime in order that he may be deprived of suffrage," and insists that the Federal Government should assume further control of the condition of the nation's wards, who are taxed for the support of public institutions and then denied access to them. He boldly asserts that here, in our country, where brains, intelligence, and personal ability are the only recognized title to *social rank* and preferment, distinctions of birth and race can have no logical or rightful place.

I shall not deem it necessary, at this late day, to contend for or discuss the distinction of races socially. It is enough that it exists, and that the highest courts of our country, state and Federal, have sustained laws enforcing that distinction. What else can be the real meaning of the settled adjudication that common carriers may provide separate cars for the races, and enforce the separation purely on color line, without doing vio-

* By Henry M. Boles.

lence to any right guaranteed to the citizen under the Federal Constitution? Nor do I apprehend any further Federal interference. The results of extreme legislation in that direction during the past quarter of a century, as will appear in the communications mentioned herein, are now acknowledged to be failures utterly, in so far as it was aimed at the social barriers and political ascendencies of Southern race conditions.

In the much exploited field of election frauds, but little notice has been taken of the fact that in several congressional districts in the cotton states, where the whites are in the minority, many negroes voluntarily disqualify themselves by refusal to pay poll tax, appropriated to school purposes for their benefit, and that others cheerfully accept an extra day's wages, offered not to coerce a vote, but as an inducement to stay at home and labor on election day, voting not at all. Yet the usual white majority is attributed wholly to the practice of fraud and intimidation. But the disagreeable truth still confronts us, that resort is sometimes had to methods which, though not technically illegal, do undoubtedly set precedents which are dangerous to the degree of threatening the purity of the ballot-box in the future, even in the absence of outright dishonesty.

As a plan to solve the problem of "The Relation of the Negro to the State and Federal Governments," Mr. Wickliffe, in a recent number of the *Forum*, advocates a repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment, leaving to the states severally the power to disfranchise the negro, and a reduction of each state's representation in Congress and in the Electoral college in proportion to the number disfranchised. This, it is asserted, would provide a legal way to dispose of race contests in localities where the negro is numerically stronger.

If Louisiana, for instance, desired to retain her eight electoral votes and her six members of Congress, she would leave the negro a suffragist. If she desired (as she does) white supremacy within the law, she would surrender two or three of her Congressmen, and a corresponding influence in the choice of President.

But would Louisiana, or any other state in the Union, elect upon these conditions to disfranchise the negro? If not, the repeal of the Fifteenth Amendment would be fruitless, and the

argument based upon an assumption that a race qualification would follow the remission of that power to the states, would fall of its own weight. In other words, the writer assumed as a fact the very proposition which is here denied, to-wit: that the Southern States would be willing to reduce their representation in order to make white supremacy sure, through the means of disfranchisement proposed. The Fifteenth Amendment being simply an inhibition imposed on the states against making the matter of race an element of qualification for suffrage, the repeal of it would have no effect on existing law unless some state should then proceed to disqualify a race and suffer the reduced representation fixed by the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

No state having a small negro population could work any material change upon existing conditions within that state, by a statute of disfranchisement.

No state having a large negro population would use the power relegated to it, in the manner proposed, because

1. With the negro as a voter the state enjoys an increased representation in the national legislature. This representation the state would not diminish for the consideration of guaranteed white supremacy, for the reason that white supremacy is already established in these American states by a law—not of man's making—which placed the Anglo-Saxon in authority over the African, drew a line of marked physical distinction between them, and under penalty of destruction of both, forever forbade amalgamation.

That Mr. Wickliffe accepts and duly appreciates this great truth is shown most forcibly when he says :

If the white people of the South, impoverished by war, bound and hampered by adverse legislation, with large numbers of their own voters disfranchised, and all their offices in the possession of men who advocated negro domination, were able to overthrow that domination and assert the principle of Saxon supremacy, can any reasonable man suppose that those people, with all their embarrassments removed and all the conditions reversed, will ever consent that intelligence shall again be ruled by ignorance?

2. Even if a state should elect to disqualify the majority of

negroes from voting, that result could be accomplished by legislation within the Fifteenth Amendment; that is, by imposing qualifications applicable to both races and therefore not hostile to the constitutional inhibition against race discrimination, such as the Mississippi law, imposing an educational standard for the voter. The disqualified would still have representation in Congress,—and why not? Are not non-voting women and children of both races now counted in apportioning representation?

Mr. Wickliffe tells us that the Fifteenth Amendment is merely the creature of partisan politics, “made in the interest of a political party without a thought of the ostensible beneficiary—the negro.” The result has been to increase the representation of the Southern States without increasing that of the Republican party, whose ranks, however, were swelled by the black contingent; but it would be worse than partisan politics for that party now to advocate repeal and disfranchisement simply because results, though logical, are not what were contemplated.

As for the Democratic party, its complacency should not be disturbed, because an engine of political warfare, designed for Democratic slaughter, has, in the mutations of time, begun to batter its makers into biennial defeat.

That Mr. Wickliffe has, in his interesting discussion of an always vexed subject, spoken with the courage of his convictions, and laid bare certain fundamental truths too often glossed over or evaded entirely by current controversialists, especially those who assume to speak for the South through the columns of metropolitan newspapers, no one well acquainted with the scenes enacted at every national election in the Southern States, can, in good conscience, deny.

In the black belt—the cotton states—it is unquestionably true that black hands do sometimes hand up ballots that ought in law to be deposited and counted, but which in fact are dropped into a hole having, to all practical purposes, no bottom at all, as they never see the light of day again.

Whether the proportion of this unlawful work is greater in the South than in the North, I do not know, but those who know the facts there as I know them here, tell me that fraud and

bribery are not confined to communities nor affected by geography. A legal condition was imposed on a conquered people here, which left them a choice between subjection to African rule or a resort to methods not sanctioned by written law. They chose, and the result is known. But I fully agree with Mr. Wickliffe that "the moral sensibilities of our people have been blunted by practices into which they were by dire necessity driven."

Here then, in my humble opinion, is left the only unanswered and only really troublesome branch of the "negro problem." By what *legal means* shall we be enabled to continue white supremacy in these districts where the blacks outnumber the whites two to one?

I trust I have already shown that the plan of race disfranchisement, with the sequent reapportionment of representation, is neither necessary nor desirable. The method adopted by the state of Mississippi, now embodied in her Constitution, which makes one man sit in judgment upon the intelligence of another, with no limit of discretion, is, to say the best of it, arbitrary to the extent of paving the way for disregard of the law itself. An educational qualification, requiring a definite and fixed measure of learning, has much to recommend it; but it is a difficult standard to create or define, and the mere suggestion of such legislation among the illiterate whites would furnish choice opportunity for the demagogue to ride into office on the ballots of the offended.

Whence, then, shall we seek the answer, and who shall lead the way to the peaceful, legal, and honorable solution of the hitherto irrepressible problem? The negro himself! Nay, there shall be no need of solution when the problem itself, now vanishing swiftly backward, shall be left only to the memory of a time when the Anglo-Saxon demagogue, through basest motive and for selfish ends, whispered into the eager, ignorant, and unsuspecting ear of the black man the vain hope of political and social equality, and lured him on to disappointment, and estrangement from those who were his once best friends.

At last the negro himself has found out that it is not for him

to govern in this land, and he turns to the support of that party or that man, though not of his race nor former political creed, that is doing most to secure for him material assistance and legal protection.

What a significant spectacle it was to this generation in Georgia, for instance, to see hundreds, yes thousands of negroes, who for twenty years past have been voting against every interest of their employers, come trooping to the polls in 1892 with Democratic tickets in their hands, voting with the people whose legislature gave them free schools and whose taxes paid the cost.

At last the negro has found out that there is real magnanimity in the law of a southern state which divides to the races a school fund in the proportion of 60 to 40, when the relative amounts of taxes paid by the races to raise that fund are as 18 to 1.* And their leaders are quietly but effectively teaching them the folly of opposing, without hope of success, the domination of the white race, and making plain to their understanding the better plan of choosing between the whites, when they choose at all.

Only a few years ago, when color marked the line between the two political parties in the South, negro candidates for offices resting on popular suffrage were not uncommon. Yet, when in 1892 the whites were divided by the advent of the "third party," the negroes, instead of taking advantage of the breach to rout both flanks, not only refused to organize under their old standards and put black candidates in the field, but, contrary to all prophecy, the majority of them, in state elections, sided with the "Bourbons," their once political foe.

Thus it is coming to pass that there will be no "Problem of the Races." The negro will fill the places appropriate for him, and with the disturbing question of race supremacy forever gone, he will appeal to the white man for advice and protection, and the white man, so long as he rests his claim to superiority upon his superior intelligence and a higher conception of duty and of justice, must see to it that this appeal shall be heard.

J. H. PITMAN.

* Georgia.

THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION IN CONGRESS.

BY RICHARD H. SYLVESTER.

THE question of immigration and of the methods best suited to its regulation is here considered wholly apart from the question of quarantine, to which it has but an incidental relation. They are in reality distinctive questions, the one contemplating a permanent policy, the other providing for a temporary exigency.

The immigrant we have with us always. He has grown with our growth and is ingrained with our citizenship. He is here in the probationary stage. He is daily landing at our ports or on the point of embarkation hither. And so will it continue to be, excepting in the extreme improbability that the government shall reverse its policy of three quarters of a century and erect barriers to his entrance.

Epidemic and pestilence, on the other hand, born in the far East and casting their baleful shadows before, menace the public safety only at infrequent intervals and are to be provided against as contingencies arise. The special legislation requisite to avert their coming or check their development must be shaped by circumstances. It should be prompt, vigorous, and efficacious. There might be an urgency demanding the most radical of measures, even the total suspension of immigration for the time being. This is provided for in the bill passed by the last Congress granting additional quarantine powers to, and imposing additional duties upon the Marine Hospital service, whereby the President is empowered to suspend immigration, in whole or in part, in certain contingencies. These are matters in which the principle of self-preservation naturally and legitimately predominates.

The same principle, though in a less immediate, less imminent

sense, applies to our legislation concerning immigration. How shall the advantages be assured, and how shall the disadvantages be minimized, of this constant inflow of aliens, strangers to our institutions, reared under different influences, and most of them ignorant of our language? What should be done for the better regulation of this unceasing tide? What additional restrictions imposed upon it? Would it be desirable, under any other than some overwhelming sanitary necessity, to arrest it altogether?

It may be that there are peculiar elements of peril in the immigration of these latter days that were unknown to the more definitely purposed immigration of an earlier period, but are they of such magnitude or formidableness as to necessitate a revolution in the long settled policy of the government? It is true that foreign powers are less and less disposed to encourage the migration of their industrious and productive classes. They are willing enough to be rid of their "bad rubbish," but regard with emphatic disfavor the expatriation of those who are serviceable to the state, and to lose whom is a loss not readily replaced. But the tide still flows out, and tainted as some of it may be, it is safe to say that in the rounding up from year to year the loss is Europe's, and the gain America's. In the long run of half a century or more, the United States has unquestionably had the best of it.

It has often been remarked that whatever comes to the mills of the transatlantic steamship companies is acceptable grist, and that to most of them it is a matter of no great concern of what material their human cargoes are composed, so long as their passage is paid. But the steamship companies are fast coming to realize that in order to make the transportation of immigrants profitable, or even to maintain the traffic, they must fall into line with American interests and American sentiment on this question, not only conforming to our statutory requirements but coöperating with our authorities, as far as they may, in their uniform and strict enforcement.

All things considered, it must be admitted, upon a careful and candid review of the course our legislation is taking, that the United States has made gainful progress towards a solution of

the immigration problem. Congress should be careful not to undo or abandon this progressive work in a panic. The conservative and somewhat tentative policy of the Senate committee on immigration is for obvious reasons to be commended.

The amendatory act of 1891, which is the principal general act bearing upon this subject now in force, is quite comprehensive as to classes of aliens to be excluded other than Chinese laborers. It names specifically idiots, insane persons, paupers, or persons likely to become a public charge, persons suffering from certain diseases, persons who have been convicted of felonies or infamous crimes or misdemeanors involving moral turpitude, polygamists, and contract laborers (under act of 1885). These provisions are fairly explicit and practicable. There might be trouble in determining what persons were likely to become a public charge, but this is one of the risks that has to be taken with all who come, as it is with our own people. The contingency can best be provided against, if at all, at the port of departure or by prior inquiry.

At the time the bill for this act was pending in the House, Mr. Oates, of Alabama, offered a substitute, in which "anarchists" were added to the excluded classes. It is to be regretted on this account, if no other, that the substitute was rejected, had "anarchists" been so described as to enable proof of their identity. But there is a clause in Senator Chandler's bill of January 28, 1893, having the same object that Mr. Oates had in view, and it has the merit of being more specific. It provides for the exclusion of all "persons belonging to societies which favor or justify the unlawful destruction of property or life." This covers the case more clearly and ought to be the law, so broadened, if practicable, as to include individual agitators and conspirators of similar seditious and destructive proclivities, as well as members of organized societies, whenever they can be properly identified.

The present statute is faulty in its indiscriminate exemption of political offenders or persons convicted of political offenses, from the prohibited classes, for there are offenders coming under this head who should not be permitted to seek an asylum or

establish their habitat in the United States. They belong to the class which Mr. Oates would have kept out as "anarchists." The United States cannot afford, with due regard to the safety of its own institutions, to shelter the anarchistic type of revolutionist, be he convict or "suspect," whose methods endanger the foundations of social order; who would rid Europe of its palaces by the torch and of its rulers by assassination. This section of the law should therefore be amended to the following effect: That nothing in this act shall be construed as applicable to persons convicted of political offenses, excepting such as have sought to accomplish their purposes by incendiarism or murder or by other act of moral turpitude unrecognized in legitimate warfare.

The contract labor law of 1885 may not fully answer the object of its enactment but it is a measure of protection to which intelligent and self-respecting workingmen are entitled, as against the greed of certain corporate employers. It is in the very nature of things capable of easy evasion, as it is hard to prove the illegality of a contract, especially of a parol contract, or even the existence of such a contract, so long as the parties concerned are well enough satisfied with it as not to betray one another. The law properly visits the awful penalties of its violation upon offending contractors and shipmasters, yet almost in the same breath spirits away the only witnesses by whom they can be convicted. It provides that a laborer so brought over may enter suit to recover under the penalty clause—\$1,000 for each offense—against the person or company by whose manipulations he has been cajoled into a strange land to find himself a lawbreaker on his arrival, yet it makes swift haste to be rid of him and hurries him back to Europe on the next ship. The amendatory act of 1887 expressly says that all persons whose admission it prohibits shall be "sent back" upon arrival. The act of 1891 says of such aliens unlawfully imported, that they shall be "immediately sent back on the ship by which they were brought in." The law is defective in this respect. It seems to have undertaken to right a great wrong and at the same time to leave for the chief perpetrators of the

wrong, convenient loopholes of escape. It should be so amended that in case of a violation of any of its provisions, the intercepted laborer shall not be the only sufferer, and instead of being promptly deported, may be detained as a witness or be allowed to assert his right as a plaintiff.

As to general immigration and its salutary restriction, the most imperative need is a system of thorough preliminary inspection. This should begin, if possible, upon the native heath of the intending immigrant—at his old homestead, as it were—to be repeated at his port of departure and to be repeated again at his port of debarkation; nor should the surveillance of the government and the right of deportation wholly cease until he shall have formally exchanged his foreign allegiance for the privileges and obligations of American citizenship.

It was suggested by the late Commissioner, Colonel John C. Weber, that time and trouble would be saved were the sub-agents of the steamship companies, who are scattered over Europe, held responsible for the immigrants whom they book; or as better expressed, were the steamship companies held responsible for their agents in this matter. The latter are in a position to acquire a much more intimate knowledge of the people of the inland districts to which they are assigned, than is ordinarily accessible to a consular officer at any particular port, and if put upon their good behavior the agents would be very careful not to dispose of transportation to the inelligible or undesirable.

Mr. Gustave Schwab has publicly and quite strongly recommended the same policy, and the fact that he is largely identified with steamship interests adds strength to his recommendation. He, if any one, should know the unprofitableness of having inadmissible immigrants thrown back upon the hands of the transportation companies, and he doubtless realizes the necessity of a strict compliance with any regulations that the United States may adopt, if the companies are to continue in business.

Mr. Schwab suggests that there be prescribed a formula for the examination of immigrants by the agents, the applicant being given to understand in unmistakeable terms the conse-

quences of false and misleading answers, and the agent's accountability being equally well impressed upon the latter's mind. This original examination would greatly facilitate and simplify the work of the Consuls at the various European seaports, but should in no wise do away with it. There must be no remissness on the part of the latter or of the medical officers attached to the consulates. Let the sifting process commence as near the home of the immigrant as possible, but let it be neglected at no subsequent point of official contact. The immigrant who successfully runs a gauntlet such as this may be regarded as having a tolerably clean bill of health, morally and physically.

The bill which passed the late Congress and was approved March 3, 1893, to facilitate the enforcement of the immigration and contract labor laws of the United States, contains provisions for descriptive lists or manifests of immigrant passengers to be furnished by the masters of steamships arriving in the United States to the proper inspector of immigration, these lists to be made out and verified at the port of departure. It prescribes the course to be pursued by inspectors in case such manifests are not forthcoming, imposes fines for failure to comply with the law, and authorizes the return or deportation of immigrants who may not pass the final inspection. Under this act, also, the steamship companies are required to keep posted in the offices of their agents abroad, copies of the law of 1891 and of laws since enacted, and to instruct their agents to call the attention thereto of all intending immigrants. These are wise and practicable requirements. It is moving on right lines to wholesome ends.

Of the 347,371 steerage passengers arriving in New York last year, a number somewhat less than usual by reason of the quarantine, 180,638 are reported as having "no occupation," but of these 131,473 were women, mostly wives and mothers. The aggregate number of children under fifteen years of age was 66,000. The destination of these people was confined to no particular locality. It embraced every one of the forty-four states, every territory, and even the District of Columbia.

Wisconsin received 7,749 ; Illinois, 28,000 ; Michigan, 9,000 ; Iowa, 5,948 ; Minnesota, 9,802 ; the Pacific Coast, 7,661, and so on. About one third were booked for New York and the New England States, which is the average proportion for that section. These persons, it is safe to assume, were not the "refuse of Europe," "dumped into our city slums," to use the loose parlance of the day. They had passed the ordeal of our inspection laws. They were neither paupers nor criminals. In all probability they were of a good average. It is to elevate this standard, to better the average, and to keep out the "refuse of Europe" that restrictions upon immigration are instituted ; and although the winnowing machinery is not perfect, it is all the time improving.

The Senate bill "establishing regulations concerning immigration to the United States," which was reported January 28, 1893, adds to the excluded classes all persons over twelve years of age who cannot read and write with reasonable facility their own language, excepting such aged persons as are parents or grandparents of admissible immigrants, persons blind or crippled or otherwise physically imperfect, so as to be wholly or partially disabled from manual labor, excepting where it can be satisfactorily shown that they are not likely to become a public charge ; and as before stated, persons belonging to societies that favor the unlawful destruction of life or property. It also provides for a more rigorous system of applications and consular certificates at ports of departure and for material amendments of the Passenger Act.

It will be generally agreed that there is merit in the proposition to require of immigrant aliens that they be able to read and write their own language. This, it is true, is but a smattering of learning, but it bespeaks at least the dawn of knowledge, and an intelligence far above absolute illiteracy. The naturalization laws need amendment in this respect, but for some reason or other Congress seems slow to approach or meddle with this subject. It might simplify the question and prove a wholesome reform in itself were Congress to fix an educational qualification at the start, for foreigners who come to this country with the

ultimate intention of being mustered into the grand army of free American voters. Such a requirement, however, might well be limited for experimental purposes to adult males under middle age and to youths of sixteen years or over.

The proposed amendment to the Passenger Act of 1882, an act of which there has never been any modification, whereby the number of cubic feet of the compartments or spaces allowed for steamship passengers on the several decks is doubled or considerably increased, and provision made for other improved arrangements as to berths, closets, and ventilation, is in the interest of health, humanity, and good morals. The innovation might be objected to by the shipowners, but this great Government can certainly afford to take the broad, philanthropic position, that an immigrant passenger, albeit unable to indulge in the luxurious appointments of the first cabin, is nevertheless entitled to whatever fresh air the laws of respiration prescribe, and to such other sanitary conveniences and comforts as are not unreasonable or impracticable aboard ship.

The foregoing bill was not acted upon at the late session, but it may serve as a starting point for the legislation of the incoming Congress. It contains a number of good features and represents the furthest advance yet made in the direction of restrictive legislation. The committees, of both Senate and House, of which Mr. Chandler of New Hampshire and Mr. Stump of Maryland, and previous to him Mr. Owen of Indiana, were respectively the able and zealous chairmen, felt their way carefully, avoiding rash councils and radical ventures, from the very beginning of the Fifty-first Congress. The report of the Senate committee in which the passage of the above bill is recommended, indicates in its opening paragraph the judicious and conservative, yet safely progressive spirit, in which the work has been carried on. It reads as follows :

The Committee on Immigration have not at any time been guided by extreme opinions in framing any permanent laws which they have recommended ; but their policy has been to accomplish by successive and moderate steps such legislation as would gradually overcome defects in the methods of examining immigrants, and would also make the rules excluding undesirable persons more rigid and effective,

in accordance with a widespread popular demand for increased strictness, without unjustly excluding worthy and desirable immigrants.

Thus much for the legislation of the past several years in the way of regulation. It is in the main practical, practicable, and patriotic. As to the opinion sometimes advanced that it is time to call a wholesale halt upon immigration; that the foreign element of our population has become too large for further or satisfactory assimilation; that the public welfare demands the total suspension of immigration for a year or series of years,—nothing short of some awful pestilence sweeping westward and threatening our Atlantic ports with devastation would warrant the adoption of a remedy so heroic. Existing laws for the regulation of immigration are for the most part wisely formulated and well administered. Exclusion all along the lines is not to be thought of excepting under the pressure of some extraordinary urgency.

It were better for the government to recede from its Chinese policy instead of venturing to extend it. It does not yet appear that the material interests or political stability of the country have so suffered from immigration in the past as to call for its inhibition in the future. The country has not yet reached its growth despite the 16,000,000 immigrants that have grown into it. The time has not come for closing our doors to newcomers, and passing a non-intercourse act with the world.

Less than thirty years ago the Congress of the United States passed a bill for the encouragement of immigration. E. B. Washburne of Illinois had charge of it in the House, and John Sherman was its leading advocate in the Senate. In his remarks on the bill, Mr. Sherman expressed his belief that the effect of its passage would be to increase the immigration of able-bodied persons to this country, at least 100,000 the very first year and at a rapid rate thereafter. It was for this reason that he favored it.

It is the pride and glory of our people that the United States has made such marvelous progress from decade to decade in population and wealth. Its expansion was comparatively slow during what might be called its pioneer or colonization period from the beginning of the government up to 1820, but with the

tide which then set in from the Old World, and which has continued in varying volume ever since, influenced more or less by fluctuating conditions here and abroad, our development has been phenomenal—the wonder of the world. There has been no retrogression. The only severe strain to which our institutions have been subjected was one with which the question of immigration had nothing to do. In the progress of our “triumphant Democracy,” the alien or foreign-born citizen is a conspicuous factor. In the augmentation of the national wealth he has done full share. His value is to be computed by no theoretical calculations, but averaged by the results he has wrought and to which his indispensable services have contributed. And there is still work for him to do—new fields to be tilled, deserts to be watered, roads to be built, rivers to be bridged, mines to be opened, ships to be constructed, cities and towns to be evolved from the solitude, countless resources to be developed, requiring both skilled artisans and unskilled laborers.

The alarm-cry goes periodically forth that there are half a million or a million unemployed men in the country, but if this be so it is not necessarily due to an over supply of labor. The enforced or voluntary idleness of a million men may be attributable to various causes, partially, no doubt, to the lack of systematic facilities for the proper distribution of labor; in part, but not to the grave extent we are sometimes told, to the rapid multiplication of labor-saving machinery. It is chiefly owing to defects in our economic system which legislation, unfortunately divided on partisan lines, fails either to discover or remedy; to errors of finance, to mistaken constructions of the law of supply and demand, to undeveloped commercial relations with outside markets, to the want of some rational and business-like adjustment of the capabilities and the opportunities of the country.

The statisticians inform us that the Mississippi Valley alone is capable of sustaining a population seven times that of the entire United States at this time. The total area of the states and territories is, in round numbers, 3,600,000 square miles.

Within these limits, says President Eliot of Harvard, may be comfortably subsisted one thousand millions of people. Dr. Oswald predicts that in a century from now the population of the country will be three hundred millions. Lower by one half the sum total of these estimates and conjectures, and still may we ask : Is it possible that after a century's growth and at only the sixty-four million point, we are overtaken by the necessity of barring out half a million immigrants a year, through fear of over-peopling the continent ?

If such necessity exist in 1893, how long will it be until even the natural increase of population, without any reinforcements from abroad, shall come to be regarded as a grave danger to the public welfare, and our statesmen and legislators, in the absence of other resource, be driven for relief to experimentation with the somewhat startling but not wholly irrational theories of Dr. Malthus ?

RICHARD H. SYLVESTER.

WOMAN'S SPHERE NOT IN POLITICS.

BY WILLIAM W. PHELPS, OF THE MONTANA BAR.

TO WRITE about a woman's sphere as though it had a limit, in these days when a certain class of women seem to have determined to be a law unto themselves, is to enter into the discussion of a subject, which, if not cautiously approached would leave room for the charge of sentimentality and disregard of the fact that circumstances make it necessary for some women to depart from the sphere we urge to be pre-eminently hers. But we realize the necessity for some women to provide for themselves the actual daily wants of life, and note with pleasure that the opportunities for women to acquire these wants are multiplying. Not one word is meant in disparagement of this noble army of women, who, thus thrown upon their own resources, are compelled to support themselves; indeed they suggest the contrast between the womanly and manly woman. The former without the loss of womanhood or modesty, quietly, at the call of duty, enters the office and schoolroom, takes up the pen, the brush, the needle; teaches art and music; while the latter with ostentation and effrontery seeks cheap notoriety. Wishing a larger number of followers she invades the home where happiness is dependent upon a woman of more feminine tastes and inclinations, and tries to persuade her to "stop bothering with home life and come along" with her into the street, to the meetings, upon the platform, to change and improve political and economical conditions. These would-be reformers can be recruited from the ranks of men,—there are a good many more reformers than there are evils to be reformed. But the world does not suffer because of a superabundance of the refining influences of our women.

It is doubtful whether the efforts of any woman outside of her

sphere have ever done one half so much good as she has done harm, by setting an example of the assimilation of the sexes.

But the modern tendency of "strong minded" woman to cheapen the maternal sphere is unqualifiedly objectionable. And so are all the fads and fashions which aim to convince woman that she is only a female man. The "higher mental development of woman" is nothing but a highly demented development when it takes the form of *ultra* views upon such subjects as woman's suffrage and a feverish desire to hold political office, physical culture clubs, dress reform movements, and the like. Another set of "advanced women" have their Goethe and Browning societies, debating clubs, literary meetings, art receptions, and fox terriers.

Unfortunately, a large number of people have failed to distinguish between the truly erudite woman and the so-called "progressive woman" of the present time.

It is not an exceedingly long time since some woman, presumably dissatisfied with her audience at home, began lecturing the public, since the "lady attorney" first got her license to compel twelve men to listen to her talk, since the "political woman" implied a contradiction and would no more have been uttered in one breath than the words "bad angel," since women as preachers were looked upon as anomalies and women as justices of the peace and mayors of towns would simply have been monstrosities. We could go on with the list, until, if the strong-minded women were dragging mothers from their homes to fill the various positions, we would have confronting us one of the most grave social problems of which history makes any record.

The home is the keystone of nations ; the mother is the keystone of homes. To take the mother from the home to fill some other sphere, is to destroy that home so far as its value to the state is concerned.

The women who are not above the home, who elevate politics and the nation by interweaving with public affairs the refining influences of the home, render every nation eternally indebted to them for performing the duties of that high office they alone

are eligible to fill. In this capacity they may be called heads of the departments of war—against evil, and—higher—justice, ministers of mercy ; in short, deputies of God on earth.

A sweet, good woman faithful to these great trusts imposed upon her exercises more influence than any man empowered to cast one vote. Her power equals that of hundreds of voters, by directing in the right way not only voters of the present day, but her children and children's children for generations to come.

We venture to say that the entire woman's suffrage movement grew out of a situation suggested by the conclusion of our last sentence. We could not and would not charge motherhood with neglecting children and home while attending public gatherings for the noble purpose of arousing that divine discontent which shall make women dissatisfied with their sphere.

In excuse, then, for denouncing this enfranchisement of God, the primary agitators said, "we do not all have a home, husband, or children to make nobler and better," and forgetting that there are about an equal number of voters who do not have homes, or wives, or sisters ; forgetting that they may have fathers, or brothers, or friends among these voters ; forgetting that they may be called upon to occupy some position embracing the moral training and education of children ; forgetting the essentials of a cultured, sensible, well-balanced, womanly woman, they said "there is nothing left for us to do, but vote." And, indeed, when they take such a position, they sacrifice nearly all else. They lose much of the elevating power which they have when motives of right and patriotism alone prompt them to speak.

Men hear enough they cannot believe from artful, conceited, hypocritical, unscrupulous, political manipulators, whose low ambition is self-interest and self-aggrandizement. The greater the number of politicians, whether men or women, the greater the number of these demagogues. Whether the patriotic statesmen would decrease in number with the increase of women politicians and the consequent proportionate lack of pure womanly influence in the home, is only to be determined by trial. It is hard to estimate the greatness of that good influence ; if lost, it

is hard to say what would be the result. Articles are scattered through our magazines which purport to prove that the absence of home influence produces criminals and outlaws.

It is so natural a thing for good men to have had good homes that the question is seldom raised, but the mother would scarcely receive all the credit due her if it were,—a value too great for comprehension. Her watchful care, inspired by infant smiles from the cradle, by merry peals of laughter from childhood, by hopes and fears of womanhood and manhood, as changeless and inexhaustible in adversity as in prosperity, and severed by nothing but death ; this constant influence is to man's life what sunlight is to subterranean life. It impresses upon the susceptible mind the sacredness of truth and liberty, it inspires patriotism, teaches the responsibilities of public trusts, the importance of the ballot and elective franchise. Only in a very general way is the mother credited with the results of these good influences. They become part of the character and their origin is forgotten.

Has this apparent lack of appreciation discouraged women from confining their efforts to a womanly sphere? The fountain of mother-love has not so base a source. Besides every mother takes as much pleasure in sowing good seeds as she does in reaping the yield.

But great men are continually evincing their reverence and gratitude for their mothers' moral influence. It was John Quincy Adams, who said "All that I am my mother made me." At the inauguration of James A. Garfield as President of the United States, when his words would echo around the world and every act was noted, his first tribute was to his mother.

Woman's sphere is the home. Here she is queen, and nowhere else. Her Britannic Majesty herself is such only in name, not in the exercise of sovereign prerogatives, which are practically delegated to the stronger sex. In a popular form of government her sphere is determined by nature, her keener moral perceptions lift her above partisan contests for political supremacy. Here all alike are interested in the preservation and perpetuation of our liberty. Political trickery is not the

basis of that liberty; but homes, churches, courts, public schools, universities, worthy enterprises of every character are the foundations of a republic. Bring within view everything that is substantial, and behold, its perpetuity rests upon the virtue and intelligence inspired by woman. In the promulgation of pure morals, and in the education and instruction of the young, woman does her full and invaluable part to make our country free and strong.

A land of homes is a land of woman's rights. Men are devoted and chivalrous, because women are gentle and feminine. Unless the ultimate object of the political woman is the disfranchisement of men, or to accomplish their final extinction (as, hearing some of them talk would lead us to believe) she must win the support of men or be unsuccessful. Any move which attacks the home can only receive the support of a certain class of men. Man's noblest conception of woman cannot be separated from the home. Surely there is nothing low or limited in a sphere which aims to realize an ideal.

WILLIAM W. PHELPS.

THE WOMAN OF TO-DAY AS WIFE AND MOTHER.

BY MRS. MABEL CRONISE JONES.

IT IS peculiarly unfortunate that a woman of the intellect, influence, and culture of Amelia E. Barr should decry her sex and proclaim its deterioration. Loyalty to her sister-woman should naturally have made her hesitate before uttering her charges, and should have caused her to institute a thorough investigation before declaring that the wives of to-day live mainly for coquetry, vanity, and flattery, and that the mothers of this generation neglect their lawful duties and feel no tender love for their offspring. Her articles, appearing in one of the leading magazines of this country, have attracted wide attention, and the very natural conclusion of masculine readers, at least, has been that her strictures are just, and that her sex has sadly deteriorated in all womanly attributes and virtues, since the day when our grandmothers reared their large families and managed, at the same time, to cook and wash and iron and sew and bake for a house full.

To-day, when woman is justly demanding political recognition, it is damaging to her cause to have an able writer assert that she is less domestic than formerly, and that her home duties are delegated to inefficient servants. Fortunately, these assertions are discredited by the actual facts. Mrs. Barr's premises are radically wrong. She has taken exceptional instances as types of a class, and her conclusions are therefore based upon an imperfect conception of the subject. There are careless, indifferent mothers to-day, but, proportionately, there are fewer than there were, even in those good old times, whose departure Mrs. Barr so deeply deploras. The percentage of such mothers then was far larger than at present.

A brief *resumé* of the conditions of life then and now will

serve to prove that the motherhood of this age is more intelligent than ever before in the history of the world. The mother of a century since had the most meager education. Intellectually, she was not qualified to be a mother. Environment hampered her abilities; prejudice kept her within narrow bounds; custom did not allow her to raise a voice outside the threshold of her house, and even in her home she was not the sovereign ruler that she is to-day. The whims and fancies of the husband were paramount and admitted of no dispute. She was mistress only by suffrance and was fit, in no true, broad sense, to be the counselor, adviser, and confidant of her sons and her daughters. Neither was she such, save in the most isolated of instances. Unquestioning obedience was the fundamental law of every household. "Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother," was the commandment most often reiterated in youthful ears. Fear, not love, was the motive power to filial duty. The mother of that time doubtless loved her children deeply, but an unfortunate system of education made her pose before them as a stern embodiment of Puritanical authority. The mother of to-day is a tender sympathizer, a loving confidant, a friend, a companion, a comrade, and even a playmate. She knows all the little secrets of her child,—the mischievous deeds at school, the ambitious plans, the first dream of love, the restless longing for definite work, and the final problems of her child's maturer years. She admonishes with tact, suggests with wisdom, warns with prudence, and guides with her loving hand.

To the old-time mother the child's heart was a sealed volume. She knew absolutely nothing of the aspirations, the hopes, the despair, and the trials of her offspring.

The *camaraderie* of to-day knits the hearts of mother and children in bonds of closest sympathy and affection. The old-time parent knew nothing of the more spiritual duties imposed by her relationship. She felt that the children must be neatly clad and well fed; that she must instruct them rigorously in the catechism, and punish them severely if they failed to recite it correctly. She knew that she must train her boys and girls to be obedient and make them fear God, but she achieved her ends by mis-

taken means. Little was said of the omnipotent love or the human love. Jehovah's might and Jehovah's wrath were the fruitful themes of discourse. Caresses and affectionate words were regarded as a sign of weakness and a waste of precious time. There were few endearments, few expressions of regard ; and often weeks would pass without a kiss from mother-lips being pressed upon the childish ones that vainly hungered for some tangible manifestations of the love really existing in the heart.

To-day we have outgrown the Puritanical idea of life. We are willing to recognize child rights and child privileges. We are not ashamed to show the loving, longing, little heart the affection we feel for it. We know better to-day than to cramp and dwarf and stunt the child's finer nature and spiritual life. We give him a broader outlook ; we meet his childish fancies and imaginings with interested ears ; we let him choose, so far as practicable, his own path in life. We no longer interfere with a tyrannical dictum of parental authority and make his career subservient to our whims.

Since the old Spartan days, when the mothers ruthlessly killed any child not physically perfect, down to the present time, there has been an ever widening comprehension of what motherhood, with its manifold duties, really means. In the Middle Ages, when woman was merely a prettily dressed doll, she rarely saw her child from one month's end to another. Even our grandmothers, of whom Mrs. Barr writes so eulogistically, while neglecting the spiritual and emotional natures of their offspring, also gave less careful attention to their physical welfare than is bestowed by the most careless mother of to-day. Did a child have the croup : a nail was driven into the doorway. Was it threatened with catarrhal troubles : a bag of beans was hung around its neck. Was it seriously ill : it was bled and tortured until it is not strange that the infant mortality of a century since, was (proportionately to the population), thirty-three per cent greater than it is to-day.

In place of the rampant superstition of a hundred years ago, we now find among mothers an intelligent knowledge of hygiene

and physiology. There are few women, indeed, who do not know how to apply, and who do not keep in instant readiness, the simple, efficacious remedies for those childish maladies which formerly wrought such havoc in the infantile world.

Is a woman less a mother because she cares scientifically and not ignorantly for her child? Does her knowledge of medicine and anatomy render her unfit to care for her baby? Most assuredly not. The more her mind is broadened, the more nearly does she approach to a complete comprehension of motherhood in its multiplicity of phases.

It is stated that the mother of to-day relegates her child to its nurse, and cares little, personally, for its welfare. Not one mother in five hundred does this. Some women are not strong enough physically to endure the tremendous strain of caring for a child day after day, and night after night. They must be partially relieved from the physical drain upon health, strength, and vitality. But the motherly oversight, the unceasing watchfulness, the never failing tenderness, are ever present. It may also be well to remember that our grandmothers were accustomed to leave their tiny babes alone, for half a day at a time, with no nurse or protector—save a child but little older than itself. When harvest time came, it was no uncommon thing for baby to be left many hours in the old-fashioned cradle, while the mother helped the men. Baby, possibly, might sleep throughout her absence, or he might wake and sob until his childish heart seemed ready to break. Either contingency was regarded with equanimity, for it was the oft reiterated assertion that “crying makes a child grow.”

The philosophical aspect of the case probably failed to afford the infantile mind any considerable amount of comfort. The mother was gone, and whether she was raking hay in the fields or buying a new spring bonnet on Broadway, mattered not to the forsaken mite of humanity left at home. The fact is, that the child of a century since was subordinated to household cares. If, as Mrs. Barr claims, it be subordinated to-day to social calls, the result would be but a repetition of an old-time tale. This claim, however, is erroneous. The mother of to-day

fulfills her duties in a physical, intellectual, and spiritual sense more completely by far than did her grandam.

And what is true of the mother is true of the wife. Mrs. Barr contends that if a wife of ye olden time could suddenly return to this mundane sphere, she would be less amazed at the telephone, the telegraph, or the locomotive, than at the flirtatious wives of this generation.

Woman to-day is living in a broader world. She is free to come and go, to think, to discuss, to measure, to argue, to weigh, and to reason. Her life is no longer secluded; she moves before the public. Her coqueties no longer carried on in the privacy of her own boudoir become the property of every gossip. Yet there is less real cause for censure to-day than ever before. Woman is becoming more independent. She is self-reliant and self-supporting; therefore, she does not marry at the first opportunity that offers, incited only by the thought of securing a home and a pocket-book. She does not pledge her hand until she has met some man whom she can in very truth love and honor. Therefore, when she is married, the heart of her husband can safely trust in her. He holds her respect, her esteem, and her love. She has no wish to try her coqueties on other men, for she is content with the loyalty and devotion of her husband. Unlike her grandmother, she has no buried dreams, and no unrealized hopes. She is a healthy, wholesome, happy woman, who loves her home and her friends, but who is also alert to the questions of the day, ready to do her part in any field of activity, and eager for the complete recognition of her sex politically.

Mrs. Barr does not represent her old-time dame, whom she resurrects from the grave to revisit this world, as expressing any surprise at the gallantries of the men with whom modern women are said to flirt. Evidently the good old dame was too accustomed to masculine foibles in her youth, to feel any astonishment at their idiosyncrasies now. She lived in an age when men were notoriously immoral, and when even the father of his country held masculine purity as an undesirable virtue. Naturally, then, the old grandam would not be surprised at anything which she might see to-day.

It is indubitably true, however, that the standard of morality for both sexes is far higher than it once was. There is no legitimate reason to decry this age. The men are better men than were their progenitors, and the women are fitter help-mates, better wives, and truer mothers.

MABEL CRONISE JONES.

THE DANGER OF THE HOUR.

BY THE EDITOR OF NATIONAL ECONOMIST EDUCATIONAL EXERCISES.

THE earth is our inheritance; how shall we divide it? This question has arisen in all ages, and has never been answered to the satisfaction of but comparatively few of the children of men. To-day the spirit of unrest is abroad in every nation. The most pressing questions of the hour are such as these—and they demand a new answer: How shall our inheritance be equalized? How shall the products of labor be divided? How much shall go to the idler? How much shall the toiler retain?

A sense of justice is implanted in the breast of every American. In older countries, injustice and oppression have prevailed so long that the people have almost forgotten what justice is. Almost, but not quite! The memory of justice remaineth long in the land after justice itself is driven from it. In the early history of every country a rude sort of justice prevails; he who produces, possesses. But soon selfishness and greed assert themselves, and the stronger compels the weak to produce, and then takes from him the greater part of that which he brings forth from the bosom of the earth. Gradually the weak becomes weaker and less able to protect his rights, while the strong grows stronger, and becomes more and more inclined to assert his powers, to the detriment of his weaker brother. Servitude in its various forms arises. Society divides itself into two classes: an upper class, who do not work; a lower class, who do; an upper class who produce nothing, but absorb nearly everything; a lower class, who produce everything and absorb as little as will suffice to sustain life.

That the idlers—who mistakenly call themselves the upper class—may live in luxury, the workers must live in poverty. So

we see strange things when we look about us. The idler dwelling in a mansion which the laborer has built, while the laborer himself dwells in a hovel ! That in multitudinous cases labor does not receive the recompense to which it is entitled, no one would be bold enough to deny. Why is it that in a justice-loving country, labor fails to receive its just reward ? This is an important question, for history tends to repeat itself, and no nation can stand, unless its laws and institutions are founded upon the corner-stone of justice. Luxury and extreme poverty go hand in hand, and precede the downfall of nations. Is there danger ahead ?

Let us take by way of illustration, an island situated in mid-ocean, containing a population of one hundred families, or five hundred people. Let this island consist of sixteen thousand acres of cultivable land, valued at \$25 per acre. Let the accumulated wealth upon the island in the shape of dwelling-houses, stores, factories, live-stock, farming implements, etc., amount to \$100,000, making the whole property value of the island \$500,000. This, by equal division, would give to each inhabitant the sum of \$1,000, or its equivalent, and to each household of five the sum of \$5,000, or its equivalent. It would seem as if poverty should be unknown on this favored island where each family is entitled to one hundred and sixty acres of productive land, and stocks, buildings, and implements, worth \$1,000. It is an unquestionable fact, that this island can produce enough to give each man, woman, and child upon it a comfortable support.

But, unfortunately, property is very unequally distributed on this island, and as a consequence poverty is not unknown. To begin with, one family out of the hundred owns just one half of the island, leaving for the other ninety-nine families the remaining half. This autocrat—such he surely is, for who would be brave enough to oppose his power—holds possession of \$250,000 worth of property with which to supply the wants of himself and family of four ! For the other ninety-nine families there remains the same amount, \$250,000, to supply the wants of four hundred and ninety-five people. This reduces the property and

the income of each ordinary citizen by exactly one half. But this is not all. The autocrat has relatives who are also wealthy, and the remaining \$250,000 is very unequally distributed. One man is worth \$100,000 ; another \$50,000 ; another \$25,000 ; and another \$10,000. After these fortunes are taken out of the common stock, we have left \$65,000 to be divided among the remaining ninety-five families. Of this amount \$50,000 is unequally distributed among about twenty more families, leaving for the remaining seventy-five households the munificent sum of \$15,000. This, if equally divided, would give to each of the three hundred and seventy-five ordinary people of the island \$40, or to each family \$200—instead of \$5,000. As a matter of fact, this \$15,000 is also unequally distributed, some families possessing three or four hundred dollars, while others possess but very little besides the rags with which they cover themselves. The three hundred and seventy-five who are disinherited, necessarily become the servants of the autocrats of the island, for the autocrats hold in their hands the means of subsistence. They possess nearly all the land and nearly all the houses ; they control the mills and factories and “give work” to a portion of the three hundred and seventy-five, while another portion whom it does not suit their convenience to employ, must become either criminals or tramps and beggars.

A prosperous millionaire tells us that millionaires at one end of the scale have no connection with paupers at the other end. Mr. Andrew Carnegie says : “In a country where the millionaire exists, there is little excuse for pauperism ; the condition of the masses is satisfactory, just in proportion as a country is blessed with millionaires.” To the first part of the above sentence I most heartily agree. In a country capable of producing millionaires there should be no pauperism. But the second part of the sentence might with greater propriety—according to my views—read : The condition of the masses is unsatisfactory just in proportion as a country is cursed with millionaires. After studying English statistics a while it really seems as if Mr. Carnegie were most unfortunate in his illustration, for he tells us : “There are more millionaires in the favored little

isle of Britain than in the whole of Europe, and in the United States still more of recent origin than in Britain." Let us look into the condition of the people who dwell on this favored island, "blessed with millionaires." One half the country (England and Wales) is owned by 4,500 persons. Great estates containing from 20,000 to 100,000 acres are numerous. But, in England alone, 3,000,000 people, which is more than one in ten of its inhabitants, are classed by English statisticians as destitute. There is also a population of 1,550,000 who are classed as starving. These are the men, women, and children who walk the streets of the large cities seeking for work and but seldom finding it. They hold horses, run errands, clean windows, carry packages, and do any odd job which they can find to do; and some days earn from two or three cents to a shilling, and other days earn nothing at all. When they earn nothing they eat nothing—unless they can find a crust in the gutter which the dogs have refused. In the United Kingdom there is a population of 165,500 houseless men, women, and children, whose only sleeping place, only home, is a fence corner or hedge, an old barrel or a lumber pile, or a park seat, in the cities where millionaires dwell. Out-of-door life in the summer has its charms, but in the winter the suffering of the most of these unfortunates is only ended by death. There is also a population of 190,000 in the workhouses and asylums. English writers state that "one out of every twelve persons in the United Kingdom needs parish relief to keep them from starvation." This in the favored island of Britain, blessed with millionaires!

English writers also say that "in London in 1889, out of every nine people who died, two died in a workhouse, hospital, or other public institution; in Manchester it was one out of five; in Liverpool and Birmingham, one out of six." Does this look as if millionaires were beneficial to the people of England?

In France and Germany and the other countries of Europe, wealth is more equally distributed and the cry of poverty is not so keen and distressing, except in Russia. Here, failure of crops, a bad land system, stupendous ignorance, and an insuffer-

able form of government, present a combination of circumstances under which the peasant is left to starve. But we may rest assured, that if the property of Russia were yet more unevenly distributed, giving her a few thousand millionaires instead of a half dozen or less, it would not help the condition of the peasant. There would be still greater luxury and still greater poverty. The French and the Germans do not starve as patiently as the English. When bread fails in Paris or Berlin, there is apt to be a riot. But not so in London. The English poor expect to go hungry and cold, and so do not make much fuss about it. It is a part of life. Their fathers and grandfathers and great-grandfathers starved and wore rags. What reason have they to expect anything different? But do such conditions show prosperity? On the contrary, do not such conditions prove that millionaires at one end of the scale do mean paupers at the other end of the scale? Is the prosperity of the people of this "favored island of Britain blessed with millionaires" of such a nature that we would be pleased to see the people of America enjoying a like prosperity?

We are the richest nation in the world. The wealth of the United States is at present increasing at the rate of \$2,000,000,000 and more per year. In 1850 the accumulated wealth of the United States amounted to about \$7,500,000,000. In forty years it increased to more than eight times that amount. In 1880 it reached about \$41,000,000,000, and in 1890 about \$63,000,000,000—an increase of \$22,000,000,000 between 1880 and 1890, which is more than fifty per cent gained in that ten years. It is stated that our aggregate wealth exceeds the wealth of the whole world, previous to 1759. We have at present rather more than 63,000,000 people, and our property amounts to much more than \$63,000,000,000. If the accumulated wealth of the United States should be equally divided among its inhabitants, it would give to each one, including the baby in the cradle, and the foreigner who has just landed on our shores, somewhat more than \$1,000. The average family numbers five. Each household of five members would, by equal division, be entitled to \$5,000. We are not contending that an equal division would be

a just division ; or that if the property of the United States were equally divided to-day it would remain equally divided until to-morrow morning. The exact contrary is the fact. An equal division would not be a just division. Nobody really believes that the idler is entitled to as much as the worker ; no one will contend that the spendthrift would retain as much as the miser ; or that the ignorant would use their money as wisely as a financier would use his. But we do contend that in a nation containing enough wealth to furnish every inhabitant with \$1,000, there should be no such thing as starvation or distressing poverty. The fact that men and women who desire to work, and who by their labor would produce enough to satisfy their needs, are often compelled to suffer for the necessities of life, are sometimes permitted to die of starvation, and not infrequently driven to insanity and suicide—this fact constitutes a powerful arraignment of our present social system. It proves conclusively that we have not yet succeeded in evolving a government which is for the greatest good of the greatest number—unless we conclude with the pessimist, that life is an unmitigated evil, and the sooner our population starves or commits suicide the better.

But pessimism should have no place in our economic calculations. Our natural advantages are such that we have a right to be optimists. With property to the amount of \$5,000 for each family of five we have reason to expect, yes, to demand, that comfort shall descend upon every household in the nation, whose members are able and willing to work. Each year we gain more in wealth than in any preceding year, and the accumulated wealth of the United States, by the close of the century, will probably reach the enormous sum of ninety-seven to one hundred billions of dollars. Population increases, but wealth increases more rapidly ; and by 1900, equal division would undoubtedly give the baby in the cradle and the foreign pauper landing on our shores much more than one thousand dollars each. Let us acknowledge that the universe provides abundantly for our needs. Poverty is not a necessity, and should have no place in the midst of us. It is the result of some men's ignorance

and other men's greed. Our country produces enough to support all of its inhabitants in comfort. It is not necessary that any should suffer the pangs of cold and hunger.

Dividing the annual income of the United States by the number of inhabitants it contains, we find that each individual is entitled to a yearly income of \$206. Let us remember that this includes everybody. The workers of this nation produce enough every year to furnish not only themselves, but the idlers, the aged, the insane, the idiots, the drunkards, the paupers, and the baby in the cradle, with an income of more than \$200. And the amount of this income is increasing yearly. By equal division each household of five is entitled to an income of \$1,030. Surely no family need starve !

Why, then, when we possess such wealth as this, do we find poverty in the midst of us ? Why is it that there is on the average an army of a million men—men with families to support—constantly out of work ? Statistics will answer this question : 31,000 persons own \$36,000,000,000, leaving for the remaining 62,969,000 people only \$27,000,000,000 ; that is, the people of the nation own three fourths as much of our country's wealth as these 31,000 autocrats own. Or, putting it in another form : less than one two-thousandths of the people own more than one half the accumulated wealth. Or, putting it in another form : one per cent of the families of our Union own as much of its wealth as the remaining ninety-nine per cent own.

The wealth of our country is really more unequally distributed than we represented it to be on the island. We have thousands of homeless tramps, whose only possession is the rags they wear, which in many cases would hardly sell for forty cents. As capital decreases, income decreases to the vanishing point ; but suffering, hunger, pain, rags, insanity, and suicide increase.

It is difficult to realize the cost in labor of a million dollars. It takes a vast amount of work to buy that amount of money. Only men of somewhat superior ability receive a salary of \$200 per month ; yet, at this rate, it would take a man who worked every month in the year, without rest, just four hundred and sixteen years and eight months to earn one million dollars. It would

take the man who receives but \$100 per month, eight hundred thirty-three years and four months of steady labor to earn his million ; while the man who gets only \$50 a month, would have to keep busy at it sixteen hundred sixty-six years and eight months, without stopping to die ! After supporting themselves and family out of their wages, how long would it take these salaried men to *save* a million dollars ? But few men are able to work more than forty years. In order to earn a million dollars in that time, a man's services must be worth \$2,083.33½ per month, or \$25,000 per year, for every year of his labor, even while young and inexperienced. In order to *save* a million dollars, he would have to receive in addition to his salary of \$25,000 per year, enough to pay all of his expenses and the expenses of his family for forty years. The services of the man who should earn ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred million dollars, would have to be worth ten, twenty, fifty, or one hundred times \$25,000 per year. The man who really earned \$200,000,000 would have to earn \$5,000,000 a year for forty years. How could he do it ? What services could a man render to his country worthy of such exceeding great reward ?

How long would it take a farmer to earn a million dollars by planting potatoes or cultivating corn ? How long would it take the carpenter to earn a million dollars by putting down floors, or the mason by laying bricks, or the hod carrier by carrying them ? How long would it take the grocer, or the hardware man, or the keeper of a dry goods store, in any ordinary town to earn a million dollars ? Throughout a large portion of our country, a dollar a day is considered fair wages for a strong man's daily labor. Working 300 days a year, for forty years, at this rate, a man would earn just \$12,000. It would take him three thousand, three hundred thirty-three years and four months to earn \$1,000,000. To earn \$200,000,000 it would take our laborer, working steadily 300 days per year, just six hundred sixty-six thousand, six hundred sixty-six years and eight months !

The men who call the lightning from the sky, the men who harness steam and electricity to the earth and compel them to

do our bidding, the men who spend their lives in toil to invent labor-saving machinery, the men and women who write the best books and paint the best pictures, who risk their lives to discover remedies for the diseases which afflict the race, and who delve into the mysteries of nature and make known the laws which govern the universe; in short, the men and women who are greatest in science and literature and art, the men and women who have conferred the greatest benefits upon mankind, are not the ones who attain great wealth. All history shows that martyrdom, rather than wealth, is the reward mankind bestows upon its benefactors. If wealth, then, is not the reward of industry, of ability, or of virtue, how do men obtain such great fortunes?

A father places before his six hungry sons six large, handsome, red apples. "Here they are, my children, all I have," he says, and takes his departure, leaving them to divide the fruit among themselves.

The spirit of coöperation speaks first: "All are hungry and in need of apples. Six apples and six brothers—one each is a just division." But the spirit of competition arises and says: "Not so; first come first served. Let each one get all he can. The one that gets the most is the best fellow. We will bow the knee to him."

No. 1, the oldest and strongest, steps forward and takes three. No. 2, a trifle more mindful of his waiting brothers, takes but one of the remaining three. No. 3 also takes one, leaving one for his three remaining brothers. No. 4 dares not take all of the last apple, fearing lest No. 5 and No. 6 would set upon him, so contents himself with taking three quarters of it, leaving one quarter for No. 5 and No. 6 to divide between themselves. A looker-on would be tempted to exclaim that this was an unfair division of apples; yet it is very much the way that kind Mother Nature's gifts to her children have been distributed. The first comers have helped themselves liberally to gold and silver and coal and iron and lumber and oil and land, with very little regard for the rights of their brothers, who are but a step behind them. Each takes all he dares to take. No. 1

makes off with half the apples, leaving the other half for all the others. No. 2 and No. 3 take more than their share of what remains, but justify themselves by saying that they take only their rightful share of the whole. No. 4, who takes three quarters of the last apple, considers himself ill-used because he has less than his equal share of the whole. What about No. 5 and No. 6? Theirs is the usual fate of the world's toilers, under the law of competition. But would Nos. 1 and 2 and 3 make off with five-sixths of all the apples if Nos. 4 and 5 and 6 would put their objections in proper form?

As we are the richest nation in the world, it is but natural and fitting that we should possess the richest man; his estate is variously estimated by conflicting authorities at two hundred, two hundred fifty, and three hundred million dollars. It is impossible even for their owners to estimate the exact value of such great estates. The following table is supposed to be approximately correct:

1 estate	\$200,000,000
70 estates average.....	35,000,000
200 estates average.....	20,000,000
400 estates average.....	10,000,000
1000 estates average.....	5,000,000
31,000 persons own.....	36,000,000
62,969,000 persons own.....	27,000,000

That is to say, 31,000 boys have taken possession of four sevenths of all the apples in the United States—and the remaining 62,969,000 inhabitants have let them. Who is to blame for this, the 31,000 autocrats or the 62,969,000 citizens, in a country which is supposed to be ruled by the people? Is it for the greatest good of the greatest number, that $\frac{1000}{2000}$ of the people should possess only three sevenths of the nation's wealth?

The American aristocracy is rapidly becoming the wealthiest in the world! It is a difficult matter for us who are not millionaires, to realize the value, the buying power, of one million dollars. The farmer can readily see that it would purchase a million bushels of wheat at a dollar a bushel, or two million bushels of corn at fifty cents per bushel. But does he realize how long it would take him to produce that amount of grain? The farmer who raises five hundred bushels of wheat a

year, could raise a million bushels in just two thousand years ; while it would take the farmer who raises only five hundred bushels of corn a year just four thousand years to raise a million dollars worth at fifty cents a bushel.

One million dollars will buy two hundred fifty farms of eighty acres each at \$50 per acre ; or five hundred farms of the same size, at \$25 per acre—which is not far from the average valuation of farm property in thirty-four of the states, where census returns are given most accurately.

One million dollars will buy out two hundred groceries with a stock valued at \$5,000 each ; or it will buy the homes and property of two hundred men who are worth \$5,000 each.

One million dollars will buy out all of the stores in an ordinary town of two thousand inhabitants and most of the homes—in a community not exceptionally wealthy.

One million dollars is as much property as one thousand men are entitled to by equal division of our nation's wealth.

There are, it is said, between four and five thousand capitalists in the United States who possess one million dollars each and more—the fortunes extending upward to the two or three hundred million dollar point. If present conditions continue, the billionaire will soon be here. It has been stated that Cornelius Vanderbilt, who inherited \$5,000,000 from his grandfather in 1877, had trebled that amount in 1891. At the same rate of increase, our richest man's \$200,000,000 will reach \$600,000,000 in 1905 ; or if we use the larger estimate of his property, he will then be worth \$900,000,000, and it will not take him much longer to reach the billion dollar point. It certainly seems quite safe to predict that if present conditions are permitted to continue, the billionaire will make his appearance among us in less than twenty years.

On the other hand, tramps are increasing more rapidly than millionaires. The Rev. E. D. McCreary says :

As a result of this condition of things, for most people to engage in and succeed in business is becoming harder and harder, since the small capitalist cannot successfully compete with the millionaire, the employing class is diminishing, the employe class is increasing, and employment is becoming more difficult to get. There is now on the

average a round million of men—a vast army—constantly out of work, and in times of business depression this army is increased to two and even three millions of men without work ; men who have wives and children to support, who are often without money or the means of getting it. These multitudinous throngs of idle men are not, in the main, composed of the lazy, the shiftless, and the indolent. They are not beggars, tramps, shirks, bummers, vagrants, or vagabonds. Many of them are skilled artisans ; most of them are honest, respectable citizens. They are not idle from choice. They desire to work ; they tramp the streets day after day in search of employment. They are eager to work ; they would gladly work if employment could be obtained. There is no employment for them, because employers are so few ; and so it happens that the millionaire and the tramp are the complement each of the other, and both alike are a disturbing and dangerous factor in society and the state. Which is the greater danger remains to be seen. If millionaires bring millions of homeless tramps, what will billionaires do ?

The man who holds possession of a million dollars holds the capital of 999 other men, who must necessarily exist without any share in the accumulated wealth of the nation. They are the disinherited. The man who should gain possession of one billion dollars would hold in his hands the capital which by equal distribution would fall to 999,999 other men. Let us be sure that we realize this fact.

To make a millionaire, 999 other men must go through life without any capital in the shape of accumulated wealth. To make a billionaire, 999,999 other men must be deprived of their inheritance—must be deprived of any share in the accumulated wealth of the nation.

Our “privileged class” is rapidly becoming more wealthy and therefore more powerful than the “privileged class” of any other country. Let us see what our richest man may do with his income of \$1,000,000 per month, or \$12,000,000 per year. To begin with, the queen of England receives a salary of \$3,000,000 per year. His income would pay the salary of four queens of England. Should he feel in need of presidents, he could hire 240 of them and pay as high a salary as we do—\$50,000 a year. We have among us thousands of men whose annual income would pay many presidents. Our richest man can employ annually an army of 12,000 men to do his bidding, and pay each

man \$1,000 salary, or an army of 24,000 men at \$500 each, and not disturb his principal. Should he see fit to invest in farming land, he could buy 480,000 acres at the average valuation, or 6,000 eighty-acre farms. In ten years, investing his income only, he could become the possessor of 60,000 eighty-acre farms, or 120,000 forty-acre farms.

Should the man who is worth \$200,000,000 conclude to invest his whole fortune in farms, he could buy 8,000,000 acres at the average valuation, or 100,000 eighty-acre farms. This would mean an army of 100,000 tenant farmers. Think of it! The homes of 100,000 families under the control of one man, in this republic of ours called the land of the free! The welfare of about 500,000 people dependent upon the good- or ill-will of one man called landlord! Is this an encouraging prospect for the farmers and workers of America? Is it strange that they are restless and discontented? that they are dissatisfied with legislation which has permitted so few boys to carry off so many apples?

Great fortunes are great absorbents. They have a tendency to increase more rapidly than small fortunes, and to absorb into themselves all smaller amounts of capital engaged in similar business enterprises, thus completely destroying competition. Who can compete with a millionaire? Is the prospect encouraging for the business men of America? The increasing number of failures answers that question. Enormous wealth gives its possessor special privileges just as great as those conferred in other nations by rank and title. Wealth is power. Its concentration in the hands of a few is quite as dangerous to the liberty of a nation as the concentration of any other form of power.

In considering the dangers attendant upon permitting the formation of such great fortunes in the midst of us, there is another point which should not be overlooked. Is a millionaire criminal, no matter how guilty, likely to be punished? Luxury and vice are often found in company. Great fortunes are not conducive to good morals. Unlimited power—the power of an autocrat which great wealth confers—brings with it temptations which only the strongest natures are able to resist. Great wealth and extreme poverty are alike, in removing the indi-

vidual from the safe paths of ordinary life and exposing him to tests which others are not called upon to meet. Should a millionaire commit one of the greatest of crimes, unprovoked murder, what would be the chances for his conviction? He could use \$100,000 to hire lawyers and perjure witnesses; he could offer \$50,000 to each jurymen for a verdict of acquittal, and still have a fortune of \$300,000 left. Should ten of the jurymen prove honest, he could offer each of the other two \$300,000 apiece, and still retain the same amount. Should eleven prove honest, he could offer the twelfth half a million or more. How often do we find a jury of twelve men, one of whom would not yield to such a temptation as this? The man who is worth ten, or twenty, or forty, or eighty, or a hundred millions can increase the price for his verdict of acquittal accordingly. The man who is worth \$200,000,000 could, if necessary, give each jurymen \$10,000,000 for a verdict of acquittal; he could give his lawyers another \$10,000,000, and use \$20,000,000 to secure his witnesses; after this enormous expenditure to insure a "fair trial" he would still have a fortune of \$50,000,000 left. Would it be possible to convict such a man for any crime he should see fit to commit? Is it not a fact that the power of a millionaire is greater than the power of the law? That he is above the law, beyond the law, in fact, quite out of its reach? Is our republic safe, while we have a constantly increasing class of citizens in the midst of us who are beyond the reach of the law?

Circumstances change and laws should change. The people grow and laws should grow. As well try to compel the vigorous youth of twenty to wear the clothes he wore at ten, as to try to hamper the growth of our nation, and fetter it by laws which were made to meet conditions which have passed away. It is not the province of this article to discuss remedies—although there are many well worth trying—but to show that there is danger ahead and that remedies are necessary. Some method of equalizing the distribution of property is the need of the hour; some method of insuring the men and women who work, a just and proper reward for their labor.

H. O.

"OUR NATIONAL DEFEAT": ANOTHER VIEW.

BY HON. C. H. REEVE.

A REMARKABLE paper appeared in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS for April, from the pen of Elon Galusha Salisbury, under the caption of "Our National Defeat."

In noticing it, I do so as an American citizen, regarding a political party as "a means to an end," and that end the administration of government under and within the limits of the constitutions—state and national—with the sole view of preserving liberty and maintaining order, leaving to each person the largest liberty consistent with order; and bound to no party whose sole end is not this.

It is difficult to find a term that will exactly characterize Mr. Salisbury's article. It begins with an effort to tell of the foundation and rise of the Republican party. It makes that party the embodiment of purity and patriotism in morals and motives, but drifts into a dissection of its moral purposes, and deals largely in assertion. Next, it attempts to defend that party's departure from its original purpose, but makes nothing clear, except that it failed from neglect to educate and civilize and make responsible and intelligent electors out of a million or more of ignorant negroes, bringing them up to a level of intelligence that the white race—starting from the same level—could not reach in a century. Thence on, it argues that the party became careless, cowardly, and temporizing, and drifted partly into corruption and dishonesty, lost its hold on the people, and suffered them to drift back to the conditions of the early days of the republic. Finally, it concludes by trying to show how that party shall be restored by force of its innate moral and intellectual character; and once more the nation will say to it,

"Roll on thou fair orb, and in gladness pursue
The path that conducts thee to glory again."

How one who has lived through the last forty years, or being of mature age can read the history of those years, and obtain such conceptions and give such expression to them, in an effort to account for the results of the last state and national elections, is beyond ordinary comprehension. What there is in that history to give one the idea that the Republican party sprang from the conditions of the times, like Minerva from the brain of Jupiter, armed ready for battle with material power, moral and patriotic motives, and plunged into a desperate war, coming out conqueror, overthrowing national crimes and wickedness, and raising the nation to the very pinnacle of moral and national glory, certainly can be found only in the imagination of the reader, and not in any of the facts recorded.

The Republican party was an accident. The floating together, by the swash of the waves on the political sea, of the *flotsam* that came from the wrecks of all parties in opposition to the Democratic party. Its elements had one purpose and one only: to find some place to go rather than into the Democratic party, and to oppose and defeat that party. The antislavery portion wanted to free the slaves and break every constitutional barrier to do it. The prohibition element wanted to abolish the manufacture and sale of spirits, and ignore all conditions and natural forces that obstructed it. The element that wanted no restrictions desired to destroy the autonomy of the states and make the national agency imperial. The portion of the drift from the old Whig party, which wanted the rights of the states preserved, wanted anything that would defeat the Democratic party. The new organization—begun in 1856 and completed in 1860—with every supporter counted in, could not count over one third of the voters of the nation as being in sympathy with it; and on a platform that contradicts Mr. Salisbury, it came into power in 1860 because of a division of the Democratic party on two candidates—a platform utterly at variance with the one on which it was defeated in 1890 and 1892.

Mr. Salisbury may have justification for his glorification of its

purpose to overthrow slavery ; but if it had such a purpose it concealed and denied it, and it is flatly contradicted by its platform and declarations at the time, and by the whole course pursued and declarations made by Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Salisbury's assertions about the march of its conquering armies and its glorious victories are contradicted by the facts ; and had it not been for the Democratic soldiers and generals, it would have been annihilated before the end of one year of the Civil War and the rebels would have occupied the seat of government.

There were called into service during the war, in round numbers, about 2,800,000 men, and the entire vote of the Republican party in 1860 was about 1,000,000 less than that. Surely no man would be impudent enough to claim that all the men in the army were Republicans, or that even one half of the Republican voters went into the army. Its patriotism was exhausted with the first rush of 75,000 men, called for three months, of whom a half were Democrats. On the next call for 300,000 men bounties had to be paid. After that, the conscription, national bounties, local bounties, and other inducements were resorted to, and then it was difficult to fill the ranks. Patriotism, indeed ! There were patriots—a good many of them—in both rank and file ; but they were few in comparison with the numbers needed, and at times the Federal army came near total defeat for want of men. No more merciless or wanton destruction and waste of life and money and material was ever witnessed in any war in any civilized country, than that which characterized the conduct of the War of the Rebellion by the newly organized Republican party, under the dictation of Cameron and Stanton. No nation ever saw more venality, crime, and corruption, than that which characterized every department and ramification of governmental administration during and succeeding the war, and thence on during the supremacy of that party. As a party, morality and high purpose showed itself only by its absence in a majority of those in power, who used its voters to keep them in power. There were many eminently good, moral, and great men in the party, but they were powerless to control its action.

No nation ever saw such shameless disregard of constitutional

obligations, or more high-handed usurpations, or more unjust laws destructive of every elemental principle intended to be preserved by the framers of the government. The establishment of military courts where the civil law was in full force and neither military law nor a state of siege had been declared. The vesting in the President the authority to suspend the right to a writ of *habeas corpus*. The forcible seizure of judicial power belonging exclusively to the states and vesting in its Federal appointees ; and making an order or instruction of the President, or one acting under him, justification for any assault upon the person or rights of citizens, anywhere, at any time, as to anything. In any action brought, a plea setting up that the act was done under such an order was justification, and left the injured party without remedy. Seizing citizens as offenders, charging them with treason, trial and conviction by military court, and sending them inside the rebel lines or turning them loose, as in the case of Vallandigham, while spending a million dollars and many lives each day to capture rebels and bring them into the Federal lines. Arrest and imprisonment of citizens by thousands, without charge or warrant, and after long terms turning them out without trial, explanation, or redress. These are a few among enough instances of flagrant usurpation to fill a volume with a mere list of them. That the nation itself survived is a wonder of wonders ; and it barely did survive.

The abolition of slavery was only an incident. It was a measure resorted to with reluctance, after long delay, when in desperate straits and fear, hoping thereby to escape defeat, which was imminent. Abhorrence of slavery and pity for the slaves had no part in it, nor had national pride or glory. It was expected that the slaves would rise in insurrection and become a formidable force in aid of the Northern army as soon as declared free ; and that they did not, but mostly remained faithful to their masters, came near making the measure a failure. The claim that the "Republican party" struck off the shackles of the slaves as an act of justice, or abolished slavery in the interests of humanity and civilization, is an assumption so absurd as to make it contemptible. It was wholly a war

measure, hoping thereby to cripple the rebels. The cruelty and suffering inflicted for a year upon the Federal troops taken prisoners, by refusing to exchange prisoners, was greater cruelty and to greater numbers than any suffered by the negro slaves in slavery in any ten or twenty years, and was utterly without excuse. The claims for humanity and mercy as among the virtues of this party, in the face of its record during the Civil War, will not be recognized by truthful historians.

The war was a struggle for national existence on both sides. Its origin was the outgrowth of political and social conditions and had no elements of an insurrection; yet this newly formed Republican party pretended to regard it as an insurrection, instead of a formidable revolution, and so made it one of the most protracted and sanguinary struggles recorded in history. The North *had to fight* long and desperately to preserve its own existence, and was able to conquer after four years of desperate struggling, only by reason of having far greater resources in men, money, and material, than its opponent had. What utter folly it is, to now claim glory for not lying down and telling the rebels to go! or, for patriotism in fighting on compulsion for national existence! To claim glory immortal as liberators of the slaves and having been solely acting under the impulses of the highest morality, humanity, and preconceived designs to benefit the nation and civilization! It had no choice except to lie down and submit to dismemberment of the nation, or to fight; and when it fought it had no choice but to conquer or submit. In face of the facts, how puerile it is to attempt to base its action in connection with the deadly Civil War upon sentiment, and glorify the Republican party as having been actuated solely by sentiment; that sentiment the outgrowth of morality, humanity, and patriotism alone, and having alone conquered the enemies of liberty, morality, and order.

The Republican party has always been a minority party. It has never numbered in its ranks anything like a majority of the voters of the country. With every negro voter counted for it, it was still in the minority; and it kept itself in power only by force, by fraud, by usurpations, and universal bribery. From

voting its own soldiers in the field, to sending them home as repeaters, and by armed force driving opposing civilians from the polls, to the forcible postponement of elections, the gerrymander of election districts, the "going behind the returns," and throwing out ballots; from the electoral commission, the use of "soap," the "blocks of five," the corruption of the courts, and the use of election commissioners, to thousands of deputy marshals swaggering at the precincts, every method was devoid of morals and patriotism.

The only correct presentation in Mr. Salisbury's paper—one that is authorized by current history—is in that portion which says: "In very truth, the workings of practical politics in which its energies have been employed for a considerable period have been of a character to eliminate every moral element from the sources of that action that gave birth to modern Republicanism, animating its being and making it a mighty factor in the progress of the world, and to besmirch the fair name of the party and impair its usefulness by inaction and early decrepitude." To get the truth out of this we must eliminate "from the sources of that action that gave birth to modern Republicanism, animating its being, and making it a mighty factor in the progress of the world . . . and impair its usefulness by inaction and early decrepitude." With this out, the statement may pass as true, but not the whole truth, in this direction. That is to say, "the workings of practical politics in which its energies have been employed for a considerable period, have been of a character to eliminate every moral element . . . and to besmirch the fair name of the party. . . ."

"In very truth" the party was defeated because it had abused every trust it had forced into its keeping (none was fairly entrusted to it by the voluntary will of a majority of the people), because it drove business and the people into classes, syndicates, and castes, was arrogant, imperious, and distrustful of the people, and manifested a disposition to curtail their rights and the rights of the states, and limit their privileges and deprive them of all power of opposition or resistance. As a party it never had any morals to use. The materials of which it was

formed had moral forces among them which could have been used for good ends ; but behind and dominating it all, was the autocratic, dictatorial spirit to rule at all hazards, and crush out opposition by any means necessary, and that spirit kept the party in power as long as the people could tolerate it ; trusting in, but constantly deceived by, its promises. First, most of the moral and patriotic men in the party, who were among its best minds, left it. Then oppression drove out many of the plain people who believed in its promises and fallacies ; and last, even some of those with little scruples as to methods became disgusted and abandoned it.

In his conclusion, Mr. Salisbury would have us believe that the party has only to let its innate morality, honesty, and patriotic impulses control its action, make labor, temperance, and equal suffrage its battle cry, and it will emerge from the night of defeat ; and for it,

" Morn shall return all its charms to restore,
Perfumed with fresh fragrance and glittering with dew."

What a cheerful optimist Mr. Salisbury must be !

The morals controlling its impulses and the things he would have it champion are the ones it pretended to have saddled and been riding as hobbies at full gallop these many years ; and it was these—being so ridden in false pretense—that kicked up and threw it over their heads in the last election. Labor, temperance, and equal suffrage, indeed, finding champions and moral support and uplifting at the hands of the Republican party ! And that because of the "innate morality and honesty !"

There is one thing, and only one, that can galvanize the Republican party into life and enable it to form a fighting force. That is the abuse and misuse of opportunities by the Democratic party. If that party is equal to the performance of the duties incumbent upon it as the administrators of government, under and within the Constitutions of the nation and the states, the Republican party, like its predecessor, the Federal party, will survive only as a name, an unfragrant memory, and some not eulogistic pages in history.

C. H. REEVE.

THE PEOPLE AND LEGISLATION.

BY LOUIS V. BENNETT.

THERE is apparent in the American life of to-day a growing tendency to speak disrespectfully of legislatures and political leaders. That it is not peculiar to American life is probably true, but that the tendency is more prevalent in this country than elsewhere can hardly be denied by one who has devoted any thought or observation to the subject. This inclination to find fault is doubtless due partly to the fact that the freedom of discussion in the press and on the stump is so unrestrained that public men live under the blazing sun of publicity. But it must be confessed that it is due also to another cause, and that is, the inefficiency, or, worse yet, the venality of many of those who constitute for the time being the governing class.

It rarely occurs that a legislature is chosen in these days which, by the character of those composing it and the superiority of the work which it sends forth, inspires the respect and confidence of those for whom it legislates. Perhaps it is true that a distrust of legislatures has always been a prevailing trait of the Anglo-Saxon character, but the trait seems to be developing into a suspicious watchfulness, which bids one study its causes and seek out if possible a practical remedy.

This watchfulness on the part of the people lest their rulers might defy the popular will was active and alert at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, which contains a system of checks and balances which are intended to limit the powers of the various departments, and prevent tyranny on the part of executive or legislature, while at the same time the will of the majority is curbed lest hasty action may bring disastrous results.

The ideal government for a self-governing people is undoubt-

edly the one which keeps most closely in touch with the thought of the people and responds most readily, not to popular whims, but to the development of public opinion. No doubt the Teutonic folk-mote and its lineal descendants, the English vestry-meeting and the New England town meeting, embraced within themselves many qualities desirable in popular government. In the town meeting the people legislated for themselves, and in direct legislation, pure and simple, the will of the majority could assert itself unfettered. Taxes were levied, construction of roads and bridges decided on, school questions discussed and determined, and everything decided then and there by majority votes. This system is still in vogue in New England and many of the northern states in the management of local affairs in country townships.

But with all the acknowledged benefits of this ideal pure democracy, it appears that the town meeting is impracticable save for purely local matters of the simplest kind, and for small communities, but that even there it is frequently doubtful whether better results might not be obtained by a representative body. The work ordered by a town meeting year after year cannot have the consecutiveness which is necessary in order to make the investment of public moneys in public improvements really wise and economical.

Furthermore, it strikes the student of New England town meetings, that while in theory they were the gatherings of the voters of the towns for deliberation, they were frequently, if not usually, controlled by certain leaders noted for their eloquence and persuasiveness quite as much as for their judgment and business ability. Frequently the leader was a Samuel Adams, and, if so, good and well. But when one reads of Adams being sent as a deputy to the General Assembly, to carry out convictions embodied in formal instructions from the town meeting drawn by Adams himself, it strikes one that our method of appealing to the people from the stump in support of principles laid down in party platforms is, to say the least, just as apt to achieve good results. But the career of Adams shows that although the discussions were free and open, yet the meet-

ings were as much managed and controlled by those of superior executive ability or persuasive eloquence as any convention or legislature in our own day.

It must be conceded that there is something which appeals powerfully to the imagination of the student of civil institutions in the popular assemblies of all peoples, whether they be assemblies which Solon instituted in Greece, the *Landsgemeinden* of the Swiss at Appenzell, or the gatherings of the New England voters in their town meeting. But as the country develops so that the meetings become larger, or as the villages grow into towns and the towns into cities, representative government supplants the town meeting more and more, the latter becomes unwieldy in size and incapable of grappling with the public business as the problems of public policy become more numerous and more intricate.

But people who have been handling their own affairs in town meeting cannot give up the public business into the hands of legislators without adding a restraint, and so the representatives sent by the New England towns to the General Assembly were deputies with clearly defined instructions which their constituents had adopted for their guidance. This custom led Dr. Francis Lieber to make a distinction between deputation and representative government, the delegate in the former case being selected to carry out certain prescribed plans, in the latter to exercise his judgment on questions as they arise. It is impossible in our day to separate the two ideas, but it is generally conceded that the person chosen is bound in honor to carry out the principles enunciated in the platform on which he was chosen, leaving him to decide other questions as they arise, unless his constituents give some indication of their will. In the former case he is a deputy and an instrument of the popular will; in the absence of instructions he is a representative laboring for the interests of his constituents and the public weal according to his own judgment.

However, the instruction of deputies has not had the restraining power upon legislation which the distrust of the people has demanded. For in the press of public business many questions

arise which cannot be foreseen and action is taken without consulting constituents to find out whether they are in sympathy or opposed. So a scheme for referring questions to the people for their approval has in many states been engrafted upon the Constitution. In Switzerland, where the plan has been most successfully adopted, it is called the "referendum." In England, when the ministry and the Commons lock horns over some measure of public policy and fail to agree, the session is dissolved and an appeal to the people is taken, which refers the question to the voters for their decision. In our own country, amendments to the Constitution of the United States or of the states must be referred to the people for ratification, and in some states certain subjects which the legislature have passed on are referred to the people for final decision. Thus, the Constitution of Wisconsin referred to the voters the question whether or not a state banking law should be passed, and none could be passed until the people voted "aye." In Minnesota certain railway laws must be submitted to the people, and the expenditure of moneys from the internal improvement land fund must receive the approval of the voters. The New York Legislature, after a profitless discussion on the question of convict labor, finally appealed to the voters of the state to give voice to their wishes; and many a legislature has groped its way out of the Slough of Despond by referring the temperance question to the people of the state under the name of "local option." In Massachusetts municipal corporations are permitted to decide by popular vote whether they shall assume the ownership of gas and electric plants.

But probably the history of the electoral college and the manner in which it was shorn of its powers, until to-day it is but the shadow of what the framers of the Constitution intended it to be, is the most striking example in our history of the tendency on the part of the people to withdraw and retain for themselves powers once delegated to a select body.

The clamor on the part of the people for the election of United States Senators by direct vote is another indication of the desire to withdraw delegated powers, and the election of

Senator Palmer of Illinois in answer to a popular demand and the valiant though unsuccessful fight of General Bragg in Wisconsin, are but manifestations of a growing tendency. The history of Greece, Rome, and England show that the lower House, which is nearest the people, gradually exerts the greater influence in legislation, finally overshadowing the upper House. It does not take a very careful student to detect the same tendency in our own government, for, is it not true that the most vigorous activity is found in the House of Representatives? It is an interesting question whether our exclusive Senate will become popularized or whether, like the House of Lords, it will, in the political evolution of the future, finally drop to the rank of a rudimentary organ of the body politic.

What is the effect of the referendum? Are the results beneficial or otherwise? With all its advantages which appear on the surface, there are two points which can hardly be refuted. The first is that the introduction of the referendum shifts the responsibility from the legislators to the voters. If the adding of responsibility steadies a man, then it is safe to say that the removal of responsibility tends to lower the character of legislative bodies and make seats in them less attractive to men of brains. In the second place, the reference to the people is not necessarily an appeal to a more intelligent body of citizens. Whatever abuse we may hurl against an incompetent Congress or Legislature, we should not forget who it was that elected it and that while perhaps the lawmaking body does not represent the best thought and most enlightened convictions of the country, it does probably represent the average intelligence of the voters.

Where, then, is safety? The town meeting, though serving a useful purpose in local affairs, particularly in country places, is unfitted for the larger affairs of city, state, or nation; and the referendum, besides the objections above stated, is impracticable because but one question at a time of the many coming up for solution can be presented.

Where, then, is the solution of government to be sought? We are thrown back upon the representative government, of

which John Stuart Mill says : "The trusteeship in the representative government is the only means yet discovered to temper the rashness of democracy and to overcome the obstinacy of monarchs." An intelligent population expressing its will through the suffrage presents one of the grandest spectacles known in civil history. But in order to achieve the highest results the voters must be intelligent and the elections pure. No stream can be pure if the mountain springs from which it comes are polluted ; and no government can be enlightened unless the individual voter is intelligent and honest. As intelligence and education increase among the people, the standard of Legislatures and Congresses will be raised. England with a limited suffrage has a higher degree of intelligence in her legislative halls than we have with universal suffrage, and only time can work out the problem that lies before us.

Direct legislation, whether in the town meeting or the referendum, does not reach the seat of the difficulty. It is only a palliative, not a cure. The individual is the unit of our political life, and in his development, and in that alone, lies the hope of reform and the promise of future progress.

LOUIS V. BENNETT.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND BIRTHRIGHTS.

BY DUANE MOWRY, LL.B.

THE Constitution of the United States contains the following provision : "No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President." The twelfth amendment to the Constitution provides : "No person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President, shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States."

A writer in THE AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS for January (1893), takes a somewhat extraordinary position relative to the foregoing provisions of the fundamental law of this country. His contention is that the Constitution permits the existence of a public birthright, which is contrary to the principle laid down in the Declaration of Independence, is opposed to the meaning of the term naturalization, not recognized by the laws of nature ; makes of the alien a second-class citizen only, and casts an unjust and unrighteous stigma upon his defenseless head.

Undoubtedly, the Constitutional provisions quoted do permit the only birthright of a public nature under the Constitution of the United States. And I shall not assume the rôle of an apologist or attempt to palliate the same. To my mind these provisions of the Constitution are most opportune and salutary, and do violence to none of the reasonable rights of the naturalized citizen.

It is doubtless true that the purpose of naturalization is the making of the servant of the Old World a sovereign in the New. But as naturalization laws are purely statutory, they are always accepted subject to the Constitutional provisions. The writer is not quite accurate in his statement when he refers to the Con-

stitution of the United States as providing for naturalization. But naturalization means more than "the investment of an alien with the public rights and privileges enjoyed by a native or natural-born American citizen." It means citizenship. And citizenship means not only rights and privileges to enjoy, but also duties to discharge. It is quite a common mistake of the unlettered foreigner to insist that much is due *to* him from his adopted country, and but little is due *from* him as a citizen of that country. So it may be observed that the writer, in the discussion of the matter, descants quite eloquently and well of the "rights" of the alien, but passes in silence his "duties."

I cannot agree with the writer that any purpose to belittle or stigmatize or discriminate against the foreigner was contemplated by the framers of the Constitution when the provision first quoted was incorporated therein. No such feeling is to-day entertained by the patriotic people of this land. It is patent to every thinking individual that the foreigner in the midst of us has more and greater political privileges than in any other country. And these are constantly enlarging in practice. Let me say in all candor that the alien citizen is in no true sense a second-class citizen, only as he makes himself such by conduct unbecoming the sovereign of a free state.

The Declaration of Independence is not the controlling force in the government of this country. When this country threw off the oppressor's yoke it was thought necessary and wise to announce the reasons which impelled it to that action. If it was asserted that all men are created equal and entitled to equal rights before the law, that declaration did not bind any one, legally or morally, to embody the principle in the Constitution or the statutes of the land. Yet no one will deny that that principle is more fully and completely recognized in this country than in any other country under the sun.

It was the undoubted purpose of the framers of the Constitution of the United States to establish, maintain, and transmit a truly national characteristic; to secure at that time, and, if possible, for all time to come, for this country, a distinctively American spirit, all-absorbing, all-pervading, ever-present. It

does not occur to me that the development of such a spirit could be expected to reach its climax in the person of a chief magistrate who had been nurtured under foreign skies and partook of the spirit of foreign institutions. He could serve the state acceptably and well, possibly, could discharge the responsible duties of the highest office as befits a great and free people. But I think the Constitutional prohibition a wise one, and the later legislation upon the subject is in keeping with the earlier action of our fathers, making more certain and secure the nationality of the incumbent of this high and honorable office. It is not the mere accident of birth that counts for anything with us ; but the patriotic wish to be known as a people and a nation who have something to be proud of, to possess, to enjoy, and to transmit.

There is growing desire for political power among the foreigners in the midst of us. I cannot say that I regret to know that there is such a desire. But I find that the desire for such power is not supplemented by an earnest wish to wield that power honestly, wisely, efficiently. Here is a potent reason why the provisions of the Constitution referred to should remain intact, and which do not, in any lofty or true sense, "disfigure" that sacred document.

DUANE MOWRY.

THE LAST CAMPAIGN—A REVIEW OF ITS MANAGEMENT.

BY W. H. SMITH.

IT IS seldom that a political battle results in so greatly astonishing all parties as did that which ended on the 8th day of last November. It is not too much to say that the Democrats were as much amazed at the magnitude of the victory they had won, as the Republicans were at the disastrous nature of the defeat that had overtaken them. The Democrats did not expect victory and the Republicans had never calculated on defeat. When the result was announced the Republicans were too much dazed to understand it, and the Democrats, to realize it. It took the Democrats several days to catch their breath and appreciate their great good fortune, while the Republicans have hardly yet recovered from their astonishment. It is true that when the campaign opened the chances were all in favor of the Republicans, and to even the most astute political mind their overthrow did not appear to be even possible, let alone probable. The Republicans had in their favor the prosperity of the country. Never before had the country been so apparently prosperous. The export trade with foreign countries had greatly increased; the crops had been unusually good; the manufacturers had enjoyed a season of unexampled prosperity. Their desks were loaded with orders ahead of their capacity to fill. Work had been more plenty for all classes of labor, and the wages had been materially increased. Turn where we might, the evidences of prosperity were seen on every hand. The McKinley law had awakened considerable antagonism, but the new industries that had grown up under it appeared to be a sufficient justification for all the claims of its friends, and to all appearances the cry for tariff reform would not meet with much of a response from the people. Business men are proverbially

conservative in political affairs, and inclined to let well enough alone. They may admit that evils exist but are not inclined to try to remedy existing evils by fleeing to those they know not of. In the spring of 1892 the business men were apparently satisfied with the situation and opposed to any change of policy. The Republican party was pledged to continue the policy then pursued, while the Democrats were just as strongly pledged to make many radical changes.

While the business men were not always willing to admit any certain policy to be the best, yet after they had adjusted their interests according to that policy they would prefer its continuance to any radical change. Stability and not change was what they had always demanded. So far, then, as politicians could see, the business interests of the country were favorable to a continuation of Republican rule. It is true that some dissatisfaction existed with the rapid extension of the pension roll, but that dissatisfaction among business men was more than offset by their disinclination to have a revolution in business methods that would be necessary to adjust business to any radical change of policy in regard to the tariff, and as the growth of the pension roll had been the outcome of Republican legislation, it was natural that the politician should believe it would result in adding many votes to President Harrison from among the veterans. It was believed that as the country was rich, and all that was paid out for pensions went directly into the hands of the people and was scattered to every part of the country, the opposition to the increase of such appropriations was not very deep. At least that was the way politicians looked at the matter. Democratic leaders did not anticipate much addition to their party strength by the cry against pensions. While using the cry they looked upon it as really a demagogic argument without much weight or influence either way. They used it as a Roland for the Republican Oliver as to importers being the only parties opposed to the McKinley law.

President Harrison had given the country a confessedly able and pure administration. It was admitted on all hands that the country had had none better. He was conservative, firm, just,

and his ability to grasp the great questions of statecraft astonished friends as well as foes. In the main his selections of officers had proved eminently satisfactory to the people, and in his appointments to judicial places he was peculiarly happy, winning the commendation of all sides. His methods of dealing with foreign governments had met with universal approval, and he had done much to raise the American name abroad. He had brought to the administration of foreign affairs a firmness, a dignity, and an Americanism never before known, and while it was removed as far as possible from jingoism, it still had an American flavor that was peculiarly satisfactory to the people of this country. In fact, under him America for the first time entered into active diplomacy.

The revival of American shipping had gratified the pride and business interests of the people, and promised well for the future. It was a feature of his administration. The postal service had made rapid strides in improvement, and never had the people been better served. He had repeatedly expressed himself in the strongest terms on the financial policy, and, while his expressions had given umbrage to the extreme free silver men, they had met with favor from the great business centers. It had been the almost unbroken rule in this country not to change administrations and policy during a season of prosperity, and judging by the past the Republicans had everything in their favor, and it was not too much for them to expect a verdict of approval, or, if not wholly of approval, at least against any change. Democratic politicians admitted this, and realized the tremendous task that had been set them. There had been a reaction in 1890, but they believed that was only temporary and had expended its force. They really had no hope of carrying the Presidency, and were doubtful of their ability to hold their own in Congress.

General Harrison had defeated Mr. Cleveland four years before, when he had all the Federal patronage at his back, and if Harrison could do that when he was an untried man, how much easier would it be when upheld by the able administration he had given the country, and when the great power of Federal

patronage was in his hands. Then, to encourage his friends, was the antagonism to Cleveland especially in New York.

Such were a few of the advantages possessed by the Republicans at the opening of the campaign. Against General Harrison were the disappointed office-seekers, but it was supposed they would vote for him notwithstanding their disappointment. Speaking in a party sense, his appointments were not always happy, and he was unfortunate in not being able to say "no" without giving great offense. Even in making an appointment he did it in such a way as to offend the receiver as well as those who had asked for the place and failed. He had selected honest and capable men, but the majority of them had not been closely identified with the party or its work, while those who had borne the heat and burden of the day had been left out in the cold. Hence there was a great lukewarmness in party circles. He had not been either gracious in the bestowal or refusal of places; and earned the name of being cold and ungrateful to the friends who had helped him to climb to his elevated position. All these were against his re-nomination, but were not believed to be potent factors in determining the election. In one of his campaign speeches in 1888, General Harrison said men should not be held to account for what was done before the convention. Acting upon this the Republican leaders believed that after the nomination all Republicans would rally enthusiastically to the support of the ticket as they had done in 1888. So it was not thought that the disappointments arising from failure to get office would cut much of a figure. In fact, it was believed that the opposition to his re-nomination had arisen mainly because he refused to let the politicians control the patronage, and that this opposition would really strengthen him before the people. The fight against what had been termed the "machine" had given rise to the belief that the people would rally to the support of any man who would cut loose from the domination of the politicians in the distribution of patronage, and hence no fear was felt from any lukewarmness, or even active opposition of the politicians.

The Democratic leaders appeared to rely more on the cry

against the "Force bill," than on that for a reform of the tariff. The Republicans made light of it, and with apparent reason said the Force bill had no terrors for any but the Southern States. It remains yet to be determined if the persistent cry of the Democrats against the measure was not a specimen of the shrewdest kind of political generalship. The Republicans reasoned that if the Democrats were making that a leading issue, it was because they were afraid of losing some of the southern states, and it was necessary to "fire the Southern heart." Certain it is something inspired the Republicans with the firm conviction that they could carry three or more of the states in the South. To accomplish that they divided their forces and weakened their effort in some of the northern states. Thus they did just what the Democratic leaders expected them to do, and lost, for the Democrats wasted no time on the South, knowing all was safe in that direction, but managed to so keep the attention of the Republicans fixed on the South that they did not discover the work that was quietly being done in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Indiana.

There was, too, against the Republicans that well-defined but uncertain atmosphere of discontent in the West. The discontent was there but no one seemed to be able to fathom its depth or width, and while it made a good deal of noise the feeling prevailed among all classes that it was only noise. Except in one or two places the discontent looked as if it would militate as much against the Democrats as against the Republicans. The discontent was by no means confined to one party. The leaders in the new movement did not themselves comprehend the magnitude of their movement. Their success was as much of a surprise to them as to the old parties.

At the opening of the campaign, as shown, the chances were greatly in favor of the Republicans. How, then, is their disastrous overthrow to be accounted for? Is it to be laid at the door of the President, or were the party managers responsible for it? A careful survey of the whole subject compels the admission that the Republicans were outgeneraled at every point. The things that they ought to have known they did not

know. They were in profound ignorance of the extent of the Populist movement in the West and yet they ought to have realized the danger from that source and put forth all their energies to counteract it. It could have been headed off, or if not headed off entirely, have been so controlled and directed as to work to the interest of the Republicans instead of against them. The Democrats were shrewd enough to see this, and to utilize it more or less in all of the western states. In doing so they displayed good generalship. Good political management consists of taking advantage of every possible circumstance, to either turn the circumstances into positively favorable action, or render them nugatory, so far as evil is concerned. The Republicans ought to have seen the danger in the West and provided against it. Then, as said before, the Democrats deceived them by the cry against the Force bill, and sent them to chasing rainbows in the South. While the Republicans were rainbow hunting in West Virginia, Tennessee, and some of the other southern states, the Democrats were quietly getting in their work in Illinois and the West, with no one to molest or make them afraid. Permitting the Democrats to carry Illinois was an inexcusable blunder. The Republican leaders were warned of the danger in Illinois but closed their ears and eyes and talked loudly of carrying even Missouri. That the Republicans pulled through in Ohio was a piece of good luck, and was not due to any management of the party. It is hard to believe that those who were in control of the campaign of the Republicans were wholly lacking in political skill. They had had experience and were reckoned as among the wisest political leaders in the country. Accepting it that they did possess both skill and experience, the result of the campaign looks as if it had been brought about as much by silent treachery as by the good luck or superior management of the Democrats.

Indiana, Illinois, and some of the other western states might have been saved to the Republicans by proper management. In 1886 and 1888 Harrison had been a candidate in Indiana, and at both elections had carried the state by a safe plurality. He was stronger, relatively, in 1892 than in either of the other two cam-

paings. There was some soreness on account of disappointments in not securing places, but all that might have been overcome. The Democratic party in that state was divided into two hostile factions, and Cleveland was really weaker than when he lost the state in 1888. The vote shows that. The campaign in Indiana was butchered from the beginning. It was in the hands of those loyal to Harrison, but they were inexperienced and could not grasp the situation. Illinois was Republican and the odds were all in favor of that party. In New York the Republicans were terribly deceived, or if not deceived, willfully gave the state away. It is possible that there never had been a chance of the Republicans carrying the state, and if so they ought to have known it early in the campaign and turned their attention to making the loss good in some other quarter. It is very probable that there, too, the Democrats purposely deceived and deluded their enemies, to keep them expending their efforts in a hopeless task while they were stealing a march in some other direction.

The student of political history, when he carefully scans the late campaign, will be forced to admit that the Republicans were outgeneraled, and that they lost a victory that was practically in their own hands at the beginning of the fight. They wasted their strength in directions where ordinary sagacity ought to have told them there was no hope, while they neglected fields where good might have been accomplished, and actually went to sleep and lost two or three states they ought to have carried without much of a struggle. The Democrats can well be proud of their leaders, for all homage is due them. On the other hand, the Republicans will be forced to look for new chiefs for the next campaign.

W. H. SMITH.

MONEY AND CIVILIZATION.

BY G. S. KIMBALL.

A MAN who stands before our country, and before the world, as the American representative of the highest culture—whose noblest life-work was his constant and earnest endeavor to carry the high standard of his ideal aims into the practical affairs of everyday life, and whose patriotism was an inspiration and stimulus that pervaded his character and made the crowning glory of his literary masterpieces—speaks in this way of the duties an American owes to his country and to his fellow-citizens ; James Russell Lowell says :

“It is through its politics, through its capacity for government, the noblest of all sciences, that a nation proves its right to a place among the other beneficent forces of nature ; for politics permeates more widely than any other force, and reaches every one of us, soon or late, to teach or to debauch. . . .

“Before we turn to the consideration of politics as we see it in practice, let us think for a moment what, when properly understood, it really is. In its least comprehensive definition, politics is an art which concerns itself about the national house-keeping—about the immediate interests and workaday wants, the income and outgo of the people. It has to deal with practical questions as they arise and grow pressing. Even on this humbler plane it may well have an attraction for the finest intellects and the greatest abilities, in a country where public opinion is supreme, for it can perform its function only by persuading, convincing, and thus governing the minds of men.

“The most trivial question acquires dignity when it touches the well-being, or arouses the passions of many millions.

“Our politicians are so busy studying the local eddies of prejudice or interest, that they allow the main channel of our national

energies to be obstructed by dams for the grinding of private grist. Our leaders no longer lead, but are as skillful as Indians in following the faintest trail of public opinion.

"I find it generally admitted that our moral standard in politics has been lowered and is every day going lower. Some attribute this to our want of a leisure class. But a leisure class, without a definite object in life, and without generous aims, is a bane rather than a blessing. What we want is an active class who will insist, in season and out of season, that we shall have a country whose greatness is measured not only by its square miles, its number of yards woven, of hogs packed, of bushels of wheat raised,—not only by its skill to feed and clothe the body, but also by its power to feed and clothe the soul; a country which shall be as great morally as it is materially; a country whose very name shall not only, as now it does, stir us as with the sound of a trumpet, but shall call out all that is best within us, by offering us the radiant image of something better, nobler, and more enduring than we,—of something that shall fulfill our own thwarted aspiration, when we are but a handful of forgotten dust in the soil, trodden by a race whom we shall have helped to make more worthy of their inheritance than we ourselves had the power, I might almost say, the means to be."

—*Independent in Politics.*

Everyone recognizes the beauty and fitness of such an ideal as this. In our best moments some such ultimate aim or aspiration seems not altogether unattainable; and this recognition on our part finds its justification in the fact that our government allows every opportunity for the development of such a class,—who shall work for the public and not for the offices, and who shall protest, in season and out of season, against the popular impression that any man who is proved incapable of managing his own business affairs successfully, is sufficiently competent to conduct those of the nation, in connection with which the stimulus of intelligent self-interest is not considered essential, and where specialized knowledge or skill is not apt to be the first requirement sought for.

On no point is popular intelligence more essential and popular

ignorance more dense, than on questions involving currency and finance.

It would require volumes to describe the extent of the evils which different nations, from the earliest times down to our own day, have suffered from ill-regulated currencies ; and yet when questions of changes in financial or monetary policy arise, they cannot be left for the decision of a few authorities, without appeal to the people.

Bare authority will not be accepted in these days, but, at the same time, it is of especial importance to the industrial classes, who form the vast majority of the nation, that questions of such vital interest as those embracing money matters should not be decided off-hand, by popular votes.

Prof. Nicholson tells us, in his "Essay on Money," "that the fundamental principles of money may be understood by any person of ordinary capacity who will devote a little trouble and who is not too proud to begin at the beginning. The principles of the subject, although in one sense the most difficult, are also the clearest and most intelligible in economic science. Those who find the practical problems at present agitating the public mind difficult of comprehension, and apparently insoluble, would look on them with very different eyes if they had given a little study to the elements of monetary science."

MONEY AND ITS FUNCTIONS.

As we handle money, passing it freely from one to another in the ordinary affairs of life, almost the last thought likely to occur to us is that the very ability to transact our business by means of these pieces of silver, or gold, or paper, presupposes a certain degree of civilization, while the possession of a well-authenticated and regulated money—such as our own—stamps our civilization as far advanced.

The capacity to employ money and to understand the laws and principles which should regulate its employment, is the slow growth of the experience of many nations,—beginning with the simple exchange of one article for another, with barter, and gradually developing the great financial transactions of to-day,

which involve the well-being of millions, and absorb the keenest intellects of our time.

In all the different forms of money we find one underlying principle: that of exchange; and in barter, where goods are given for goods, goods for services, or services for services, we have the rudest form of exchange.

Society, as we know it, is made up of men who do not think of attempting to produce, each for himself, that which he desires to eat, drink, or wear, but they occupy themselves in producing that thing which, under the circumstances, each can produce to the best advantage, let who will, in course of time, eat, drink, or wear it, while they expect to satisfy their own individual wants by the labor of others. Thus division of labor is followed by exchange; thus trade is developed, and exchange or trade discovers the need of the great agent—money.

Accustomed as we are to the use of money, we hardly realize the benefits it confers upon us until our attention is called to the difficulties which arise in its absence.

The earliest form of exchange consisted in giving what was not wanted directly for what was wanted. But simple as it seems when confined to exchanges between individuals, this method of trading presents almost insuperable obstacles so soon as an attempt is made to apply it, in even a modified degree, to the needs and conditions of civilized society—for, of course, if each producer were obliged to find some person who could supply what he wanted, and at the same time desired whatever he had to give in exchange, this would occasion frequent delays and disappointments.

“But if, by general consent, formal or implied, the producers of the community should hit upon one article which they would all agree to take in exchange for whatever they wished to sell, a vast saving of time and labor, of annoyance and disappointment, would be effected, especially if the article so taken should be one, say wheat, susceptible of minute division without loss of utility.

“The function performed by wheat, in the instance given, is that of a medium of exchange, and just this is the money function.

"Whatever does this work is money, no matter what it is made of, and no matter how it came to be a medium at first, or why it continues to be such. So long as, in any community, there is an article which all producers take freely and as a matter of course in exchange for whatever they have to sell, instead of looking about, at the time, for the particular things they themselves wish to consume : that article is money, be it white, yellow, or black, hard or soft, animal, vegetable, or mineral.

"The essential test of money is this : that its acceptability shall be so nearly universal that practically every person in the community, who has any product or service to dispose of, will freely, gladly, and of preference, take this thing—money—instead of the particular products or services which he may individually require from others, being well assured that with this money he will obtain, without fail, whatever he shall desire in form and amount, and at the times to suit his wants ; and, therefore, any article which should acquire this degree of acceptability throughout the community would thereby become money, whatsoever its form or material."—*F. A. Walker, "Pol. Econ.," Sections 161, 162, 163.*

And we find that among different peoples almost every conceivable substance has been used in this way.

Originally, exchanges took place between groups,—not individuals—for a man was considered to have no rights apart from those of his tribe, and rude transfers of property which took place were looked upon as reciprocal presents, which involved a sort of mutual obligation or advantage, but involved no comprehension whatever of a unit of value, which is a necessity of the buying and selling of modern trade. In this way, an article universally desirable for any purpose, came gradually into use as a medium of exchange. For instance, in the hunting state of society skins and furs have often been used as money. The Hudson Bay Company's trade with the Indians was long carried on by means of furs, and so lately as 1885 gopher tails were currency in parts of Dakota, if we may believe the *Bismarck Tribune*.

In the pastoral stage of society, when men's wealth consisted of flocks and herds, sheep and cattle naturally became the most easily negotiable form of property. The early Greeks used cattle in this way; in the Homeric poems oxen are often referred to as a means of expressing valuations. A first prize for wrestlers is spoken of as worth twelve oxen. Coming down to our own time, cattle-rents have been paid by pastoral Indian tribes to the United States Government.

Among agricultural nations, grains are often employed as a medium of exchange. Corn has been used in Europe from the time of the early Greeks to the present day. It is said that in some parts of Norway it is deposited in banks, and loaned and borrowed.

We would naturally suppose that articles of ornament would serve as money, and this has often been the case. The wampum of our Indians, and the cowrie shells of Africa and Hindostan are well-known examples, and it is more than probable that gold and silver first came into requisition as currency through their use in decoration.

It is always and everywhere universal acceptability which is the one essential characteristic of the exchange medium; but there are other qualities which are extremely desirable in fitting articles for use as money, and among these portability holds, perhaps, the first place.

In general, those articles will be chosen which contain much value in proportion to their size or weight, and thus admit of being easily transferred or concealed. This is of importance, because it is often necessary that large sums should be sent from one place to another, and anything which hinders such transfers makes a vast difference to the prosperity of trade.

Money should be uniform in quality, every unit like every other unit. If we were to reckon transactions in precious stones, for instance, it would seldom happen that two stones were exactly one half the value of four stones.

Durability is another desirable feature, since, if it is to be passed about in trade or held in reserve, money must not easily deteriorate in value. It must not evaporate like alcohol, nor decay like wood, nor rust like iron.

In order to meet the numerous demands of trade, money must be easily divisible. The difficulty or impossibility of a division without loss of value places many commodities outside the practicability of use as money. If we cut up a skin or fur its value is gone, except for some one particular purpose. Pieces of many metals, on the other hand, can be melted together with little loss—in the case of gold and silver, less than a cent an ounce.

Stability of value, particularly under the conditions of modern trade, is a most important requisite. If men are to promise to pay down, at a future date, definite quantities of some specified commodity it is highly desirable that a given quantity of that commodity shall possess very nearly the same value as at the time the bargain was made. "Otherwise," says General Walker, "grave uncertainty will be introduced into every contract with the strong probability that one or the other party will suffer serious loss, to the discouragement of trade and industry." Therefore, anything varying so greatly in value as wheat, from year to year, would be too uncertain and unsteady to serve as a medium for commercial transactions.

Again, money should be easily recognized. It is continually handed about, and people cannot afford the time and have not the means for weighing or testing it. The public demands that it shall be able to tell at a glance not only the true from the false money, but the exact value or denomination of the piece presented in payment.

These distinguishing qualities—portability, uniformity, durability, stability of value, divisibility, and cognizability—are the principal requisites of a good monetary medium, and in the metals we find a class of commodities possessing these characteristics in a higher degree than any other substances.

Iron has been used as money in almost every nation whose history we know, but its liability to rust, as well as its weight, makes it undesirable. In earlier times, when a comparatively small amount existed, its value was much greater than at present, and it served the purpose of a medium of exchange fairly well.

Copper has been more extensively used than any of the less valuable metals. It was the early money of the Hebrews, was circulated by the ancient Romans, and until recently formed the principal money of the poorer European states.

Gold and silver are, however, so pre-eminently money metals that they have become known as the "precious metals" simply on that account.

Silver was first used as money; the medieval currencies of Europe were largely composed of it. Its value is comparatively stable (at least until the last few years), it is moderately heavy, easily distinguished by its pure white lustre, and remarkably durable. President Walker says of it: "Easily fusible, highly ductile, practically imperishable, silver would have filled our utmost conception of a money metal, had not the earth yielded one transcendent product, in comparison with which even silver fades from desire."

It is an open question whether as a monetary medium silver has ever been surpassed—even by gold—although the latter metal is generally recognized as the modern standard and possesses a combination of properties quite without parallel among known substances. It can only be destroyed by acids, especially prepared for the purpose: "In the pure state it is almost as soft as tin, but when alloyed with one tenth or one twelfth part of copper becomes sufficiently hard to resist wear and tear and to give a good metallic ring; yet it is perfectly malleable and takes a remarkably clear and fine impression."—*W. S. Jevons, "Money and Mechanism of Exchange."*

"One cubic inch of gold may be drawn out to cover fourteen million square inches. Gold may be alloyed and refined, united and divided, with the greatest ease, and with absolutely no loss of the pure metal through all the successive processes."—*F. A. Walker, "Money, Trade, and Industry."*

The durability of the precious metals helps to keep their value steady, since the amount produced in any one year, be it large or small, would have a comparatively small effect upon the value of the stock already in existence. This fact is one of particular importance, because this quality of stability of value is, under

the conditions of modern commerce, the one essential qualification of the medium of exchange. Mr. Jevons says in this connection: "Commerce cannot advance far before people begin to borrow or lend, and debts of various origin are contracted. It is in some cases usual to restore the very same article which was borrowed, and in almost every case it would be possible to pay back in the same kind of commodity. If corn be borrowed, corn might be paid back, with interest in corn; but the lender will not often wish to have corn returned to him at an uncertain time, when he does not much need it, or when its value is unusually low; or a man may need several different kinds of articles, which he is not likely to obtain from one person; hence arises the convenience of borrowing and lending in one generally recognized article of which the value varies little. Every person making a contract, by which he will receive something at a future day, will prefer to secure the receipt of a commodity likely to be as valuable then as now."

This commodity will usually be the current money, and the function which it thus comes to perform is best designated as that of a *standard of deferred payments*,—by means of which future obligations are determined.

One of the most distinctive features of advancing civilization is the increasing tendency of people to trust one another, to place reliance in the future, and so to employ contracts,—promises, depending upon future fulfillment.

Under our present system the whole of industry rests on an endless series of contracts, and it has come to be a necessity to find some means of overcoming uncertainty in their interpretation. Suppose the government issues bonds—that is, borrows money—in 1893, for twenty years, and you invest \$10,000. In this present year \$10,000 buys a certain amount of corn, salt, coal, groceries, clothing, etc. Now if, in 1913, when the debt falls due, prices have risen, that \$10,000 will buy fewer of these articles than before, and therefore you will receive from the government *less purchasing power* than you loaned; or if prices have fallen, the \$10,000 will buy *more* than it would in 1893, and the government is forced to return *more* than the equivalent

of that which was borrowed. In either case one's gain is another's loss, and this is wrong. A man ought to receive *just what was borrowed*, no more, and no less.

So long as all contracts are expressed in terms of money, it is necessary that this money should have stability of value, as nearly as possible. It is universally admitted that any such thing as a commodity having absolute stability of value is impossible, but of course, "for practical purposes, we may get for a considerable time a much greater comparative stability in some things than in others. In some things the amount produced from year to year may be small when compared with the total amount in existence, and the demand may be fairly steady, that is, not subject to sudden changes in fashion or desire. A commodity of this kind might properly be said to be more stable in value than an article in which such qualities were lacking.

We cannot find any substance for our standard money, a given quantity of which will always possess the same purchasing power over each and every commodity, but we may and do find that one substance will have a much more uniform power of purchasing things in general, during a term of years, than is the case with other substances."—*J. S. Nicholson, "Essay on Money."*

Chief among the many advantages possessed by gold and silver as money is their great superiority over all other metals in respect to stability of value. By virtue of their excessive durability, the stock in existence is so enormous that the fluctuations in the amount produced from one year to another have little power to disturb the general level. The total amount of gold in existence in 1885, is roughly estimated at seven thousand millions of dollars, while the amount produced in 1886 was about one hundred millions, or one and one half per cent of the whole; and the figures for the production of silver bear about the same proportions.

We have seen that money is first and always, a *medium of exchange*, and that, in the present stage of social and commercial development, it performs a service of great convenience and importance to the industrial world, in acting as a standard of deferred payments.

There is still another function of money, necessarily involved in its use as a medium of exchange. Money serves as a standard for the comparison of values.

If we should resort to barter, one of the first difficulties which would arise would be in deciding at *what rates* the exchange of commodities should be made. How much beef for how much flax? how much bread for a coat? how many coats for a horse? how much of any one substance for a given quantity of another?

In a state of barter, each commodity would have to be compared directly with every other commodity, and Mr. Jevons has called our attention to the fact that between 100 articles there are no less than 4,950 possible ratios of exchange. All such trouble is avoided if any one commodity be chosen, in terms of which all other commodities can be compared. Knowing how much corn can be bought for one pound of silver, and also how much beef, or wool, or flax, for the same quantity, we learn without further trouble how much corn exchanges for a certain amount of flax, or beef, or wool. The commodity selected becomes a common denominator of values, in terms of which we estimate all other goods, so that their values become capable of the most easy comparison.—See Jevons "*Money and Mechanism of Exchange*."

In every act of exchange a definite quantity of one substance is given for a definite quantity of another. These quantities are determined by comparison, one with another; and as we express the values of all commodities in terms of money, it becomes very easy to compare each commodity, in turn, with any other.

These, then, are the three functions of money: (1) A medium of exchange; (2) A standard of deferred payments; (3) A common denominator of values.

As has been said, its importance to the civilized world can hardly be exaggerated.

"In these days," says Prof. Nicholson, "we are so familiar with this universal medium that it is difficult for us to realize the state of a nation in which custom took the place of contract, and the mass of the people lived practically without money.

"There can be no doubt that during the Middle Ages the commutation of various services and labor dues into money equivalents was the principal factor in the industrial progress of that period.

"The break-up of feudalism, the independence of the towns, the abolition of serfdom, and the growth of commerce, are all largely due to the substitution of money payments resting on contracts, in place of services founded on law and custom."—*"Essay on Money."*

Thus, as the division of labor was extended, the universal medium of exchange became, not merely a convenience, but an actual necessity of production.

Without some common transfer-medium it would be utterly impossible to carry on the manufactures and commerce of our present industrial system. Money is as real a necessity to the interchange of commerce as language to the interchange of ideas.

G. S. KIMBALL.

PATRIOTISM, MORALITY, AND PENSIONS.

BY ALLEN R. FOOTE.

THERE is no truer test of the moral sentiment of a nation than the dealings of its lawmakers with the sovereign power of taxation, and the administration of justice as between citizens thereby affected. There is no truer measure of the patriotism of an individual than his voluntary actions in dealing with, or in defense of, the domain and honor of his country. There is no truer standard by which to estimate the intelligence and honor of a nation or an individual, than the objects for the acquisition of which they contend and work most earnestly.

A government by the people is powerless to benefit the people beyond the limits of justice defined by those who enact and administer their laws. Such laws express the intellectual and moral perception of right which fixes and limits the national standard of patriotism and morality.

The broad difference between physical and intellectual vision or sensation is well illustrated by the fact that when the American flag was fired upon by traitors, a million men rushed to arms and risked their lives in defense of the physical integrity of the nation, but when corrupt legislation blunts the sense of honor of millions of citizens and robs the whole population to pay claims that have no foundation in justice, we witness no popular uprising. Is it not as clearly the patriotic duty of every citizen to defend the moral integrity of a nation as well as its physical integrity? Which is more deeply immoral, he who seeks to take a portion of the nation's territory from under the jurisdiction of its flag, or he who corrupts the honor of its citizens at the fountain source, by making legal that which is neither honorable nor just?

At the present moment a large share of public attention is

directed to the discussion of the pension question. The difficulty in which the nation finds itself is twofold : ethical and financial. Under the plea of honoring and compensating the nation's defenders, certain pension laws have been enacted and are being administered. These laws but fairly express the promises made in the platforms of all political parties. The particular enactments which have been and are causing the greatest loss of honor and financial disturbance were enacted by a combination of both parties as represented in the halls of Congress. These laws are the result not of non-partisan but of multi-partisan legislation.

The fundamental difficulty in dealing with this subject arises from the fact that there was not, at the time these laws were enacted, nor is there now, any attempt made first to define the ethical principles of justice that should govern pension legislation, and then to enact laws that would give full and true expressions to such principles. Pension legislation based on ethical principles of justice cannot be other than honorable and economically sound.

No better illustration of utter inability to perceive the true source of the evil, or of a disposition to eradicate it, can be found, than is shown by the fact that members of Congress expatiate upon the enormous amounts that have been expended for pensions, while other members are "completely dumbfounded" at the exhibit of \$1,450,000,000 ; and no one in that assemblage of representatives raises his voice to say, "If this money was paid in satisfaction of just claims it has been well used. Though the public treasury has been made poorer by such payment, the national honor has been defended and preserved inviolate." It is because no member said this, and because no member can say it truthfully, that a mercenary stain has been placed upon the fair fame of those whom pension legislation has pretended to honor. It is because legislators did not and do not now perceive the deep iniquity of robbing the whole population to provide means for paying claims which, though legal, are not based on justice, that these thousands of millions have been paid out of the public treasury. In view of this fact, how absurdly inadequate all suggested remedies appear. Transfer the Pension



Bureau to the War Department! In the name of decency are we thus to confess to the world that all the honest and capable men now remaining wear the uniform of the United States army and navy? Will not an army officer be required to administer the laws honestly and fully? If those laws admit of claims for the payment of which \$200,000,000 a year is required, will not War Department checks have to be drawn for the amount? To abolish pension agencies and save \$150,000 per year is good, but how much better it would be to reform pension laws in accordance with the requirements of justice and save \$100,000,000 per year. This can be done, and every loyal volunteer who enlisted in prompt response to his patriotism unbought by bounties will approve the act. To advertise the names of all pensioners in the post-office to which their checks are sent in the hope of shaming the undeserving out of claiming the money is good, but how infinitely better it would be to relieve the deserving from the disgrace of having their names associated with the undeserving. No more need be said to point out the fact that it is not the amount of the money that is being expended for the payment of pension claims that should excite popular apprehension and criticism, but the character of the claims and the laws which have made them legal. The amount of money required for the payment of claims based on justice has an inexorable limit fixed in the records of those who defended the integrity of the country when attacked by force of arms. The amount of money that may be required for the payment of claims not based on justice, but upon laws which take no account of justice, has placed upon it no restraining limit. Greed and corruption cannot be satisfied. Every gain dishonestly acquired strengthens the demand for *more*.

There is no duty of truer patriotism that can be rendered to this nation than now to establish as a clearly enunciated affirmation of public policy, the principles with which pension legislation should conform, and then to demand such a revision as will align the law with such affirmation. This done, every claim thus made legal must be fully paid, no matter what the cost.

The nation must guarantee that, as between citizens, it will see that justice is done. Such a guarantee is the true source of

life for the spirit of patriotism. Upon such a guarantee the nation must depend for the inspiration of a spirit of patriotism so ardent and universal that, on the instant of hearing a call from its chief executive, every able-bodied man will at once tender his services. A nation that can depend upon such patriotism has an unconquerable army always at its command, an army that is self-sustained in times of peace, an army that is self-mobilized in times of war.

The right of a nation to require a citizen to sacrifice his life in its defense is the supreme right of self-preservation. Co-existent with this right is the duty of the nation to guarantee each citizen that the service he renders and the sacrifice he makes voluntarily in its defense shall result in no economic loss to him. Upon this principle is based the right of the nation to require or to accept the services of its citizens in its defense. Based upon this principle of compensation for economic loss sustained, the following affirmations correctly define and limit the scope of all just pension laws :

First.—It is the duty of every citizen to be loyal. No citizen is entitled to compensation of any kind for being loyal.

Second.—It is the duty of every able-bodied male citizen to at once tender his services whenever the chief executive lawfully calls for volunteers to defend the nation.

Third.—Every person who suffers an impairment of his earning capacity, by reason of duty performed in the service of the nation, is entitled to full compensation for such loss. Such a claim is fully satisfied, when by means of public or private employment such a person receives an income equal to that received by uninjured persons possessing similar qualifications.

Fourth.—Those *immediately* dependent for support upon a person injured, killed, or dying, while in the line of his duty in the service of the nation, shall be provided for by a pension payment equivalent to the economic loss sustained. Such persons shall include only those who were so supported at the time of enlistment, during the term of service, or who became entitled to such support within five years from the date of final muster out.

Fifth—Pensions in every case should be sufficient to fully restore the economic loss sustained, so that he who serves his country in its time of need, and those who were then dependent upon him, shall suffer no economic disadvantage in comparison with uninjured persons possessing similar qualifications.

Sixth.—Honorable recognition of patriotic service cannot be expressed by money payments, but is fully satisfied, with credit to the giver and respect for the receiver, when, choosing between two applicants for employment, all other considerations being equal, preference is given to a loyal volunteer because he performed the duties of a soldier or sailor while others remained at home.

Having defined an equitable basis for pension payments, it is the duty of those who enact laws to at once so revise all pension legislation as to cause the law to conform with this basis, and then to cease to enact so-called private pension bills. Further, as this basis of pension payments involves questions of fact, and as a pension, if due at all, is due as one of the most honorable debts a nation is ever called upon to discharge, no attorney should be allowed to prosecute claims for pensions, but there should be established in every state a court of pension equity, and a commissioner should be appointed for each state to represent ex-soldiers and those dependent upon them before this court, whose duty it shall be to prepare all evidence and, through public advertisement, solicit all persons having knowledge of the facts to acquaint the commissioner with the same for the benefit of the deserving person.

Such a system of administration will keep the government in close touch and quick sympathy with its ex-defenders. It will keep the people advised as to what ex-soldiers in their midst may be in need of public or private employment, since none receiving proper compensation will apply for a pension. It will deprive the corrupt of the power of misrepresentations, as the commissioner and the court will have ready access to all persons acquainted with each applicant's past services and his present condition.

Pensions awarded under such conditions will be alike honor-

able to the nation and to the beneficiary. They will be based upon the fact that the beneficiary has been injured in the service of the nation while in the line of his duty and the award will be commensurate with his injury, measured by his economic worth to himself or others, regardless of the incident of the rank he may have held while in the service.

The adjustment of the pension roll as herein indicated will not only save the expenditure of one hundred millions per year, it will do what is of still greater importance, it will make the pension roll in fact, what it is supposed to be in theory, *a roll of honor*.

ALLEN R. FOOTE.

A FUTURE FOR THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

BY THE REV. E. D. M'CREARY, PH.D.

THE defeat of the Republican party at the fall election was more complete and overwhelming than even the most sanguine of the opposition anticipated. It was generally conceded during the campaign that with so many parties in the field the issue would be doubtful, to say the least; and it was even suggested as a possible contingency, both by prominent politicians and political journals, that none of the candidates for the presidential prize might have a majority of the electoral votes, and that the election might, for this reason, devolve upon the House of Representatives. Under these circumstances the greatness of the Democratic victory was a genuine surprise to the country at large, and a most unwelcome one to the party in power, and was indicative of a great and widespread revulsion of public sentiment within the past four years. Already prophecies are being freely made in various quarters that the Republican party will never be able to emerge from under "the landslide" that overwhelmed it on the eighth day of last November; and that if it is to have a future, with any hope of regaining a dominant place in the political arena, it must be obtained either under a new name and in a new guise, or by coalescing with some one of the newer parties now in the field. But whether the recent rout shall prove to be a Republican Waterloo, depends more on the course pursued by the party than upon the vaticinations of its adversaries. Though defeated, the party is not dead; paralyzed it may be for a season, by the shock of unexpected and overwhelming defeat; but it is possessed of too much vitality and virility to succumb under a single reverse, even though of great magnitude.

It cannot be denied, even by its staunchest antagonists, that

the Republican party has had a grand career. For nearly a third of a century it has held the reins of power and has directed the affairs of the nation. During that time it has made an enviable record—a record of which any party might well be proud—a record crowded with brilliant achievements,—a record that will always constitute a conspicuous page in our country's history. Under its leadership the war for the preservation of the Union was fought to a successful finish, and thereby the following notable and momentous results were achieved: The dangerous doctrine of secession that had long vexed the land received its death-blow; national unity was established on a permanent basis; and slavery, that inhuman relic of barbarism that had cursed the country from its infancy, was forever abolished. Directly on the close of the war the party addressed itself vigorously to the task of bringing order out of the chaos and confusion that prevailed in the South. The states which had been in rebellion were reconstructed and became again integral parts of the nation; the rights and privileges of the newly liberated freedmen were secured by Constitutional amendments; those who had waged war against the party's policy and the country's unity were treated with unusual clemency and leniency. Instead of waxing belligerent, because of its success in waging war, and assuming a bellicose attitude toward other nations, the Republican party in its administration of affairs adopted the principle of arbitration in adjusting all difficulties and disputes with other countries. This course of action has met with such general approval that the policy of arbitration will doubtless be maintained in the future, no matter what party may be in power.

Under the rule of the Republican party the nation has attained to a remarkable degree of prosperity. When the party came to power the nation's credit was at a low ebb, the treasury was almost empty and money was difficult to obtain to supply the needs of the government, even at a high rate of interest. To-day no nation's credit at home or abroad is better than our own, and its bonds, at a low rate of interest, command a premium in the stock markets of the world. In 1860 the total wealth of the

country was \$16,159,616,068. After thirty years of Republican rule the nation's wealth aggregates \$62,610,000,000, a gain of 287 per cent. This unprecedented advance in wealth has been made despite the fact that our late war, not counting the cost to the side that was defeated, cost the country \$6,189,929,900. Within the past three decades our population has increased from 31,443,372 to 62,622,250 ; the volume of business has greatly enlarged ; wages have been advanced and commerce extended.

The Republican party can also boast of a galaxy of illustrious men, the peers of the nation's best, the equals in ability to the men of any other similar period of our country's history—whose names and careers shed luster on their party, and on the nation at large as well. Preëminent among these stand Lincoln, Grant, Chase, Sumner, Seward, Stevens, Stanton, Greeley, Wilson, Logan, Garfield, Conkling, Sherman, and Blaine ; while a much longer list of those but little inferior in ability to these great chieftains of the party, might be added did space permit.

With such a record, a single reverse, even though of great magnitude, need not—nay, should not—be deemed the signal for the retirement of the Republican party from the political arena ; much less should it be regarded as the party's death-knell. Its real significance is rather that of a popular rebuke, vigorously administered,—a lesson taught at the loss of prestige and power, but well worth all it cost if it shall serve to recall the party to the path by which it entered upon its career, in which it scored its first victory, and wherein it has won the triumphs which have made it both famous and powerful.

It is well known to all students of our political history that the Republican party entered the political arena, at its inception, as the party of progress and reform. It fearlessly assailed the twin relics of barbarism—slavery and polygamy ; it insisted that it was both the right and duty of Congress to prohibit the entrance and establishment of slavery in any of the territories. It boldly proclaimed its sympathy with "bleeding Kansas," then in the fierce throes of the terrible struggle that was being waged between the pro-slavery and free-state settlers, and pledged its support, in case it should come into power, to the

free-state element. It neither courted popular applause nor cowered before the arrogance of the slave-power. It openly and courageously espoused the cause of humanity, justice, and liberty, demanding freedom and equality before the laws for all, regardless of color or nationality. It posed before the country as "the party of grand moral ideas"; and it was the "ideas" and principles advocated that gave the party vitality and brought gradually to its support all that was most aggressive and progressive in the nation. It thus won its way to ascendancy in the national councils and secured to itself a long lease of power by leading the van of progress and reform. During its long-continued supremacy the party devoted itself assiduously to the performance of the promises made in the platform on which it came into power and to the establishment of the principles which it professed, and with such success that its most important measures have either been incorporated into the Constitution or have become the settled policy of the country.

But it is an established fact that progress generates progression, and that one reform begets another. Hence, no sooner had the issues contended for by the Republican party at the outset of its career become triumphant than other issues of equal moment and moral magnitude began to challenge public attention and to clamor for recognition and political support. But the Republican party turned a deaf ear to the clarion call of these new reforms and ignored their claims. In the late campaign it put aside all noble and moral issues and went before the country and staked all on merely mercenary and economic issues. It paltered for place and power, and sought rather to conserve what it had already won than to start out on the path of new achievements. It made the fatal mistake of adopting a conservative policy—a policy utterly foreign to its nature. From the beginning of its career it had been identified with progress and reform. Without these elements it was like Samson shorn of his locks, and so fell an easy prey to the political Philistines.

It certainly requires no great amount of political sagacity to perceive that a party cannot maintain its hold on the popular

mind, nor can it acquire ascendancy over a new generation, by the glamour of past achievements, no matter how grand and glorious such achievements may have been; neither can it divert the attention of the people from matters of immediate and great moment to the public welfare by ringing the changes on old, effete issues. To insure continued supremacy and power a party must forget, so to speak, its past successes, must adjust itself to new conditions, seek for new achievements, keep itself in touch with the spirit of the times, and move with the advancing tide. But an advance movement of a party, like that of an army, often necessitates a change of base of operations. Hence the principles and issues that served as a base of operation at one period of a party's history will not suffice for a permanent vantage ground of victory. A party to be successful must, as occasion requires, reconstruct its base lines and adjust itself to new environments and new conditions. A new generation has come into being since the Republican party began its career. Each generation has its own issues to meet, its own problems to solve, and the party that will secure its confidence, command its suffrage, dominate in its councils, and direct its movements, must address itself to the live issues of the day and have an ear to hear the questions that agitate the public mind, and must become the courageous, unwavering champion of principles and measures that tend to conserve the best and highest interests of the country and the welfare of the nation. On these lines there opens up the possibility of a grand future for the Republican party. Let it dare to advance to the support of the radical reforms, moral, political, and economic, that are now being advocated and demanded by the progressive element of the nation, and it will at no distant day achieve new triumphs, resume the reins of government, and secure a long lease of power.

Foremost in the popular mind to-day, and of gravest importance to the nation, is the necessity of dealing speedily with a strong, firm hand with the immigration problem. When these United States achieved their independence, their population was almost wholly of Anglo-Saxon blood—the best and bluest blood of all the nations. But no sooner had this country become “the

land of the free" than a tide of immigration set in toward it from other and less favored lands, and this tide has steadily been increasing in volume with each succeeding decade, until it has now assumed anomalous, if not indeed alarming, proportions. Within the last decade 5,245,530 foreigners have come to our shores—a vast, heterogenous mass, gathered out of all nations and peoples and tongues; lacking only a few thousand of being equal to the population of Pennsylvania, one of the most populous states of the Union. By the taking of the last census it was ascertained that fully one third of our entire population was of foreign birth and parentage, and this large foreign element is being increased by immigration at the average rate of half a million per annum.

The danger arising from immigration is twofold—in that while it is steadily increasing in quantity it is also steadily degenerating in quality. In earlier years nearly all our immigrants were English, Scotch-Irish, Dutch, Germans, and French Huguenots. Later on the Irish and Scandinavian predominated. At the present time a very large percentage consists of Italians, Poles, Russians, Slovaks, Bohemians and mixed races of the Austrian provinces—people who have only a remote ethnic affinity to our own stock, and who do not readily accommodate themselves to our institutions and customs, and who are slow in becoming assimilated and Americanized. Then, too, these millions who are coming to us from foreign lands are not of the best, or even of the middle classes of their respective countries, but are for the most part from the lowest grades of society, illiterate, ignorant, brutal, and filthy—the riffraff and refuse of European nations. Many of them are paupers, beggars, criminals, anarchists, communists, lawless and turbulent, whose room in their native land was better than their company. From their ranks have come the instigators and perpetrators of Haymarket riots, Cronin murders, Mafia assassinations, enemies of society and good government, to whom liberty means license, lawlessness, and licentiousness; thus augmenting the numbers of the dangerous classes which are already assuming alarming proportions in this country.

The task of assimilating and Americanizing this steadily increasing influx of low-grade foreigners is constantly becoming more and more difficult, so that it is now a matter of serious consideration as to whether we have not reached the limit of our power of absorption and assimilation. In fact, it is becoming apparent to all thoughtful observers that something must be done speedily to check the tide of immigration flowing in upon us, or most serious consequences will certainly ensue.

The crowds of low-grade immigrants are especially a danger and a menace to American workingmen. They are accustomed to live on the poorest fare and in the most brutal manner. They know nothing and care nothing about cultured or even comfortable modes of life. Hence they work at prices that defy competition. For the lower men are, the fewer are their wants and the less it takes to supply them. Hence competition with these classes of immigrants means to the American-born workingman good-bye to comfortable, cultured homes with books, music, pictures, and plenty. Each year of unrestricted immigration means to every man of toil—brutalize yourself and family a little more; put yourself and family on harder fare, in poorer homes and in meaner surroundings. It is the sheerest folly to boast of the blessings of a high protective tariff, leaving meanwhile the working classes unprotected from unrestricted immigration.

The evils resulting from unrestricted immigration are greatly aggravated also by the undue haste with which immigrants coming into this country are transformed into American citizens. In nearly one half of the states of the Union an alien, as soon as he declares his intention to become a citizen of the commonwealth, is invested with the right of suffrage. In all the states, after a residence of five years, foreigners are entitled to naturalization, and this brief period is often cut short by fraudulent evasions of the law, by the connivance, or because of the carelessness, of the officers whose duty it is to guard carefully the avenues to citizenship. Hence it happens that immigrants, who are scarcely washed from the dirt and demoralization of a semi-barbarous life, are hastily naturalized and invested with the

rights, privileges, and powers of citizenship when they know nothing, or next to nothing, and care less, about the institutions of the country. It is a notorious fact that on the eve of important elections our naturalization mills are kept running—sometimes night and day—transforming armies of aliens into American citizens. One court in San Francisco, not long since, ground out a batch of one hundred and eighty American citizens from such material in less than thirty-six hours; while in New York, during twenty days of a single month, there were 6,871 naturalizations, 5,850 of which were by a single judge. The matter of the hasty and fraudulent naturalization of aliens has become such a public scandal that it cannot longer be ignored with impunity. Then, too, multitudes of these naturalized aliens value the franchise only by what it will bring in the market, and go to swell the list of venal voters, already dangerously large, and thus become a menace to the government which they swear to uphold. A rising tide of public opinion is arraying itself against these and other evils, resulting from unrestricted immigration, which will ere long become so powerful that no party can remain long in office that fails or refuses to devise means for its efficient and permanent regulation.

But the most vital issue, as well as the greatest and most important problem that confronts the American people to-day is the devising means and measures for effectually checking the evils resulting from the liquor traffic under the saloon system. There are at this time in the United States, in round numbers, 200,000 saloons, every one of which is a fruitful source of misery, vice, and crime. According to the records of our courts and the statements of eminent judges, more than eighty per cent of all criminal offenses are chargeable to drunkenness resulting from the liquor traffic; physicians in charge of our insane asylums declare that from one third to one half of the inmates of those institutions have become maniacs from the effects of intoxicating drinks; and it is a well-known fact that the inmates of our almshouses are for the most part the *protégés* and victims of the saloon. The worst evils that curse society follow in the wake of the liquor traffic. Pool rooms, gambling dens,

and brothels are universal concomitants of the saloon, and only thrive where it exists. Such facts make argument unnecessary to prove that the liquor traffic is inimical to the best interests of the individual, society, and the state.

Of late years the liquor traffic, as represented by the saloon, has become a powerful factor in the realm of politics, and its effect in the political arena, as elsewhere, is deleterious and destructive in the extreme. It is possessed of vast wealth, which it uses in the most unscrupulous manner to advance its interests. It suborns judges, bribes juries, purchases a controlling interest in legislatures, and corrupts the ballot. In every important election, purchased votes by thousands are cast in all of our larger and many of our smaller cities; and these venal votes are almost invariably bought and paid for in and through the saloon. The organs of the liquor traffic openly boast of the tremendous influence exerted by the rum power in municipal and state politics. This fact is asserted interrogatively in the following excerpt from the *Wine and Spirit Gazette*, published in New York: "Do you deny that the liquor traffic controls the situation in this state? What defeated Warner Miller and elected Governor Hill? What gave the Democratic party its majority in the Assembly? What elected the Tammany ticket in this city last year? Was it not the united strength of the liquor vote?" Almost every city of note in the United States is under its control, and candidates for municipal offices find it indispensable for success to "make themselves solid" with the liquor power. It nominates candidates in its own interests and to secure its own advancement and aggrandizement. In fact the liquor oligarchy is already as powerful, and it is rapidly becoming as audacious, arrogant, and insolent as the slave-holding oligarchy was before the Civil War; unless something is speedily done to check its advance the sovereignty of the saloon will become complete, and the liquor power and its votaries will rule the nation as completely and absolutely as it now rules our large cities.

All attempts hitherto made to retard the advance of the liquor traffic by restricted measures have proved utterly futile.

For while those engaged in the traffic demand protection by law for themselves and their business, they unscrupulously and persistently violate, and arrogantly and insolently strike down and trample under foot all laws enacted to protect society and the state against the intolerable evils which they produce. It is a well-known fact that the violation of one set of laws tends to beget contempt for and disregard of all law, so that the lawless spirit manifested by the liquor traffic makes it the efficient ally of communism and anarchy—the deadly enemies of society and the state. “Self-preservation is the first law of nature.” But the preservation of society and the state can only be effectuated by the annihilation of the saloon and the destruction of the liquor traffic. A party that will arise in its might and, Thor-like, smite the giant evil with the hammer of destruction, is the greatest need of the hour, and will have the future of the country in its keeping.

Economic questions, other than the tariff, and of equal importance, are beginning to agitate the public mind and will in the near future require political action for their solution. Foremost among them is government ownership of the means of communication and transportation. The telegraph has become an integral and essential factor in business and social life; the railroad is the chief means for internal traffic and travel, and as such, vitally affects the interest of individuals, communities, and commonwealths. The sentiment is rapidly growing that these two great systems of public service should be brought under the control, and conducted in the interests of the general public, and should be administered for the public good rather than for the aggrandizement of the few. When such matters are mooted the opponents of government ownership raise the hue and cry of “paternalism,” as though that were a sufficient answer to all such propositions. But a “paternal” administration of the telegraphic service would simply be on a par with the “paternal” administration of the postal service, which is universally conceded to be a public necessity, as well as a public benefit. Government ownership of railroads is already an accomplished fact in other countries. More than ninety per cent

of the railroad mileage in Australia is owned and operated by the government. A like percentage of the railroad mileage of Germany is under government control, and on such roads a larger dividend is paid on capital invested than by railroads owned and operated by private parties in other continental countries. Ours is a government "by the people and for the people," and "paternalism" simply signifies that the people are determined to take the best possible care of themselves and their interests and to make public conveniences and necessities their servants and not their masters.

Widespread distrust and alarm are being occasioned by the formation of numerous and gigantic corporations and trusts for the purpose of controlling certain lines of business. These colossal combinations of capital crush out all competition, and, armed with the might of money, make conquest of legislatures and laws, and thus become a menace to the country and to the liberties of the people. The party that will command the suffrage of the people must prove itself the people's friend.

Another issue that is looming up on the political horizon is the forward movement for the enfranchisement of women. Victor Hugo's prophecy that this was to be the woman's era is already being fulfilled. Women are now admitted to privileges, educational, ecclesiastical, professional, and social, not dreamed of half a century ago. In their enlarged sphere they have proved themselves in every way worthy of the advantages accorded them, and have shown themselves fully capable of meeting the requirements of their new environments. With enlarged privileges in other fields of operation comes logically the demand for enlarged political privileges. Already the demand has been so effective that in some of our largest cities women are permitted to vote at school elections; in other cities they are permitted to participate in municipal elections. Recently the state of Wyoming, one of the youngest of our commonwealths, was admitted to the Union with woman's suffrage as an integral part of its Constitution. As far as they have been invested with the ballot women have used it wisely and well. Wherever permitted to vote they have been a tower of strength to the forces

operating against those influences and agencies inimical to American institutions, and their full enfranchisement would be productive of the best results in state and national politics.

A simple statement of the following facts ought to be sufficient to convince any fair-minded person that the present political status of woman is both irrational and unjust. The dullest schoolboy coming to his majority becomes at once a sovereign citizen and is permitted to exercise the right of suffrage, while the bright woman, who, during his school days, with much patience and difficulty, taught him all he knows, is not considered worthy of the political privilege awarded to her dull scholar without question. The sable negro, degraded by centuries of slavery, is invested by Constitutional amendment with the use of the ballot; the ignorant, filthy, brutal Huns and Dagos from Southern Europe, after five year's residence, or much sooner than that if the law can be evaded through the influence or by the connivance of pot-house politicians, are invested with the rights, privileges, and dignities of citizenship; while noble, intelligent, refined, cultured American women, loyal to their country and its institutions to their heart's core, are deemed to be unqualified for citizenship simply and solely on account of their sex. Gratitude for favors shown is a distinguishing characteristic of woman's nature, and the party that espouses her cause and procures for her the right and dignity of citizenship can with reason count on her influence and support at the ballot box.

The late election has made it evident that the Republican party can never regain supremacy while clinging to and advocating the extreme high tariff idea, which was its main issue in the campaign just closed. The verdict of the country has definitely settled that question. In order to regain prestige, position, and power it must undertake a new forward movement in politics which will be in accordance with its genius and history. Such a forward movement would be well begun by embodying the measures advocated in this article in its platform, and pledging itself unreservedly to their support. Timid, time-serving politicians will doubtless consider these measures too

radical and unpopular to furnish the basis for a successful campaign and would deem them rather an incubus than an inspiration to the party. But let it be remembered that the Republican party grew to greatness and came to power by battling for measures and espousing issues which were as radical and unpopular in their day as these may be now. The measures herein set forth are as essential to the welfare of the country and the perpetuity of the nation as were those which the party espoused when it first entered upon its career. It is true now as then that for a party to espouse the cause of unpopular, but greatly needed, reforms may induce temporary defeat; but it is also true that it is the only assured pathway to permanent victory and prolonged supremacy. Principle, not policy, is the truest political wisdom, and the highest and most successful statesmanship is that which apprehends the right and then courageously determines to stand for the right though the heavens should fall. The Republican party has a splendid organization, is well manned, and still has a strong hold on the country and it only needs to move forward in the path of progress and reform as herein indicated to secure for itself a future as brilliant and glorious as its past.

E. D. McCREARY.

DRUNKENNESS AND THE REMEDY.

BY LESLIE E. KEELEY, M.D., LL.D.

DRUNKENNESS and the disease it causes are so universal that statistics on the subject seem unnecessary. It is the universal crime and disease. Drinking, or beginning to drink, is criminal ; but the result is inevitable disease. The mistake of the world in this relation has always been to license the crime and punish the disease. Custom sanctions drinking, though the result must be drunkenness and inebriety, and then makes the drunkard an outcast and a criminal, subject to arrest, fines, and imprisonment.

Only a small portion of the confirmed inebriates are known as drunkards. Many of them are cunning enough to never drink publicly, and many more, even when diseased the most, never appear debauched. They cover their wretched secret habit and its horrible disease with the cloak of business or piety. They drink secretly. They do not show it because the disease, which demands the drink, has also the power, in them, to resist the ordinary acute poisonous effects known as drunkenness.

These people keep liquor on their sideboards, and have wine cellars. They drink at meal time, or have wine socially with friends. Making an estimate of the yearly amount these people drink, it will be seen that it greatly exceeds the amount consumed by the regular periodical inebriate. Inebriety bears, I think, a very definite relation to the amount of liquor drunk. In periodical inebriety the relation is geometrical ; in the constant drinker it is arithmetical. By this, I mean that he who drinks poisonous quantities of alcohol, periodically, will develop the disease of inebriety in geometrical ratio to the quantity drunk ; while he who drinks daily, but not to cause drunken-

ness, will develop the disease in arithmetical ratio to the quantity drunk.

Both classes, however, are inebriates. It makes no difference if the so-called temperate drinker was "never drunk in his life"—he is just as much an inebriate as the periodical drunkard, who is secreted by his friends, or locked up and fined for violating the honor, dignity, and peace of a licensing community, regularly, every three months.

To deny these propositions is to deny that alcohol causes disease. To deny this is to deny that disease of any kind is caused by poison of any kind. The rule and law is that all disease is caused by poison of some kind; and alcohol being a poison, it is, therefore, impossible to drink it without causing disease.

The great law, or symptom, of inebriety is a craving for drink. If we analyze this sensation or symptom, we find it has two sides. An inebriate may not experience a great craving for his wine or beer at particular times; but if a person is accustomed to drink beer with his meals, he makes a sorry meal if the beer is absent. He eats less. His digestion is not so good. This indigestion, deficient appetite, and craving sensation and regret, attendant upon the absence of beer, are symptoms. It is not natural to miss beer, nor should its absence interfere with appetite or digestion. These things are symptoms of the disease of inebriety. They will not occur unless the beer has been thus drunk for some time, and drinking beer for a long time, or drinking a large quantity of beer habitually, in this manner will cause inebriety in direct ratio; and inebriety being a disease, must, like other diseases, present symptoms.

But missing the accustomed stimulant leads to a direct craving. The disease demands the beer. If it is taken, the appetite will be restored, the craving gone, the digestion also be restored. This is a very mild type of disease, to be sure; but it is a disease, and is caused by alcohol, and is a mild type of inebriety. It is difficult and is unnecessary to know the amount of beer consumed yearly by the world; but the consumers of the drink are either inebriates of this degree and class, or of a worse type.

The temperate drinker does not believe himself an inebriate. But he is an inebriate just in proportion to the quantity of liquor he drinks. It is not necessary to get drunk in order to become an inebriate. The fact is that the more habitually a man drinks, whether constantly or periodically, and the more firmly the disease is established, the more liquor he can drink without being drunk. No man has a natural resistance to the poison of alcohol, unless he inherits it from drinking ancestry, and if he does possess such an inheritance, and can drink unusual quantities without getting drunk, then he either inherits inebriety or has acquired it by drinking. There is no force which enables one man to resist or drink more liquor than another man with less effect, except the force derived from the disease of inebriety itself. In fact, the temperate drinker and mild inebriate are the products of hereditary inebriety, or else it is not true that immunity from disease, or from any given poison, is always given by having the disease or from being poisoned.

But we understand very well that one attack of a disease will give immunity from further attacks of the same disease, and that some of this immunity, or power of resistance, can be transmitted by heredity ; and we know very well that if a person takes, habitually, any kind of poison, he can take more and more of the poison with less poisonous effect. The law is that the disease caused by the poison gives an increased power of resisting it.

Drunkenness, as it appears, socially, to the casual onlooker, is exhibited by people who are intoxicated on the streets, or arrested. This class comprises the small portion of inebriates. The greater amount of liquor drunk, and the greater amount of inebriety is found among the people who drink "temperately." The truly intemperate are the temperate, as measured by the quantity of liquor drunk, and the total amount of public inebriety.

I do not say that the worst types of inebriety spring from the class of temperate inebriates. The law of heredity and observation seem to prove that they do not. But it is among this class

that secondary diseases prevail. It is this class to which belong the very rich and the very poor. Inebriety, by leading to other and secondary diseases, is the adjunct of epidemics—typhoid, pneumonia, and other diseases which lower the average duration of life and increase the death rate. There is no question, other things equal, that the inebriate has less resistance to the germ of disease, than the people who never drink. The clinical reports of large hospitals of patients with consumption, Bright's disease, cancer, and even the acute diseases, in the great majority of cases, verify that inebriety is present, and seemingly acting as a predisposing cause to these diseases. It is true, however, that alcohol does not directly cause either of these diseases nor any other disease than inebriety. To deny this is to deny the pathological law that like causes, meeting with like resistance, cause like diseases. Each disease has its special cause. I do not believe that alcohol ever directly causes insanity, epilepsy or paralysis ; but it may be associated with, or indirectly cause, any disease.

It may appear paradoxical to assert that inebriety may predispose to other diseases, while it is true that the drug is used in the treatment of nearly every disease to which flesh is heir. It is true that alcohol antagonizes the symptoms of a weak heart, a high temperature, and nervous exhaustion. But the fact remains that inebriety weakens the resistance of the people to the germ of disease. In fact, there seems to be an interaction, and a relationship of peculiar character between insanitary conditions and inebriety. In cities and towns having an unhealthful water supply, and which putrify sewage in an open stream, there is usually a high license, much drinking, much inebriety, a large per cent of typhoid and pneumonia, and a large death rate—usually 18 to 24 per 1,000 annually. In well sewered cities, which have a pure water supply, we usually find fewer licenses, comparatively no acute diseases, and a death rate even as low as 8 or 10 per 1,000.

This fact, which expresses the maximum of difference in these conditions, is readily explained from the known effects of alcohol and disease poisons. People who drink impure water and inhale

sewer gas are debilitated. They readily become exhausted. So much of their vital energy is taken from work and made to do service in resisting these poisons. The instinctive remedy is alcohol. This drug furnishes energy and acts as an anæsthetic. It is taken daily by such people in greater or less quantities—but unsanitary towns consume larger quantities of liquor. As a result, the inebriety produced weakens the resistance to disease, and epidemics, typhoid, pneumonia, and other diseases are as frequent visitors as the seasons, and kill off the annual thousands.

But, as we all know, there is a more violent type of inebriety than is described in the moderate or temperate drinker. In this case the pendulum is much longer—has a wider swing; but it ticks out the periodical debauch with loud and regular rhythm. The moderate drinker and inebriate may drink his quarts of beer, or bottles of wine daily, and never appear intoxicated; while the man who abstains for a few months becomes drunk if he drinks an amount of liquor that the moderate drinker would carry with him to church, ball, or political rally, or into his business, with dignity, soberness, and grace. The explanation is easy. The moderate drinker, by his constant or daily drinking, keeps up the resistance of his tissue cells to the action of liquor. The man who abstains for a few months has entirely lost his cell power of resisting the action of the poison. When he begins his debauch he soon drinks himself into temporary oblivion. He drinks until every cell and fiber of his body rebels—until paralysis begs him to desist, until his stomach rejects the poison, and then he suffers the remorse and reform, and resumes his period of total abstinence, which is just as much a feature and factor of his inebriety, as is the period of debauch.

THE CURE OF INEBRIETY.

There is a wide difference between the treatment of a disease and its cure. All physicians treat all diseases, but they cure only a few. In fact, it is doubtful if any disease, except the coarser parasitic skin diseases, is ever cured. The diseases under treatment terminate by the law of limitation, which I have many times explained, or else death is the result. This is the

law of the treatment of disease as distinguished from cure.

The reason is readily understood. The treatment of disease is conducted by the use of general remedies. The cure of disease is always by a specific and special remedy.

Later discoveries confirm this generalization. Certain bacteriological experimenters have succeeded in finding special and specific cures for pneumonia, tetanus, and some other germ diseases. The notable features of these discoveries are that the disease is actually cured (the remedy in each case is single and specific) and the remedies are not transferable. Probably the remedy that cures tetanus would destroy the patient instead of curing the disease, if used in pneumonia. A few years ago, physicians did not know the cause of disease. Liebig's theory was a general one, and not specific, and was that putrid effluvia caused disease; but the modern discoveries verify that each disease has its special and specific cause, and has also its specific and special cure, and that the general treatment of disease, by general remedies which do not cure, will soon be a dogma of the past.

In the *North American Review* for September, 1891, there is a symposium by Dr. Wm. A. Hammond, the eminent neurologist, and a number of other noted medical gentlemen, on the subject of inebriety and its cure. These gentlemen, particularly Dr. Hammond, assert that there is no cure—no known remedy—that can cure inebriety. Dr. Hammond no doubt stated truthfully his belief on this question; but Dr. Hammond does not know what my specific cure for inebriety is. If, at one time, these physicians had been asked the question, "Is there a cure for pneumonia or tetanus?" they would have been obliged to say, "There is none." But to-day, they could answer differently. They could say that a specific cure for each of these and for some other diseases has been found, and the indications of science now are that the near future of medicine will develop specific cures for all the germ diseases.

The two classes of inebriates—the moderate drinkers and the periodical drinkers—present differences in degree only, as relates to cure. But the clinical history and special condition of

the moderate drinker show more disease than does the other class. The inebriety of the temperate drinker is a more firmly seated disease. In this class are more frequently seen the secondary and associated degenerations of tissue which belong to the clinical history of inebriety. These cases are likely to have bloated tissues, fatty heart, degeneration of nerve tissue, and kidney disease and the phthisical cases are more numerous in this class.

Generally the moderate drinker does not consider himself an inebriate while his usual health remains. He claims that he can drink or let liquor alone—as he pleases. When he is made aware that he has some kind of disease, he may attempt for the first time to “let liquor alone,” and then learns that he was mistaken about this feature of his drinking. His attempt to abandon his stimulant develops a craving for drink that he never felt before, and the moderate stimulant, usually great in quantity, is resumed.

In these cases the inebriety is just as curable as in the other class. The inebriety and its symptom—the craving for liquor—disappear within three days under the influence of the remedy. The inebriety is so completely subdued that neither the craving for liquor, nor his infirmities, nor diseases, any longer succeed in presenting to his mind a reasonable excuse for taking a drink.

Specific cures for disease, when they are discovered, will, of course, meet with criticism and opposition, but a cure, a real cure for disease, can never be overthrown except by the overthrow of the disease. The Gold Cure for inebriety will be used until alcohol is dethroned as the king of debauchery.

LESLIE E. KEELEY.

AMONG THE BOOKS.

A Literary Manual of Foreign Quotations. By John Devoe Belton. 12mo, pp. 249. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This work differs from the ordinary book of foreign quotations. While not covering so much ground as many do, its selections have been chosen with careful discrimination as to what is most

likely to be useful to the general reader. Unlike most others and possibly all others, each quotation is followed by an extract in which it is used, thus not only making the book much more interesting than it would otherwise be, but helping to fix the quotation more firmly in mind. Studying isolated quotations is about as uninteresting and unprofitable as the obsolete plan of studying the definitions of words without reference to the sentence in which they occur.

The larger part of the phrases defined are from the Latin, though there are many from the French, a less number from the German, and still fewer from the Italian, each having an index. Legal maxims have been excluded as not properly coming within the range of the work.

It is considered in best taste for writers to express themselves *nudis verbis*, but since they violate this rule even to the extent of using foreign words and phrases, this volume will prove a valuable help to most readers.

Earl Grey on Reciprocity and Civil Service Reform. With comments by Gen. M. M. Trumbull. pp. 27, paper, 10 cents. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co.

The two letters from Earl Grey afford General Trumbull a good text for the exercise of logic and irony which he can combine with an effect equaled by few writers. He defines "reciprocity" as "a political expedient, abandoned by the English government forty-five years ago, but which, having been imported duty free into this country, has had a flattering 'run' of popularity for several political seasons; a piece of good luck which often attends the revival in America of a venerable comedy obsolete in England. Reciprocity, as played in the United States, is a friendly compromise wherein one party says to the other, 'We will agree that you are half right if you will agree that we are only half wrong.'" He enlarges on the opinions expressed by prominent protectionists at the Pan-American banquet given at Chicago, and in the light of his construction it would have been cruel to have had this pamphlet published during the last campaign.

The Earl's letter on Civil Service Reform, together with the comments by General Trumbull, would make a good missionary tract to be distributed by the Civil Service Commission.

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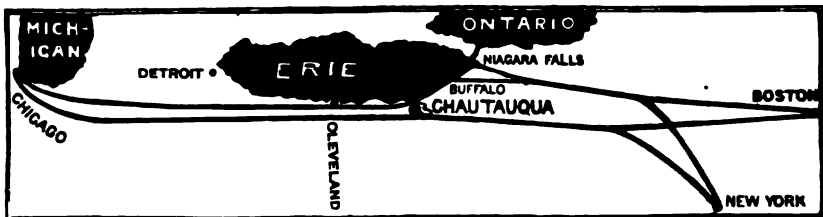
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